



SETH GOBIND DĀS, C.S

श्री	<p>काशी काशी च मायाख्या त्वयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि मथुरावन्तिका चेताः सप्त प्रयोऽच मोक्षदाः ॥</p>	॥
सर्वेषां देवतीर्थानां माथुरं परमं महत्	<p>(MATHURĀ:)</p> <p>A</p> <p>DISTRICT MEMOIR.</p> <p>BY F. S. (GROWSE, F.C.S., M.A. OXON, C.I.E., <i>Fellow of the Calcutta University.</i></p> <p>Though the groves of Brindā, in which Krishna disported with the Gopis, no longer resound to the echoes of his flute ; though the waters of the Jamuna are daily polluted with the blood of the sacred kine ; still it is the holy land of the pilgrim, the sacred Jordan of his fancy, on whose banks he may sit and weep, as did the banished Israelite of old, for the glories of Mathurā, his Jerusalem.—TON.</p> <p>SECOND EDITION. <i>Illustrated, Revised and Enlarged.</i></p> <p>1880.</p> <p>PRINTED AT THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH GOVERNMENT PRESS.</p>	न केशवसमो देवो न माथुरसमो द्विजः ॥
	<p>मथुरायां कृतं तत्रैव विश्रुति</p>	श्री

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

As this Memoir will form one of the uniform series of local histories compiled by order of the Government, it requires no special introduction beyond a few words explanatory of those points in which my mode of treatment may be thought somewhat exceptional. Being intended mainly as a book of reference for the use of district officers—a class including men of the most diverse tastes and acquirements—it dwells—more especially in Part II.—upon many topics which the general reader will condemn as trivial and uninteresting ; while in the earlier chapters my explanations are more detailed and minute than the professed student of history and archæology will probably deem at all necessary. But a local memoir can never be a severely artistic performance. On a small scale it resembles a dictionary or encyclopædia, and must, if complete, be composed of very heterogeneous materials, out of which those who have occasion to consult it must select what they require for their own purposes, without concluding that whatever is superfluous for them is equally familiar or distasteful to other people.

As good libraries of standard works of reference are scarcely to be found anywhere in India out of the presidency towns, I have invariably given in full the very words of my authorities, both ancient and modern. And if I have occasion to mention any historical character—though he may have achieved somewhat more than a mere local reputation—I still narrate succinctly all the material facts of his life rather than take them for granted as already known. Thus, before quoting the Chinese Pilgrims, I explain under what circumstances they wrote ; and when describing the Mathurá Observatory, I introduce an account of the famous royal astronomer by whom it was constructed. Hence my pages are not unfrequently overcrowded with names and dates, which

must give them rather a repellent appearance; but I shall be compensated for this reproach if residents on the spot find in them an answer to all enquiries, without occasion to consult other authorities, which, though possibly far from obscure, may still under the circumstances be difficult to obtain.

I dwell at considerable length on the legends connected with the deified Krishna, the tutelary divinity of the district : because, however puerile and comparatively modern many of them may be, they have materially affected the whole course of local history and are still household words, to which allusion is constantly made in conversation either to animate a description or enforce an argument.

The great years of famine and the mutiny of 1857, though calamities which were much more lightly felt in this neighbourhood than in many other parts of India, yet form the eras, by which the date of all domestic occurrences is ordinarily calculated, and have therefore been duly noticed. But there has been no need to enter much into general history, for Mathurá has never been a political centre, except during the short period when it formed the theatre for the display of the ambitious projects of Súraj Mall and his immediate successors on the throne of Bharat-pur. All its special interest is derived from its religious associations in connection with the Vaishnava sects—far outnumbering all other Hindu divisions—of whom some took birth here, all regard it as their Holy Land. Thus, the space devoted to the consideration of the doctrines which they profess and the observances which they practise could scarcely be curtailed without impairing the fidelity of the sketch by suppression of the appropriate local colouring. It may also be desirable to explain, that the long extracts of Hindi poetry from local writers of the last two centuries have been inserted, not only as *à propos* of the subject to which they refer, but also as affording the most unmistakeable proofs of what the language of the country really is. No such specimens could be given of indigenous Urdu literature, simply because it is non-existent and is as foreign to the people at large as English.

So much irreparable damage has been done in past years from simple ignorance as to the value of ancient architectural remains, that I have been careful to describe in full every building in the district which possesses the slightest historical or artistic interest. I have also given a complete *resumé* of all the results hitherto obtained in archæological research among the relics of an earlier age. On both these heads my special thanks are due to the Government, for supplying me with funds for excavations and in supporting the claim which I put forward on behalf of the preservation of the famous temple at Brindá-ban. The identification which I have been able to establish between Mahá-ban and the Clisobora of Ptolemy and Arrian, and between Maholi and the Madhu-puri of the Sanskrit chronicles—the most ancient capital of the kingdom of Mathurá—are definite contributions to Indian archæology, which I believe will be universally accepted as of some slight but permanent value.

Besides noting the characteristics of peculiar castes, I have given an account of the origin and present status of all the principal residents in the district, mentioning every particular of any interest connected with their family history or personal qualifications. Only a few such persons of special repute will be found included in Part I.; the remainder have been relegated to the more strictly topographical sequel, where they are noticed in connection with their estates. Upon purely agricultural statistics I touch very briefly, thinking that such matters will be more ably discussed by the officer in charge of the settlement operations now in progress.

It is hoped that the village lists will prove useful to district officials. No one who has not had experience in matters of the kind can form any idea of the labour and vexation involved in the preparation for the first time of such tables, when the materials on which they are based consist exclusively of manuscripts written in the Persian character. An attempt to secure accuracy induces a feeling of absolute despair; for the names of the places and people mentioned can only be verified on the spot, inasmuch as they are

too obscure to be tested by reference to other authorities, and the words as written, if not absolutely illegible, can be read at least three or four different ways. The notes by which the lists are accompanied furnish incidentally many illustrations to a question which now more than any other is occupying the minds of Indian statesmen. In 1857, when all settled government was in abeyance, a mutinous army marched through the entire length of one division of the district ; but was regarded only with aversion and dismay by all the people of the country, excepting one class. These were the victims of our revenue laws and civil courts, who seized the opportunity of turning upon the usurer, by whom they had been ejected from their ancestral estates, and, whenever he was found rash enough to be living among the people he had aggrieved, of putting him to death, occasionally under circumstances of some atrocity, together with the *Patwári*, or village accountant, whom they regarded as the instrument of his oppression and the official custodian of the documents that recorded their degradation. To re-attach the loyalty of so influential a class would be a supreme effort of legislation : nor need the remedy for the ill be a very drastic one. To restore them in their old proprietary rights is an impossibility ; but to concede a few slight privileges and (in accord with national sentiment) to recognise them as a class of higher social status than the mere village serfs, with whom in the eyes of the law they have been assimilated, would go far to obliterate their animosity to existing institutions. Either from mere reckless improvidence, or from the impoverished condition of the land—the result of over-assessment—at the time of the forced sale, or in somewhat earlier days from a distrust in the stability of British rule and a belief that they would soon in some political convulsion be able to recover all that they had lost, —from these and other similar causes, the price that they accepted from the in-coming landlord was so utterly incommensurate with the value of the purchase, that the slight interference with the rights of property involved in the subsequent creation of a privileged class of tenants could only be regarded as the recognition of a most just and equitable claim.

The notes will be seen to vary greatly in point of fullness, according to the situation of the pargana to which they refer. Of the western half of the district I have been able to acquire a thorough personal knowledge. But on the other side of the Jamuná, to the east of the town of Baladeva, I have spent only two months of one cold season. My acquaintance, therefore, with the whole of S'adabád and Jalesar and half of Mahá-ban is very superficial, almost confined to the principal roads and towns, and has been very scantily supplemented by the resident subordinate officials.

The population returns show clearly the relative size of the different villages, and may be accepted as close approximations to the absolute truth. On the night of the Census no pains were spared to ensure accuracy in the enumeration, and I fully believe that success was attained. Whatever errors may exist are due to other causes ; for, what with illegible writing to begin with, and a great number of subsequent erasures and insertions, it became a matter of exceeding difficulty to add up the totals correctly ; the combination of correctness with rapidity may have been unattainable.

After the final orders on the subject of transliteration issued by the Supreme Government, the system which I have adopted scarcely stands in need either of explanation or defence. I have, however, been more consistent than is prescribed of necessity, in the belief that compromise is always an evil, and in this matter is exceptionally so; for with a definite orthography there is no reason whatever why in the course of two or three generations the immense diversity of Indian alphabets, which at present form such an obstacle to literary intercourse and intellectual progress, should not all be abolished and the Roman character substituted in their stead.

As to the word 'Mathurá' itself : the place has had an historical existence for more than 2,000 years, and may reasonably demur to appearing in its old age under such a vulgar and offensive form as 'Mut:ra,' which represents neither the correct pro-

nunciation nor the etymology. Though it has been visited by Europeans of many different nationalities, it was never so mutilated till it fell into the hands of the English, now seventy years ago. Even the Chinese, with a language that renders transliteration all but impossible, represent it, more correctly than we have hitherto done, under the form *Mothulo*. But this is a subject upon which, as my own personal views are not in accord with those of the Local Government, it would be out of place for me here to enlarge.⁽¹⁾

In consequence of the official practice of spelling all Indian names phonetically, the village lists acquire an accidental value for the philologist, as being probably the only attempt yet made to exhibit with accuracy and completeness the local nomenclature of the whole of a definite tract of country.

In preparing such a catalogue there are three main impediments to be surmounted :—*first*, the dullness of the English ear in distinguishing between dental and cerebral letters, and in detecting the presence or otherwise of an aspirate. Hence the difficulty so frequently experienced in telling *sát*, 'seven,' from *sáth*, 'sixty'; *lát* with a cerebral from *játt* with a dental; and *lát*, 'a kick,' from *láth*, 'a club' : though in these two particulars a native of the country is never at fault. *Secondly*, the dullness of the Indian ear in distinguishing between the short vowels, which constantly leads to the substitution in vulgar writing of *i* for *a*; and *thirdly*, the fancy of office clerks for assimilating Hindí words, which they do not understand, to Persian words of somewhat kindred sound, from which they imagine them to have been corrupted. In my first draft the errors arising from these causes were numerous, and it is possible that some may yet remain for future elimination.

A study of the lists suggests two remarks of some little importance in the history of language. *First*, so many names, that at a hasty glance appear utterly unmeaning, can be positively traced back to original Sanskrit forms as to raise a presumption

(1) At the time when this was written, Sir William Muir, a most obstinate supporter of the old hap-hazard mode of spelling, was the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West.

that the remainder—though more effectually disguised—will ultimately be found capable of similar treatment : a strong argument being thus afforded against those scholars who maintain that the modern Vernacular is impregnated with a very large non-Aryan element. *Secondly*, the course of phonetic decay in all its stages is so strictly in accord with the rules laid down by the Prākṛit Grammarians, as to demonstrate that the Prākṛit of the dramas (to which the rules particularly apply), even though extinct at the time when the dramas were composed for the delectation of a specially learned audience, had once been the popular language of the country and, as Anglo-Saxon imperceptibly developed into modern English, so has Prākṛit been transmuted into modern Hindi—more by the gradual loss of its inflections than by the violent operation of any external influences.

MATHURĀ :
May 10th, 1874. }

F. S. GROWSE.

RULES FOR INDIAN PRONUNCIATION.

<i>a</i> unaccented is like ...	... <i>a</i> in <i>India</i> .
<i>d</i> accented is like ...	... <i>a</i> „ <i>bath</i> .
<i>e</i> is always long, like ...	... <i>ê</i> „ <i>fête</i> .
<i>i</i> unaccented is like ...	... <i>i</i> „ <i>India</i> .
<i>t</i> accented is like ...	... <i>t</i> „ <i>élite</i> .
<i>u</i> unaccented is like ...	... <i>u</i> „ <i>put</i> .
<i>û</i> accented is like ...	... <i>u</i> „ <i>rural</i> .
<i>o</i> is always long, like...	... <i>o</i> „ <i>oval</i> .
<i>ai</i> is like ...	... <i>ai</i> „ <i>aïe</i> .
<i>au</i> is like ...	... <i>ou</i> „ <i>cloud</i> .

The consonants are pronounced as in English : *th* as in *boot-hook*, never as in *father* ; *g* is always hard, as in *gag* ; *y* is always a consonant, and *c*, *q*, and *x* are not used at all. The fixed sound of each letter never varies ; and it is, therefore, impossible for any person of the most ordinary intelligence to hesitate for a moment as to the correct way of pronouncing a word the first time he sees it. Without the slightest knowledge of the language, he may read a page of a Sanskrit or Hindustani book to an Indian audience, and be perfectly intelligible, if he will only take the trouble to remember the few simple rules given above.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

AFTER the publication, in 1874, of the first tentative edition of this memoir, I remained undisturbed at Mathurá for nearly three years longer, during which time I added very largely to my stock of local information. Some of the notes that I had jotted down formed the basis for separate articles, which appeared at different times in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society; the remainder were still in manuscript, when, early in 1877, *surrexit alius rex in Ægypto qui non sciebat Joseph*, and all unexpectedly, an order reached me for my transfer to another district. After I had settled down at Bulandshahr, being unwilling that the fruits of my past labours should be lost, I solicited the sanction of the local Government to the issue of a second edition from the Allahabad Press. As this was graciously accorded, I at once proceeded to look up whatever materials I had by me, and have now fitted them all into their proper places in the old framework, thereby increasing the book very considerably in bulk and also, I hope, in permanent value.

Among the most important additions are the notices in Chapter VIII. of the different Vaishnava Reformers. These are accompanied by specimen translations from their works, which, I believe, no European before me has ever read. Whatever their intrinsic value, literary or philosophical, they are the authorities upon which the modern Hindu system mainly depends, and on that account, if for no other, are deserving of attention.

A remark, originally consisting of no more than three or four lines in my first edition, has been expanded into a thorough discussion on the etymology of local names, which occupies the whole of Chapter XII. It incidentally disposes of several crude theories on the subject, which have been advanced by scholars of more or less distinction under a misconception as to the historical growth

of the modern vernacular of Upper India. The conclusions at which I arrive can scarcely be disputed, but they will probably be ignored as too fatal to whimsical speculation.

Other novel features are the description of the Holi Festival in Chapter IV., and almost the whole of Chapter VII., which includes, amongst other matters, a sketch of the development of the local style of architecture. The opening chapters, which were criticised by an accomplished literary friend as confused in arrangement, have now been put together on a different plan; the account of the series of discoveries in Buddhist archæology has been made much more systematic and complete; and minor corrections and additions have been introduced in almost every page.

The Topographical notes in Part II. have also been supplemented by a mass of minute observations, made in the course of successive cold-weather tours, when I visited in turn every village and hamlet in the district. In these notes the studied adoption of local terminology and the pettiness of the details will make them absolutely unreadable to the general public; but they will supply the scientific specialist with a variety of data to work upon, and Government officials on the spot will find them of considerable assistance in facilitating their intercourse with the people.

Other alterations have been necessitated by the change in the boundaries of the district, caused by the transfer of the large Jalesar pargana to the jurisdiction of Eta and the acquisition of the Farrah pargana in its stead. The scheme was mentioned in my first edition as the best of several that had been recommended for meeting a difficulty that unquestionably existed.

The restoration of the great temple at Brinda-ban, the first, and as yet the only, Hindu building which the British Government has exerted itself to preserve, was sanctioned a few months previous to the appearance of my first edition, and was continued steadily up to the time of my transfer, soon after which it was allowed to drop. The reader will notice that in several places mention is made of other inchoate architectural projects, all of which were similarly

brought to a sudden stand-still. The present narrative has thus the merit of representing the actual condition in which the district is likely to remain for many future decades, and this no doubt gives it an air of greater finality than if I had been still on the spot, with new improvements constantly in progress. On the other hand, however, I have frequently felt myself under a serious disadvantage in writing the topography of a district from which I have now been absent for more than three years. For example, the famine of 1877-78 was too important an event to omit altogether, but I had not the materials for more than a meagre account of it. In several matters of statistics, also, my information is not quite up to date ; nor have I been able to make any use of the records of Mr. McConaghey's new Revenue Settlement, upon which I should have drawn largely had I been writing on the spot. I may add that it was my original intention to have postponed this re-issue till after completion of the census of 1881 ; but, as circumstances have turned out, even had I waited, I should scarcely have been able, here at Bulandshahr, to avail myself freely of the new returns ; while the greater lapse of time would have destroyed much of the freshness of my local recollections.

The Museum, as to the fate of which I express a doubt in Chapter VII., has again been taken in hand, and in the course of a year or so will, I trust, be ready for use. Noticing in one of my recent visits to Mathurá that the collection of antiquities which I had left behind me was utterly uncared for, and that some of the valuable inscriptions had disappeared—though it is possible General Cunningham may have taken them—I represented the matter to the local Government, and was thereupon allowed to submit plans and estimates for the completion of the building, which have been accepted and are now being carried out.

The illustrations are very satisfactory productions of the London Autotype Company, and form a handsome addition to the volume. Their cost has been defrayed by my old and valued friends, the Mathurá Seths, always ready to assist in any undertaking which they think calculated to reflect credit on their native

city. The negatives were taken expressly for this work by the local photographers, Messrs. Chunni Lal and Bhawani Rám, and do them much credit; though here, again, the book has suffered by my not being on the spot to direct operations, for in several cases the point of view that they have selected is not at all the one I had intended. Despite of this and the other more important defects already noticed, for which I do not consider myself to be responsible, I trust that this memoir in its present form will be accepted as a fairly exhaustive record of one of the most interesting districts in the North-West Provinces.

BULANDSHAHR :

June 29, 1880.

}

F. S. GROWSE.

POSTSCRIPT.

As a set-off to the unfavourable opinion of the architecture of the Catholic Church expressed by the Executive Engineer whom I have quoted at page 510, I cannot resist the pleasure of appending an extract from a letter which appeared in the correspondence columns of the *London Tablet*, in its issue for October 26th, 1878 :—

“ To Mr. F. S. Growse, Bengal Civil Service, we owe an ecclesiastical building which is quite unique of its sort in India, and may in the richness of its details compare favourably with approved European workmanship. The munificence of that gentleman, combined with rare artistic taste, enable him to cull all the rich treasures of a rich neighbourhood in the service of religion. His knowledge of the district of which he is both the historian and the renovator pre-eminently fitted him for this labour of love. Mathurá chapel is a combination of Christian and pagan art, and peculiarly interesting as the sole work of native artists, whose chisels have certainly not diminished the beauty and solemnity associated with altar and sanctuary. Finer or more elaborate carving could not be seen anywhere. Men acquainted with the delicate screen work of India will find it here for the first time engrafted on a Christian church, conveying the solemnizing effect of stained glass. Rigidly adhering to the idea of employing native art alone, Mr. Growse has to the smallest item excluded articles of exotic growth, substituting, for instance, Moradabad vases for the trumpery foreign importations on other altars.

The remark of Mr. Fergusson that "Architecture in India is a living art," is nowhere more happily illustrated than in the recent restorations of Mathurá, a work also due to Mr. Growse. Engaged in these restorations, the thought must naturally have arisen in connection with English buildings, why employ English models, often alike incompatible with the climate and genius of the people, when there are indigenous ones, and those far more beautiful, near at hand? Why disfigure the Oriental landscape with buildings as incapable of appealing to the sympathies of the people as of meeting the requirements of art and comfort? Along, too, with considerations about architecture would come the thought—why not employ Indian arts more generally?

It may be unorthodox to say so, but I confess the most sumptuous English fanes in India communicate a very different impression to that communicated by a visit to the Pearl Mosque at Agra. What that impression is any reader of Bishop Heber will easily understand. So great is it, that one may be pardoned for wishing to impregnate an Indian Christian temple with some of its distinctive features.

This is precisely what Mr. Growse has done at Mathurá; and I can conceive no more graceful way of familiarising natives with Christian symbols than bringing them to ornament them with their own matchless art. Prejudice is at once silenced, and sympathy, if not inquiry, aroused. An attempt is made to place ourselves in accord with something they most cherish in their affections. We sound a note of nature, and, in doing so, may lay claim to some reciprocal esteem. It is the same policy that crowned with success the labours of St. Francis Xavier in Southern India, and in more recent times illumined the path of the Abbé Dubois. These saintly men sought the empire of the mind through the empire of the heart.

Any endeavour to revive such a policy in Northern India ought to be a source of numixed satisfaction. Mr. Growse's chapel stands as a speck of the ocean, under the shadow of the great Hindu city of Krishna. May it some day stimulate a work in inverse ratio to its size."

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ERRATA.

- Title-page, bottom line, for 'विश्यति' read 'विनश्यति.'
- Page 5, line 4 from bottom, for 'chika' read 'Chika.'
- Page 6, line 2, for the second 'gayo' read 'gayd.'
- Page 56, line 4 from bottom of note, for 'Perisan' read 'Persian.'
- Page 111, line 10 from bottom, for 'stangers' read 'strangers.'
- Page 110, line 3, for 'confused' read 'a confused.'
- Page 112, line 18, for 'in the local' read 'for the local.'
- Page 115, last line, for 'explanation' read 'exploration.'
- Page 122, line 18, for 'statures' read 'statues.'
- Page 124, in heading, for 'GOKAMESVAR' read 'GOKARNESVAR.'
- Page 124, line 9, for 'tracey' read 'tracery.'
- Page 129, line 1, for 'themanta' read 'hemanta' and for 'trayad asi;' read 'trayad ase.'
- Page 134, line 8 from bottom of note, for 'ipsæ' read 'ipsa;' for 'qua' read 'quæ;' line 7, for 'denit' read 'defnit,' for 'generi' read 'generis;' line 2 from bottom, for 'martyris' read 'martyrio.'
- Page 145, line 6, for 'bigoty' read 'bigotry.'
- Page 159, line 6 from bottom, for 'in' read 'is.'
- Page 160, first line, for 'deponent' read 'dependent.'
- Page 175, line 19, for 'tracey' read 'tracery.'
- Page 178, line 15, for 'chaturanām' read 'chatura nām.'
- Page 183, line 23, for 'formerly' read 'formally.'
- Page 184, line last of note, for 'Kartalghat amūlak samān' read 'Kartal-gat āmlak samān.'
- Page 206, last line of note, for 'Karnea' read 'Karna.'
- Page 230, line 5, omit the word 'Jain.'
- Page 233, line 22, for 'शृङ्खला शृङ्खला' read 'शृङ्खला.'
- Page 233, line 29, for 'खशला शृङ्खला' read 'शृङ्खला.'
- Page 242, second line from bottom of text, for 'final' read 'finial.'
- Page 272, line 29, for 'illustratition' read 'illustration.'
- Page 272, line 6 from bottom, for 'VIII.' read 'X.'
- Page 287, line 24, for 'decent' read 'descent.'
- Page 292, line 33, for 'Rdszesvai' read 'Rdszesvari.'
- Page 296, last line, for 'Lithuaanian' read 'Lithuanian.'

Page 305, line 5 from bottom, for ' Whan ' read ' When.'

Page 311, line 28, for ' oi' ' Oi.'

Page 317, line 30, for ' *tabkaras; vimohabnahin* ' read ' *Tab kar as : vimoh
sab nahin.*

Page 320, line 6 from bottom, for ' Agra ' read ' Eta.'

Page 326, line 24, for ' Chhátta ' read ' Chhátá.'

Page 339, line 29, for ' Indrayan ' read ' Indra-jau.'

Page 473, line 4 from bottom, for ' ha-way etween ' read ' halfway between.'

Page 473, line 3 from bottom, for ' carried ' read ' carved.'

MATHURÁ.

CHAPTER I.

THE MODERN DISTRICT; ITS CONFORMATION, EXTENT AND DIVISIONS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS. THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE. THE PREDOMINANT CASTES; THE JÁTS AND THEIR ORIGIN; THE CHAUBES; THE AHIVÁŚIS; THE GAURUA THÁKURS. THE JAINIS AND THEIR TEMPLES. THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES; THE SETH; THE RÁJA OF HÁTHRAS; THE RÁIS OF SA'DÁBÁD. AGRICULTURAL CLASSIFICATION OF LAND; CANALS; FAMINES; THE DELHI ROAD AND ITS SARÁES.

THE modern district of Mathurá is one of the five, which together make up the Agra Division of the North-West Provinces. It has an area of 1,435 square miles, with a population of 780,168; the vast majority of whom, *viz.*, 715,562 are Hindus.

In the year 1803, when its area was first included in British territory, part of it was administered from Agra and part from Sa'dábád. This arrangement continued till 1832, when the city of Mathurá was recognized as the most fitting centre of local Government and, superseding the village of Sa'dábád, gave its name to a new district, comprising eight tahsils, *viz.*, Aring, Sahár, and Kosi, on the right bank of the Jamuná; and on the left, Mát, Noh-jhíl, Mahá-ban, Sa'dábád and Jalesar. In 1860, Mát and Noh-jhíl were united, with the former as the head-quarters of the Tahsildár; and in 1868 the revenue offices at Aring were transferred to Mathurá: but the general boundaries remained unchanged.

The district, however, as thus constituted, was of a most inconvenient shape. Its outline was that of a carpenter's square, of which the two parallelograms were nearly equal in extent; the upper one lying due north and south, while the other at right angles to it stretched due eastward below. The capital, situated at the interior angle of junction, was more accessible from the contiguous district of Aligarh and the independent State of Bharat-pur than from the greater part of its own territory. The Jalesar pargana was the most remote of all; its two chief towns, Awa and Jalesar, being respectively 55 and 43 miles from the local Courts, a greater distance than separated them from the capitals of four other districts.

This, under any conditions, would have been justly considered an inconvenience, and there were peculiar circumstances which rendered it exceptionally so. For a transfer of a very large proportion of the land from the old proprietary village communities to wealthy strangers had created a feeling of restlessness and impatience, which was certainly intensified by the remoteness of the Courts and the consequent unwillingness to have recourse to them for the settlement of a dispute in its incipient stages. Hence the frequent occurrence of serious outrages, such as burglaries and highway robberies, which were often carried out with more or less impunity, notwithstanding the number of people that must have been privy to their commission. However willing the authorities of the different districts were to act in concert, investigation on the part of the police was greatly hampered by the readiness with which the criminals could escape across the border, and disperse themselves through the five districts of Mathurá, Agra, Mainpuri, Eta, and Aligarh. Thus, though a local administrator is naturally jealous of any change calculated to diminish the importance of his charge, and Jalesar was unquestionably the richest portion of the district, still it was generally admitted by each successive Magistrate and Collector that its exchange for a tract of country with much fewer natural advantages would be a most politic and beneficial measure.*

The matter, which had often before been under the consideration of Government, was finally† settled towards the close of the year 1874, when Jalesar was struck off from Mathurá, and attached to the Agra district. But no other territory was given in compensation till 1879, when 84 villages, con-

* In the first edition of this work, written before the change had been effected, I thus summarized the points of difference between the Jalesar and the other parganas :—The Jalesar pargana affords a marked contrast to all the rest of the district, from which it differs no less in soil and scenery than in the character and social status of the population. In the other six parganas, wheat, indigo, and rice are seldom or never to be seen, here they form the staple crops; there the pasturage is abundant and every villager has his herd of cattle, here all the land is arable, and no more cattle are kept than are barely enough to work the plough; there the country is dotted with natural woods and groves, but has no enclosed orchards, here the mango and other fruit trees are freely planted and thrive well, but there is no jungle; there the village communities still for the most part retain possession of their ancestral lands, here they have been ousted almost completely by modern capitalists; there the Jâts constitute the great mass of the population, here they occupy one solitary village; there the Muhammadans have never gained any permanent footing and every spot is impregnated with Hindu traditions, here what local history there is is mainly associated with Muhammadan families.

† Finally, that is so far as the Mathurá district is concerned; for, as regards the Jalesar pargana, a second transfer is now in contemplation, by which it will be brought into the district of Eta.

stituting the pargana of Farrah, were detached from Agra and added on to the Mathurá tahsili. The district has thus been rendered much more manageable and compact. It is now in the shape of an imperfect crescent, with its convex side to the south-west and its horns and hollow centre on the left bank of the river looking upwards to the north-east. The eastern portion is a fair specimen of the land ordinarily found in the Doáb. It is abundantly watered, both by wells and rivers, and is carefully cultivated. Its luxuriant crops and fine orchards indicate the fertility of the soil and render the landscape not unpleasant to the eye; but though far the more valuable part of the district for the purposes of the farmer and the economist, it possesses few historical associations to detain the antiquary. On the other hand, the western side of the district, though comparatively poor in natural products, is rich in mythological legend, and contains in the towns of Mathurá and Brindá-ban a series of the masterpieces of modern Hindu architecture. Its still greater wealth in earlier times is attested by the extraordinary merit of the few specimens, which have survived the torrent of Muhammadan barbarism and the more slowly corroding lapse of time.

Yet, widely as the two tracts of country differ in character, there is reason to believe that their first union dates from a very early period. Thus, Varáha Mihira, writing in the latter half of the fifth century of the Christian era, seems to speak of Mathurá as consisting at that time also of two very dissimilar portions. For, in the 16th section of the Brihat Sanhitá, he includes its eastern half, with all river lands (such as is the Doáb) under the protection of the planet Budha, that is, Mercury; and the western half, with the Bharatas and Purohits and other managers of religious ceremonies (classes which still to the present day form the mass of the population of Western Mathurá, and more particularly so if the Bharatas are taken to mean the Bharat-pur Játs) under the tutelage of Jíva, that is, Jupiter. The Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, may also be adduced as a witness to the same effect. He visited India in the seventh century after Christ, and describes the circumference of the kingdom of Mathurá as 5,000 *li*, *i.e.*, 950 miles, taking the Chinese *li* as not quite one-fifth of an English mile. The people, he says, are of a soft and easy nature and delight to perform meritorious works with a view to a future life. The soil is rich and fertile and specially adapted to the cultivation of grain. Cotton stuffs of fine texture are also here obtainable and gold; while the mango trees* are so abundant that they form complete forests—the fruit being

* The fruit intended is probably the mango, *Amra*; but the word as given in Chinese is *an-mo-lo-ko*, which might also stand for *amliká*, the tamarind, or *amla*, the *Phyllanthus emblica*.

MATHURÁ IN THE TIME OF AKBAR.

of two varieties, a smaller kind, which turns yellow as it ripens, and a larger, which remains always green. From this description it would appear that the thea kingdom of Mathurá extended east of the capital along the Doáb in the direction of Mainpuri; for there the mango flourishes most luxuriantly and almost every village boasts a fine grove; whereas in Western Mathurá it will scarcely grow at all except under the most careful treatment. In support of this inference it may be observed that, notwithstanding the number of monasteries and stúpas mentioned by the Buddhist pilgrims as existing in the kingdom of Mathurá, comparatively few traces of any such buildings have been discovered in the modern district, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. In Mainpuri, on the contrary, and more especially on the side where it is nearest to Mathurá, fragments of Buddhist sculpture may be seen lying in almost every village. In all probability the territory of Mathurá, at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, included not only the eastern half of the modern district but also some small part of Agra and the whole of the Shikohábád and Mustafábád parganas of Mainpuri; while the remainder of the present Mainpuri district formed a portion of the kingdom of Sankasya, which extended to the borders of Kanauj. But all local recollection of this exceptional period has absolutely perished, and the mutilated effigies of Buddha and Maya are replaced on their pedestals and adored as Brahma and Devi by the ignorant villagers, whose forefathers, after long struggles, had triumphed in their overthrow.

‘In the time of the Emperor Akbar the land now included in the Mathurá district formed parts of three different Sarkárs or divisions, viz., Agra, Kol, and Sahár.

The Agra Sarkár comprised 33 maháls, four of which were Mathurá, Maholi, Mangotla, and Mahá-ban. Of these, the second, Maholi (the Madhupuri of Sanskrit literature) is now quite an insignificant village and is so close to the city as almost to form one of its suburbs. The third, Mangotla, or Magora, has disappeared altogether from the revenue roll, having been divided into four *pattis*, or shares, which are now accounted so many distinct villages. The fourth, Mahá-ban, in addition to its present area, included some ten villages of what is now the Sa'dábád pargana and the whole of Mát; while Noh-jbíl, lately united with Mát, was at that time the centre of pargana Noh,* which was included in the Kol Sarkár. The Sa'dábád pargana had no independent existence and

* There is another large town, bearing the same strange name of Noh, at no great distance, but west of the Jamuná, in the district of Gurgáuw. It is specially noted for its extensive salt works.

the reign of Shahjahán, when his famous minister, Sa'dullah Khán, founded the town, which still bears his name, and subordinated to it all the surrounding country, including part of Khandauli, which is now in the Agra district.

The Sahár Sarkár consisted of seven maháls, or parganas, and included the territory of Bharat-pur. Its home pargana comprised a large portion of the modern Muthurá district, extending from Kosi and Shergarh on the north to Aring on the south. It was not till after the dissolution of the Muhammadan power that Kosi was formed by the Játs into a separate pargana; as also was the case with Sháhpur, near the Gurgánw border, which is now merged again in Kosi. About the same unsettled period a separate pargana was formed of Gobardhan. Subsequently, Sahár dropped out of the list of Sarkárs altogether; great part of it, including its principal town, was subject to Bharat-pur, while the remainder came under the head of Mathurá, then called Islámpur, or Islámábád. Since the mutiny, Sahár has ceased to give a name even to a pargana; as the head-quarters of the Tahsildár were at that time removed, for greater safety, to the large fort-like saráe at Chhátá.

As might be expected from the almost total absence of the Muhammadan element in the population, the language of the people, as distinct from that of the official classes, is purely Hindi. In ordinary speech 'water' is *jal*; 'land' is *dharti*; 'a father,' *pitá*; 'grandson,' *náti* (for the Sanskrit *naptri*) and 'time' is often *samay*. Generally speaking, the conventional Persian phrases of compliment are represented by Hindi equivalents, as for instance, *ikbál* by *pratáp* and *tashrif* *lání* by *kripá karná*. The number of words absolutely peculiar to the district is probably very small; for Braj Bháshá (and Western Mathurá is coterminous with Braj), is the typical form of Hindi, to which other local varieties are assimilated as far as possible. A short list of some expressions that might strike a stranger as unusual has been prepared, and will be found in the Appendix. In village reckonings, the Hindustani numerals, which are of singularly irregular formation and therefore difficult to remember, are seldom employed in their integrity, and any sum above 20, except round numbers, is expressed by a paraphrasis—thus, 75 is not *pachhattar*, but *páñch ghat assi*, i.e., 80—5; and 97 is not *sattánave*, but *tin ghat sau*, i.e., 100—3. In pronunciation, there are some noticeable deviations from established usage; thus—1st, *s* is substituted for *sh*, as in *sámil* for *shámil*; *sumár* for *shumár*; 2nd, *ch* takes the place of *s*, as in *chi'ta* for *stá*, and occasionally *vice versá*, as in *charsa* for *charcha*; and 3rd, in the vowels there is little or no distinction between *a* and *i*, thus we have *Lakshmin* for *Lakshman*. The prevalence of this latter vulgarism explains the fact of the word *Bráhma*n being ordinarily spelt in English as *Brahmin*.

It is still more noticeable in the adjoining district of Mainpuri; where, too, *á* generally becomes *ó*, as *chalo gayo*, "he went," for *chalá gayo*—a provincialism equally common in the mouths of the Mathurá peasants. It may also, as a grammatical peculiarity, be remarked that *kari*, the older form of the past participle of the verb *karná*, 'to do,' is much more popular than its modern abbreviation, *kí*; *ne*, the sign of the agent, is sometimes used in a very perplexing way, for the sign of the dative, *ko*; and the demonstrative pronouns with the open vowel terminations, *tá* and *wá*, are always preferred to the sibilant Urdu forms *is* and *us*. As for Muhammadan proper names, they have as foreign a sound and are as much corrupted as English; for example, *Vazír-ud-dín*, *Hidayat-ullah*, and *Táj Muhammad* would be known in their own village only as *Waju*, *Hatu*, and *Taju*, and would themselves be rather shy about claiming the longer title; while *Mauja*, which stands for the Arabic Manj-ud-din, is transformed so completely that it is no longer recognized as a specially Muhammadan name and is often given to Hindus.

The merest glance at the map is sufficient proof of the almost exclusively Hindi character of the district. In the two typical parganas of Kosi and Chhátá, there are in all 172 villages, not one of which bears a name with the elsewhere familiar Persian termination of *-ábad*. Less than a score of names altogether betray any admixture of a Muhammadan element, and even these are formed with some Hindi ending, *ás-pur*, *-nagar*, or *-garh*; for instance, Akbar-pur, Sher-nagar, and Sher-garh. All the remainder, to any one but a philological student, denote simply such and such a village, but have no connotation whatever, and are at once set down as utterly barbarous and unmeaning. An entire Chapter further on will be devoted to their special elucidation. The Muhammadans in their time made several attempts to remodel the local nomenclature, the most conspicuous illustrations of the vain endeavour being the substitution of Islámpur for the venerable name of Mathurá and Múminábád for Brindában. The former is still occasionally heard in the law Courts when documents of the last generation have to be recited; and several others, though almost unknown in the places to which they refer, are regularly recorded in the register of the revenue officials. Thus, a village near Gobardhan is Parśoli to its inhabitants, but Muhammad-pur in the office; and it would be possible to live many years in Mathurá before discovering that the extensive gardens on the opposite side of the river were not, properly speaking, at Hans-ganj, but at a place called Isa-pur. A yet more curious fact, and one which would scarcely be possible in any country but India, is this, that a name has sometimes been changed simply through the mistake of a copying clerk. Thus, till the last Settlement, a village in the Kosi pargana had always been known as Chacholi; the

name was inadvertently copied as Piloli and has remained so ever since. Similarly with two populous villages, now called Great and Little Bharna, in the Chhátá pargana: the Bharna Khurd of the record-room is Lohra Marna on the spot; *lohra* being the Hindi equivalent for the more common *chhotá*, 'little,' and Marna being the original name, which from the close resemblance in Nágari writing of *m* to *bh*, has been corrupted by a clerical error into Bharna.

As in almost every part of the country where Hindus are predominant, the population consists mainly of Bráhmans, Thákurs, and Baniyas; but to these three classes a fourth of equal extent, the Játs, must be added as the specially distinctive element. During part of last century the ancestors of the Ját Rájá, who still governs the border State of Bharat-pur, exercised sovereign power over nearly all the western half of the district; and their influence on the country has been so great and so permanent in its results that they are justly entitled to first mention. Nothing more clearly indicated the alien character of the Jalesar pargana than the fact that in all its 203 villages the Játs occupied only one; while in Kosi and Mahá-ban they hold more than half the entire number and in Chhátá at least one-third.

It is said that the local traditions of Biána and Bharat-pur point to Kandahár as the parent country of the Játs, and attempts have been made* to prove their ancient power and renown by identifying them with certain tribes mentioned by the later classical authors—the Xanthii of Strabo, the Xuthii of Dionysius of Samos, the Jatii of Pliny and Ptolemy, and at a more recent period with the Jats or Zaths, whom the Muhammadans found in Sindh when they first invaded that country.† These are the speculations of European scholars, which, it is needless to say, have never reached the ears of the persons most interested in the discussion. But lately the subject has attracted the attention of Native enquirers also, and a novel theory has been propounded in a little Sanskrit pamphlet, entitled *Játharotpati*, compiled by Sástri Angad Sarmma for the gratification of Pandit Giri Prasád, himself an accomplished Sanskrit scholar,‡ and a Ját by caste, who resides at Beswa on the Aligarh

* Cunningham's *Archæological Survey*, Vol. II., page 55.

† Tod, however, considered the last-mentioned tribe quite distinct. He writes: "The Jats or Jits, far more numerous than perhaps all the Rájput tribes put together, still retain their ancient appellation throughout the whole of Sindh. They are amongst the oldest converts to Islam."

‡ He is the author of a Hindi commentary on the White Yajur Veda.

border. It is a catena of all the ancient texts mentioning the obscure tribe of the Játharas, with whom the writer wishes to identify the modern Játs and so bring them into the ranks of the Kshatriyas. The origin of the Játharas is related in very similar terms by all the authorities ; we select the passage from the Padma Purána as being the shortest. It runs as follows :—"Of old, when the world had been bereft, by the son of Bhrigu, of all the Kshatriya race, their daughters, seeing the land thus solitary and being desirous of conceiving sons, laid hold of the Bráhmans, and carefully cherishing the seed sown in their womb (*jathara*) brought forth Kshatriya sons called Játharas."* Now, there is no great intrinsic improbability in the hypothesis that the word Játhara has been shortened into Ját ; but if the one race is really descended from the other, it is exceedingly strange that the fact should never have been so stated before. This difficulty might be met by replying that the Játs have always been, with very few exceptions, an illiterate class, who were not likely to trouble themselves about mythological pedigrees ; while the story of their parentage would not be of sufficient interest to induce outsiders to investigate it. But a more unanswerable objection is found in a passage, which the Sástri himself quotes from the Brihat Sanhitá (XIV. 8.) This places the home of the Játharas in the south-eastern quarter, whereas it is certain that the Játs have come from the west. Probably the leaders of Ját society would refuse to accept as their progenitors either the Játharas of the Beswa Pandit or the Sindhian Zaths of General Cunningham ; for the Bharat-pur princes affect to consider themselves as the same race with the Jádavās, and the Court bards in their panegyrics are always careful to style them Jadu-vāsi.

However, all these speculations and assumptions have little basis beyond a mere similarity of name, which is often a very delusive test ; and it is certain that whatever may have been the status of the Játs in remote antiquity, in historic times they were no way distinguished from other agricultural tribes,

सूत्रशून्ये बुरा लोके भार्गवेण यदा कृते ॥

बिलोक्त्वा सूत्रियां धार्त्री कन्यास्तेषां सहस्रयः ॥

आश्रयान् जगृहुस्तस्मिन् पुत्रोत्पादनलिप्सया ॥

जठरे धारितं गर्भे संरक्ष्य विधिवत्पुत्र ॥

पुत्रान् सुश्रुविरे कन्या जाठरान् सूत्रवर्धनान् ॥

आग्नेय्यां दिशि कोषलकलिङ्ग-वङ्गोपवङ्ग-जठराङ्गाः ॥

such as the Kurmis and Lodhas, till so recent a period as the beginning of last century.

Many of the largest Ját communities in the district distinctly recognize the social inferiority of the caste, by representing themselves as having been *degraded* from the rank of Thákurs on account of certain irregularities in their marriage customs or similar reasons. Thus, the Játš of the Godha sub-division, who occupy the 18 villages of the Ayra-khera circle in the Mahá-ban pargana, trace their pedigree from a certain Thákur of the very ancient Pramár clan who emigrated into these parts from Dhár in the Dakhin. They say that his sons, for want of more suitable alliances, married into Ját families in the neighbourhood, and thus came to be reckoned as Játš themselves. Similarly the Dangri Játš of the five Madom villages in the same pargana have a tradition, the accuracy of which there seems no reason to dispute, that their ancestor, by name Kapúr, was a Sissodiya Thákur from Chitor. These facts are both curious in themselves and also conclusive as showing that the Játš have no claim to pure Kshatriya descent; but they throw no light at all upon the origin of the tribe, which the new immigrants found already settled in the country, and with which they amalgamated: and as the name, in its present form, does not occur in any literary record whatever till quite recent days, there must always remain some doubt about the matter. The sub-divisions are exceedingly numerous: most of them will be found specified in the second part of this volume in connection with the different villages which they inhabit. One of the largest of them all is the Nohwár: they derive their name from the town of Noh and form the bulk of the population throughout the whole of the Noh-jhúl pargana.

Of Bráhmans the most numerous class is the Sanádh, frequently called Sanaurhiya, and next the Gaur; but these will be found in every part of India, and claim no special investigation. The Chaubes of Mathurá, however, numbering in all some 6,000 persons, are a peculiar race and must not be passed over so summarily. They are still very celebrated as wrestlers and, in the Mathurá Máhátmya, their learning and other virtues also are extolled in the most extravagant terms; but either the writer was prejudiced, or time has had a sadly deteriorating effect. They are now ordinarily described by their own countrymen as a low and ignorant horde of rapacious mendicants. Like the Prág-wálás at Allahábád, they are the recognized local cicerones; and they may always be seen with their portly forms loitering about near the most popular gháts and temples, ready to bear down upon the first pilgrim that approaches. One of their most noticeable peculiarities is that they are very reluctant to make a match with an outsider, and if by any possibility it can be managed,

will always find bride-grooms for their daughters among the residents of the town.* Hence the popular saying—

मथुरा की बेटी गोकुल की गाय
कर्म फुटे तो चरत जाय

which may be thus roughly rendered—

Mathurá girls and Gokul cows
Will never move, while fate allows;

because, as is implied, there is no other place where they are likely to be so well off. This custom results in two other exceptional usages: *first*—that marriage contracts are often made while one, or even both, of the parties most concerned are still unborn; and *secondly*—that little or no regard is paid to relative age; thus a Chaube, if his friend has no available daughter to bestow upon him, will agree to wait for the first grand-daughter. Many years ago, a considerable migration was made to Mainpuri, where the Mathuriya Chaubes now form a large and wealthy section of the community and are in every way of better repute than the parent stock.

Another Bráhmancial, or rather pseudo-Bráhmancial, tribe almost peculiar to the district, though found also at the town of Háthras and in Mewát, is that of the Ahivásis, a name which scarcely any one beyond the borders of Mathurá is likely to have heard, unless he has had dealings with them in the way of business.† They are largely employed as general carriers and have almost a complete monopoly of the trade in salt, and some of them have thus acquired considerable substance. They are also the hereditary proprietors of

* Tieffenthaler mentions this as a peculiarity of the women of Gokul. He says, "Vis a vis d' Aurengabád est un village nommé Gokul, où l'on dit que demeuraient size mille femmes avec les quelles Krishna était marié. Les femmes de ce village se distinguent en ce quelles n'en sortent pas et ne se marient pas ailleurs." The writer, Father Joseph Tieffenthaler, a native of Bolzano, in the Austrian Tyrol, came out to India as a Jesuit missionary in 1743, and remained in the country all the rest of his life, nearly 42 years. As he never resided long in any one place, his travels eventually extended over nearly the whole continent and supplied him with matter for several treatises, which he composed in Latin. None of them have been published in that language; but a French translation of his Indian Geography, from which the above extract is taken, appeared in 1786 at Berlin, as the first volume of Bernoulli's Description de l'Inde. He died at Lucknow in July, 1785, but was buried at Agra, where on the stone that covers his grave may still be read the words: *Pater Joseph Tieffenthaler obiit Lacmoe 5 Julii, 1785.* This is at the back of the old Catholic Church (built by Walter Reinhard) which stands in the same enclosure as the modern Cathedral, but has been long disused. I quote from him on several occasions, rather on account of the rarity than the intrinsic value of the book.

† They are not mentioned either by Wilson or Elliot in their Glossaries. They have as many as seventy-two sub-divisions, two of the principal of which are called Dighiya and Bajrávat.

several villages on the west of the Jamuná, chiefly in the pargana of Chhátá, where they rather affect large brick-built houses, two or more stories in height and covering a considerable area of ground, but so far from being constructed that an uncracked wall is a noticeable phenomenon. Without exception, they are utterly ignorant and illiterate, and it is popularly believed that the mother of the race was a Chamár woman, who has influenced the character of her offspring more than the Bráhmán father. The name is derived from *ali*, the great 'serpent' Káliya, whom Krishna defeated; and their first home is stated to have been the village of Sunrakh, which adjoins the Káli-mardan ghát at Brindá-ban. The Pándes of the great temple of Baladeva are all Ahivísis, and it is matter for regret that the revenues of so wealthy a shrine should be at the absolute disposal of a community so extremely unlikely ever to make a good use of them.

The main divisions of Thákurs in Mathurá are the Jádons and the Gaurua. The former, however, are not recognised as equal in rank to the Jádons of Rájputána, though their principal representative, the Rájá of Awa,* is one of

* Now that Jalesar, the Rájá's residence, has been included in the Agra district, he can no longer be reckoned among the gentry of Mathurá: but as part of his estate still lies here, it may be convenient to give, in the form of a note, a brief sketch of the family history. The pedigree begins only in the reign of Muhammad Sháh (1720—1748 A. D.), when Thákur Chaturbhuj, a zamindár of Nari in the Chhátá pargana, came and settled at Jalesar, and was employed by the local governor in the professional capacity of a physician. His son, Bijay Sinh, for a short time also followed the vocation of his father, but was afterwards appointed to a small military command. The Jádons zamindárs of some adjacent villages, having become involved in pecuniary difficulties, were assisted by Chaturbhuj, now become a wealthy man, and his son, themselves also members of the Jádons clan. They thus acquired considerable local influence, which was further extended by Bijay Sinh's eldest son, Bhakt Sinh. He was for a time in the service of Jawáhir Sinh, the Mahárája of Bharat-pur, and also lent some support to Thákur Bahádur Sinh, of Umargarh, from whom he received a grant of the village of Misa. A number of other villages, belonging to different Thákur clans, also passed into his hands; and this accession of revenue enabled him to enlist under his standard a troop of marauding Mewátis, with whose aid he established himself, according to the custom of the time, as an independent free-booting chief. Finally, he obtained a *sanad* from the Mahrattas, authorising him to build a fort at Awa. This was simply a *garhi* with a circuit of mud walls. The present formidable stronghold was built by his successor, Hira Sinh. In the Mahratta war the latter was able to render some good service to the English; and in 1838 it is said that his son, Pitambar Sinh, was recognised as Rájá by the then Governor-General, Lord Auckland. He died in 1845, leaving no issue of his own save one daughter, who was married to a Rájput chief in the Gwáliar territory. His son by adoption, Rájá Prithi Sinh, a descendant of Thákur Bijay Sinh, the second of the family, died in July, 1876, leaving an infant heir, the present Rájá, Chitra Pál Sinh, born 12th August, 1874; his mother being a member of the branch of the Nepal royal family residing at Banáras. The estate pays a Government revenue of Rs. 3,67,515. The *sanad* conferring the title is not forthcoming, nor is it known when it was conferred. It is said to have been given by a Rána of Udaipur.

the wealthiest landed proprietors in the whole of Upper India. The origin of the latter name is obscure, but it implies impure descent and is merely the generic title which has as many subordinate branches as the original Thákur stock. Thus we have Gauruas, who call themselves—some Kachhwáhas, some Jasáwats, some Sissodiyas, and so on, throughout the whole series of Thákur clans. The last named are more commonly known as Báchhals from the Bachh-ban at Sehi, where their Guru always resides. According to their own traditions they emigrated from Chitor some 700 or 800 years ago, but probably at rather a later period, after Alá-ud-dín's famous siege of 1303. As they gave the name of Ránera to one of their original settlements in the Mathurá district, there can be little doubt that the emigration took place after the year 1202, when the Sovereign of Chitor first assumed the title of *Rána* instead of the older *Rával*. They now occupy as many as 24 villages in the Chhátá pargana, and a few of the same clan—872 souls in all—are also to be found in the Bhaugúnw and Bewar parganas of the Mainpuri district.

The great majority of Baniyas in the district are Agarwálas. Of the Sarángis, whose ranks are recruited exclusively from the Baniya class, some few belong to that sub-division, but most of them, including Seth Raghunáth Dás, are of the Khandel *gachchha* or *got*. They are not making such rapid progress here as notably in the adjoining district of Mainpuri and in some other parts of India. In this centre of orthodoxy 'the naked gods' are held in unaffected horror by the great mass of Hindus, and the submission of any well-to-do convert is generally productive of local disturbance, as has been the case more than once at Kosi. The temples of the sect are therefore few and far between, and only to be found in the neighbourhood of the large trading marts.

The principal one is that belonging to the Seth, which stands in the suburb of Kesopur. After ascending a flight of steps and entering the gate, the visitor finds himself in a square paved and cloistered court-yard with the temple opposite to him. It is a very plain solid building, arranged in three aisles, with the altar under a small dome in the centre aisle, one bay short of the end, so as to allow of a processional at the back. There are no windows, and the interior is lighted only by the three small doors in the front, one in each aisle, which is a traditional feature in Jaini architecture. What with the want of light, the lowness of the vault, and the extreme heaviness of the piers, the general effect is more that of a crypt than of a building so well raised above the ground as this really is. It is said that Jambu Swámi here practised penance and that his name is recorded in an old and almost effaced inscription on a stone slab that is still preserved under the altar. He is reputed the last

of the Kevalis, or divinely inspired teachers, being the pupil of Sudharma, who was the only surviving disciple of Mahāvira, the great apostle of the Digambaras, as Parsva Nāth was of the Svetāmbara sect. When the temple was built by Mani Rām, he enshrined in it a figure of Chandra Prabhu, the second of the Tirthankaras; but a few years ago Seth Raghunāth Dās brought, from a ruined temple at Gwāliar, a large marble statue of Ajit Nāth, which now occupies the place of honour. It is a seated figure of the conventional type, and beyond it there is nothing whatever of beauty or interest in the temple, which is as bare and unimpressive a place of worship as any Methodist meeting house. The site, for some unexplained reason, is called the Chaurāsi, and the temple itself is most popularly known by that name. An annual fair is held here, lasting for a week, from Kārtik 5 to 12: it was instituted in 1870 by Nain-Sukh, a Sarāugi of Bharat-pur. In the city are two other Jain temples, both small and both dedicated to Padma Prabhu—the one in the Ghiya mandi, the other in the Chaubes' quarter. There are other temples out in the district at Kosi and Sahpau.

The Muhammadans, who number only 62,650 in a total population of 780,168, are not only numerically few but are also insignificant from their social position. A large proportion of them are the descendants of converts made by force of the sword in earlier days and are called Malakānas. They are almost exclusively of the Sunni persuasion, and the Shias have not a single mosque of their own, either in the city or elsewhere. In Western Māthurā they nowhere form a considerable community, except at Shāhpur, where they are the zamindārs and constitute nearly a half of the inhabitants of the town; and at Kosi, where they have been attracted by the large cattle-market, which they attend as butchers and dealers. To the east of the Jamunā they are rather more numerous and of somewhat higher stamp; the head of a Muhammadan family seated at Sa'dābād ranking among the leading gentry of the district. There is also, at Mahā-ban, a Saiyid clan, who have been settled there for several centuries, being the descendants of Sufi Yahya of Mashhad, who recovered the fort from the Hindus in the reign of Alā-ud-dīn; but they are not in very affluent circumstances and, beyond their respectable pedigree, have no other claim to distinction. The head of the family, Sardār Ali, is now officiating as a tahsildar in the Mainpuri district. The ancestral estate consists, in addition to part of the township of Mahā-ban, of the villages of Goharpur and Nagara Bhāru; while some of his kinsmen are the proprietors of Shāhpur Ghosna, where they have resided for several generations.

Though more than half the population of the district is engaged in agricultural pursuits, the number of resident country gentlemen is exceptionally small.

THE MATHURÁ SETH.

Two of the largest estates are religious endowments; the one belonging to the Seth's Temple at Brindá-ban, the other to the Gosáin of Gokul. A third is enjoyed by absentees, the heirs of the Lála Bábu, who are residents of Calcutta; while several others of considerable value have been recently acquired by rich city merchants and traders.

For many years past the most influential person in the district has been the head of the great banking firm of Mani Rám and Lakhmi Chand. The house has not only a wider and more substantial reputation than any other in the North-West Provinces, but has few rivals in the whole of India. For, with branch establishments in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, and all the other great centres of commerce, it is known everywhere, and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin a security for any amount endorsed by the Mathurá Seth is as readily convertible into cash as a Bank of England Note in London or Paris. The founder of the firm was a Gujaráti Bráhmaṇ of the Vallabháchárya persuasion. As he held the important post of 'Treasurer' to the Gwáliar State, he is thence always known as Párikh Jí, though strictly speaking that was only his official designation, and his real name was Gokul Dás. Being childless and on bad terms with his only brother, he, at his death, in 1826, bequeathed the whole of his immense wealth to Mani Rám, one of his office subordinates, for whom he had conceived a great affection; notwithstanding that the latter was a Jaini, and thus the difference of religion between them so great that it was impossible to adopt him formally as a son. As was to be expected, the will was fiercely disputed by the surviving brother; but after a litigation, which extended over several years, its validity was finally declared by the highest court of appeal, and the property confirmed in Mani Rám's possession. On his death, in 1836, it devolved in great part upon the eldest of his three sons, the famous millionaire, Seth Lakhmi Chand, who died in 1866, leaving an only son, by name Raghunáth Dás. As the latter seemed scarcely to have inherited his father's talent for business, the management of affairs passed into the hands of his two uncles, Rádhá Krishan and Gobind Dás. They had become converts to Vaishnavism, under the influence of the learned scholar, Swámi Rangáchárya, whom they afterwards placed at the head of the great temple of Rang Jí, which they founded at Brindá-ban; the only large establishment in all Upper India that is owned by the followers of Rámánuja.

On the death of Rádhá Krishan, in 1859, the sole surviving brother, Gobind Dás, became the recognized head of the family. In acknowledgment of his many distinguished public services, he was made a Companion of the Star of India on the 1st of January, 1877, when Her Majesty assumed the



Imperial title. Unfortunately, he did not live long to enjoy the well-merited honour, but died only twelve months afterwards, leaving, as his joint heirs, his two nephews, Raghunáth Dás, the son of Lakhmi Chand, and Lachman Dás, the son of Rádhá Krishan. For many years past the business has been mainly conducted by the head manager, Seth Mangt Lal, who is now also largely assisted by his two sons, Náráyan Dás and Srinivása Dás. The latter, who has charge of the Delhi branch, is an author as well as a man of business, and has published a Hindi drama of some merit entitled 'Randhír and Prem-mohini.' Náráyan Dás is the Manager of the Brindá-ban Temple estate, and a very active member of the Municipal Committee, both there and at Mathurá. For his personal exertions in superintending the relief operations during the late severe famine he received a *khilat* of honour from the Lieutenant-Governor, in a public Darbár held at Agra in the beginning of this year.

At the time of the mutiny, when all the three brothers were still living, with Seth Lakhmi Chand as the senior partner, their loyalty was most conspicuous. They warned the Collector, Mr. Thornhill, of the impending outbreak a day before it actually took place; and after it had occurred they sent such immediate information to the authorities at Agra, as enabled them to disarm and thus anticipate the mutiny of the other companies of the same Native Regiments, the 44th and the 67th, which were quartered there. After the houses in the station had been burnt down, they sheltered the Collector and the other European residents in their house in the city, till the 5th of July, when, on the approach of the Nimach force, they took boat and dropped down the river to Agra. After their departure the Seths took charge of the Government treasure and maintained public order. They also advanced large sums of money for Government purposes on different occasions, when other wealthy firms had positively refused to give any assistance; and, so long as the disturbances lasted, they kept up at great expense, for which they never made any claim to reimbursement, a very large establishment for the purpose of procuring information and maintaining communication between Delhi and Agra. In acknowledgment of these services, the title of Ráo Babádur was conferred upon Seth Lakhmi Chand, with a *khilat* of Rs. 3,000. A grant was also made him of certain confiscated estates, yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 16,125, rent-free for his own life, and at half-rates for another life.

During the more than 20 years of peace which have now elapsed since those eventful days, the Seths, whenever occasion required, have shown themselves equally liberal and public spirited. Thus, when Sir William Muir started his scheme for a Central College at Allahabad, they supported him with a subscription of Rs. 2,500; and in the famine of 1874, before the Government

had put forth any appeal to the public, they spontaneously called a relief meeting, and headed the list with a donation of Rs. 7,100. Again, when the construction of the Mathurá and Háthras Light Railway was made conditional on its receiving a certain amount of local support, they at once took shares to the extent of a lakh and-a-half of rupees, simply with the view of furthering the wishes of Government and promoting the prosperity of their native town: profit was certainly not their object, as the money had to be withdrawn from other investments, where it was yielding a much higher rate of interest. In short, it has always been the practice of the family to devote a large proportion of their ample means to works of charity and general utility. Thus their great temple at Brindá-ban, built at a cost of 45 lakhs of rupees, is not only a place for religious worship, but includes also an alms-house for the relief of the indigent and a college where students are trained in Sanskrit literature and philosophy. Again, the city of Mathurá, which has now become one of the handsomest in all Upper India, owes much of its striking appearance to the buildings erected in it by the Seths. It is also approached on either side, both from Delhi and from Agra, by a fine bridge constructed at the sole cost of Lakhmi Chand. To other works, which do not so conspicuously bear their names, they have been among the largest contributors, and it would be scarcely possible to find a single deserving institution in the neighbourhood, to which they have not given a helping hand. Even the Catholic Church received from them a donation of Rs. 1,100, a fact that deserves mention as a signal illustration of their unsectarian benevolence.

The Ját family of highest ancestral rank in the district is the one represented by the titular Rájá of Háthras, who comes of the same stock as the Rája of Mursán. His two immediate predecessors were both men of mark in local history, and his pedigree, as will be seen from the accompanying sketch, is one of respectable antiquity.

Makhan Sinh, the founder of the family, was an immigrant from Rájputána, who settled in the neighbourhood of Mursán, about the year 1600 A.D. His great grandson, Thákur Nand Rám, who bore also the title of Faujdár, died in 1696, leaving 14 sons, of whom it is necessary to mention two only, *viz.*, Jalkaran Sinh and Jai Sinh. The great grandson of the former was Rájá Bhagavant Sinh of Mursán, and of the latter Thákur Daya Rám of Háthras, who, during the early years of British administration, were the two most powerful chiefs in this part of the country. From a report made by the Acting Collector of Aligarh in 1808, we learn that the Mursán Rájá's power extended at that time over the whole of Sa'dábád and Sonkh, while Mát, Mahá-ban, Sonai, Raya, Hasangarh, Sahpau, and Khandauli, were all held by

Makhan Singh, c.1600.

Thākūr Nand Rām, of Mursān, died 1695.

Jalkaran Singh, of Mursān.

Faujdar Jay Singh, died 1749.

Kashāl Singh.

Badan Singh, of Hāthras,
died 1768.

Saimant Singh.

Thākūr Puhap
Singh, died 1708.

Bhūri Singh,
died 1775.

Thākūr Sakat Singh, Mukhrām Singh,
of Karīl.

Rājā Bhagwant
Singh, of Mursān.

Thākūr Naval Singh,
of Beswan.

Thākūr Daya Rām of
Hāthras, died 1841. Thākūr Uday
Singh of Karīl.

Balavant Singh.

Kishan Singh

Rājā Tikam Singh,
C.S.I., of Mursān,
died 1878.

Thākūr Hari Jiva Rām, of Menda,
Beswan. died 1835.

Rājā Gobind
Singh, of Hāthras,
died 1861.

Thākūr Surjan Singh
of Jatol.

Kunwar Kishan Thākūr Jay Kishor Randalīr Singh, of
Prasād, died before Singh, of Shalazādpur. Menda
his father.

Thākūr Rūp Singh, of
Jatol, died 1876.

Rājā Ghausyām
Singh, of Mursān.

Thākūr Gini Prasād Singh,
of Beswan.

Rājā Hari Narāyan Singh, born 1863.



his kinsman at Háthras. Their title, however, does not appear to have been altogether unquestioned, for the writer goes on to say — "The valuable and extensive parganas which they farmed were placed under their authority by Lord Lake, immediately after the conquest of these Provinces, and they have since continued in their possession, as the resumption of them was considered to be calculated to excite dissatisfaction and as it was an object of temporary policy to conciliate their confidence."

This unwise reluctance on the part of the paramount power to enquire into the validity of the title, by which its vassals held their estates, was naturally construed as a confession of weakness and hastened the very evils which it was intended to avert. Both chieftains claimed to be independent and assumed so menacing an attitude that it became necessary to dislodge them from their strongholds; the climax of Daya Rám's recusancy being his refusal to surrender four men charged with murder. A force was despatched against them under Major-General Matgall, and Mursán was reduced without difficulty. But Háthras, which was said to be one of the strongest forts in the country, its defences having been improved on the model of those carried out by British Engineers in the neighbouring fort of Aligarh, had to be subjected to a regular siege. It was invested on the 21st of February, 1817. Daya Rám, it is said, was anxious to negotiate, but was prevented from carrying out his intention by Nek Rám Sinh (his son by an *almi* concubine) who even made an attempt to have his father assassinated as he was returning in a litter from the English camp. Hostilities, at all events, were continued, and on the 1st of March fire was opened on the fort from forty-five mortars and three breaching batteries of heavy guns. On the evening of the same day a magazine exploded and caused such general devastation that Daya Rám gave up all for lost and fled away by night on a little hunting pony, which took him the whole way to Bharat-pur. There Rájá Randhír Sinh declined to run the risk of affording him protection, and he continued his flight to Jaypur. His fort was dismantled and his estates all confiscated, but he was allowed a pension of Rs. 1,000 a month for his personal maintenance.

On his death, in 1841, he was succeeded by his son, Thákur Gobind Sinh, who at the time of the mutiny, in 1857, held only a portion of one village, Sháhgarh, and that merely in mortgage. "With his antecedents," writes Mr. Bramley, the Magistrate of Aligarh, in his report to the Special Commissioner, dated the 4th of May, 1858, "it would, perhaps, have been no matter for surprise had he, like others in his situation, taken part against the Government. However, his conduct has been eminently loyal. I am not aware that he at any time wavered. On the first call of the Magistrate and Collector of Mathurá, he

came with his personal followers and servants to the assistance of that gentleman, and was shortly afterwards summoned to Aligarh; there he remained throughout the disturbed period, ready to perform any services within his power; and it was in a great measure due to him that the important town of Háthras was saved from plunder by the surrounding population. He accompanied the force under Major Montgomery to Kol, and was present with his men in the action fought with the rebel followers of Muhammad Ghos Khán at Mán Sinh's Bāgh, on the 24th of August. On the flight of the rebel Governor of Kol, he was put in charge of the town and was allowed to raise a body of men for this service. He held the town of Kol and assisted in collecting revenue and recovering plundered property, till September 25th, when he was surprised by a Muhammadan rabble under Nasim-ullah, and forced to leave the town with some loss of men. This service was one, I presume, of very considerable danger, for he was surrounded by a low and incensed Muhammadan population and on the high road of retreat of the Delhi rebels, while the support of Major Montgomery's force at Háthras was distant and liable itself to be called away on any exigency occurring at Agra.

"On the re-occupation of the Aligarh district, Gobind Sinh resumed his post in the city, and by his good example rendered most important aid in the work of restoring order. His followers have at all times been ready for any service and have been extremely useful in police duties and in escorting treasure to Agra and Bulandshahr; in guarding gháts and watching the advance of rebels; in performing, indeed, the duties of regular troops. His loyalty has exposed him to considerable pecuniary loss; his losses on September 25th being estimated at upwards of Rs. 30,000, while his house at Brindá-ban was also plundered, by rebels returning from Delhi, to a much larger amount, of ancestral property that cannot be replaced."

In compensation for these losses, and in acknowledgment of the very valuable services which he had rendered to Government by his family influence and personal energy, he received a grant of Rs. 50,000 in cash, together with a landed estate* lying in the districts of Mathurá and Bulandshahr, and was also honoured with the title of Rájá; the sanad, signed by Lord Canning, being dated the 25th of June, 1858.

Rájá Gobind Sinh was connected by marriage with the head of the Ját clan; his wife, a daughter of Chaudhari Charan Sinh, being sister to Chaudhari

* The estate consists—1st of the zamindári of the township of Kol and some shops and gardens at Háthras, valued at Rs. 3,000; 2ndly of eight confiscated Gújar villages in the Chhátá and Kosi parganas of the Mathurá district, now assessed at over Rs. 10,000; and 3rdly of five villages in the Bulandshahr district, assessed at Rs. 7,000.

Ratan Sinh, the maternal uncle of Mahárāja Jaswant Sinh of Bharat-pur. This lady, the Ráni Sabib Kunvar, is still living and manages her estate with much ability and discretion, through the agency of Pandit Chítar Sinh, a very old friend of the family. At the time of her husband's decease, in 1861, there was an infant son, but he died very soon after the father. As this event had been anticipated, the Rájá had authorized his widow to adopt a son, and she selected for the purpose, Hari Náráyan Sinh, born in 1863, the son of Thákur Rûp Sinh of Jatoi, a descendant, as was also Rája Gobind Sinh himself, of Thákur Nand Rám's younger son, Jai Sinh. This adoption was opposed by Kesri Sinh, the son of Nek Rám, who was the illegitimate offspring of Thákur Daya Rám. But the claim that he advanced on behalf of his own sons, Sher Sinh and Balavant Sinh, was rejected by the Judge of Agra, in his order dated November, 1872, and his view of the case was afterwards upheld by the High Court on appeal. At the Delhi Assemblage of the 1st of January, 1877, in honour of Her Majesty's assumption of the Imperial title, Rájá Gobind Sinh's title was formally continued to Hari Náráyan Sinh for life. He resides with his mother, the Ráni Sahib Kunvar, at Brindá-ban, where he has a handsome house on the bank of the Jamuná, opposite the Kesi ghát, and here, on the occasion of his marriage, in February, 1877, he gave a grand entertainment to all the European residents of the station, including the officers of the 10th Royal Hussars. Though only 14 years of age, he played his part of host with perfect propriety and good-breeding—taking a lady into dinner, sitting at the head of his table—though, of course, not eating anything—and making a little speech to return thanks after his health had been proposed.

The only Muhammadan family of any importance is the one seated at Sa'dábád. This is a branch of the Lál-Khání stock, which musters strongest in the Bulandshahr district, where several of its members are persons of high distinction and own very large estates.

They claim descent from Kunvar Pratáp Sinh, a Bargújar Thákur of Rájaur, in Rájputána, who joined Prithi Ráj of Delhi, in his expedition against Mahoba. On his way thither he assisted the Dor Rájá of Kol in reducing a rebellion of the Míuas, and was rewarded by receiving in marriage the Rájá's daughter, with a dowry of 150 villages in the neighbourhood of Pabásu. The eleventh in descent from Pratáp Sinh was Lál Sinh, who, though a Hindu, received from the Emperor Akbar the title of Khán; whence the name Lál-Khání, by which the family is ordinarily designated. It was his grandson, Itimád Raé, in the reign of Aurangzeb, who first embraced Muhammadanism. The seventh in descent from Itimád Raé was Náhar Ali Khán, who, with his nephew, Dunde Khán, held the fort of Kumona, in Bulandshahr, against the

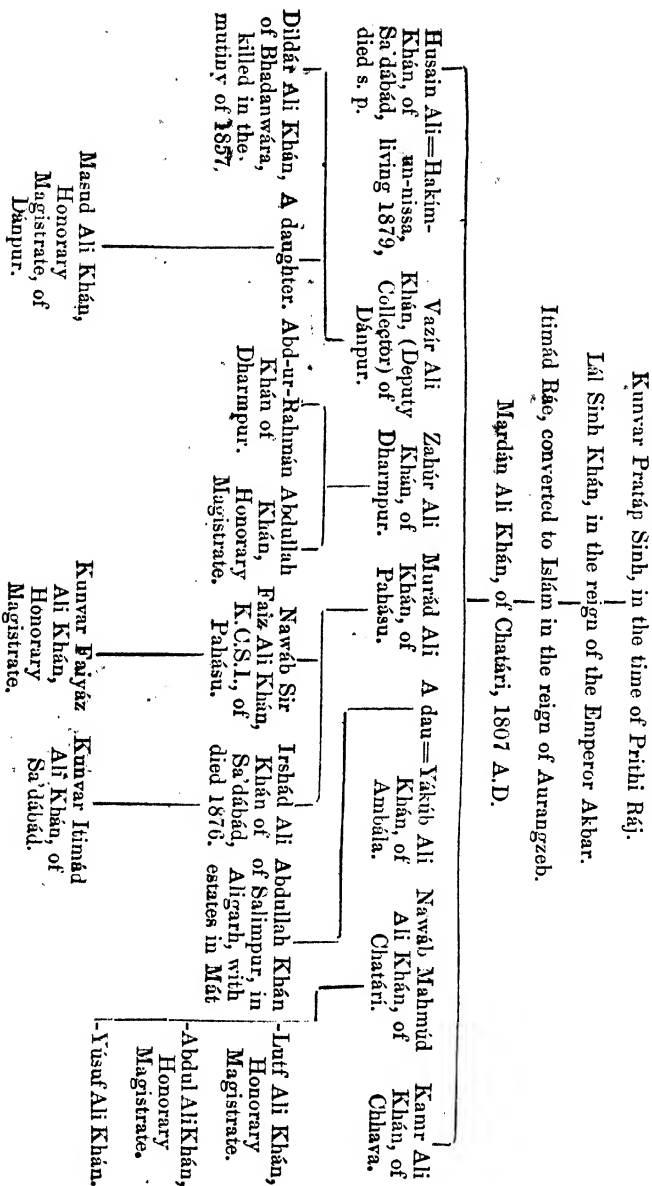
English, and thus forfeited his estate, which was conferred upon his relative Mardān Ali Khān.

The latter, who resided at Chatāri, which is still regarded as the chief seat of the family, was the purchaser of the Sa'dābād estate, which, on his death, passed to his eldest son, Husa'n Ali Khān, and is now held by the widow, the Thākūrāni Hakīm-un-nissa. It yields an annual income of Rs. 48,569, derived from as many as 26 different villages. The Thākūrāni being childless, the property was long managed on her behalf by her husband's nephew, the late Kunvar Irshād Ali Khān. He died in 1876 and was succeeded by his son, Itimād Ali Khān, who is the present head of the family in this district. Several of his relatives have other lands here. Thus his uncle Nāwāb Sir Faiz Ali Khān, K. C. S. I., owns the village of Nānau; and the villages of Chihāva and Dauhāi, yielding a net income of Rs. 1,993, belong to Thākūrāni Zeb-un-nissa, the widow of Kamr Ali Khān, Sir Faiz's uncle. Two other villages, Bahardoi and Nārāyanpur, are the property of a minor, Ghulām Muhammad Khān, the son of Hidāyat Ali Khān, who was adopted by Zubūr Ali Khān of Dharnpur, on the failure of issue by his first wife: they yield an income of Rs. 3,555. The relationship existing between all these persons will be best understood by a glance at the accompanying genealogical table.

The family, in commemoration of their descent, retain the Hindu titles of Kunvar and Thākūrāni and have hitherto, in their marriage and other social customs, observed many old Hindu usages. The tendency of the present generation is, however, rather to affect an ultra-rigid Muhammadanism; and the head of the house, the Nāwāb of Chatāri, is said to be a Wahābi. If so, he is an honour to the sect; for a great part of his income is always spent in works of charity.

Of the smaller estates in the district, some few belong to respectable old families of the yeoman type; others have been recently acquired by speculating money-lenders; but the far greater number are split up into infinitesimal fractions among the whole village community. Owing to this prevalence of the Bhaiyāchāri system, as it is called, the small farmers who cultivate their own lands constitute a very large class, while the total of the non-proprietary classes is proportionately reduced. A decided majority of the latter have no assured status, but are merely tenants-at-will. Throughout the district, all the land brought under the plough is classified under two heads,—*first*, according to its productiveness; *secondly*, according to its accessibility. The fields capable of artificial irrigation—and it is the supply of water which most influences the amount of produce—are styled *chāhi*, all others *khāki*; those nearest the village are known as *bārdā*, those rather more remote as *manjhā*, and the

Pedigree of the Lal Khani family.



furthest away *barhā*. The combinations of the two classes give six varieties, and, ordinarily, no others are recognized; though along the course of the Jamunā the tracts of alluvial land are, as elsewhere, called *khādar*; the high sterile banks are *bāngar*, and where broken into ravines *behar*; a soil exceptionally sandy is *bhūr*, sand-hills are *pūth*, and the levels between the hills *pūtaj*.

The completion of the Agra Canal has been a great boon to the district. It traverses the entire length of Western Mathurā, passing close to the towns of Kosi, Sahār, and Arīng, and having, as its extreme points, Hathāna to the North and Little Kosi to the South. It was officially opened by Sir William Muir, on the 5th of March, 1874, and became available for irrigation purposes about the end of 1875, by which time its distributaries also had been constructed. Its total length from Okhla to the Utangan River at Bihāri below Fatihabād is 140 miles, and it commands an area of three-quarters of a million acres, of which probably one-third—that is, 250,000 acres—will be annually irrigated. The cost has been above £710,000, while the net income will be about £58,000, being a return of 8 per cent. It will be practicable for boats and barges, both in its main line and its distributaries, and thus, instead of the shallow uncertain course of the Jamunā, there will be sure and easy navigation between the three great cities of Delhi, Mathurā, and Agra. One of the most immediate effects of the canal will probably be a large diminution of the area under *bājra* and *joār*, which, by reason of their requiring no artificial irrigation, have hitherto been almost the only crops grown on much of the land. For, with water ordinarily from 40 to 60 feet below the surface and a sandy subsoil, the construction of a well is a costly and difficult undertaking. In future, wheat and barley, for which the soil, when irrigated, is well adapted, will be the staple produce; indigo and opium, now almost unknown, will be gradually introduced; vegetables will be more largely cultivated and double cropping will become the ordinary rule. Thus, not only will the yield per acre be increased by the facilities for irrigation, but the produce will be of an entirely different and much more valuable character.

A scheme for extending the irrigation of the Ganges Canal through the parganas on the opposite, that is to say, the left, side of the Jamunā has long been held in view. The branch which takes off at Dehra from the main canal has by anticipation been termed the Māt branch, though its irrigation stops short in the Tappal pargana of the Aligarh district, one distributary only irrigating a few villages north of Noh-jhīl. The water supply in the Ganges Canal is limited, and would not have sufficed for any further extension; but now that the Kānpur branch is supplied from the new Lower Ganges Canal, a certain volume of water has become available, a portion of which has been

allotted for the Mát branch extension. If the project be sanctioned in its entirety, the existing sub-branch will be widened to carry the additional supply and extended through the Tappal pargana, entering Noh-jhál in the village of Bhure-ká. The course of the main supply line will pass along the watershed of the Karwan and Jamuná Doáb, to the east of Bhure-ká, and then by the villages of Dandísara, Harmaul, Nasíthi, and Arua till it crosses the Mát and Ráya road and the Light Railway. Thence it will extend to Kárab, Sonkh, and Pacháwar, where, at its 40th mile, it will end in three distributaries, which will carry the water as far as the Agra and Aligarh road. The scheme thus provides for the irrigation of the parganas of Noh-jhál, Mát, Mahá-ban, and that portion of Sa'dábád which lies to the west of the Karwan nadi. About five miles of the main line were excavated as a famine relief work in 1878; but operations are now stopped, and in consequence of financial difficulties it is doubtful whether they will be resumed. There is also a considerable amount of well-irrigation in Mahá-ban and Sa'dábád, which renders the extension into these parganas a less pressing necessity.

The district is one which has often suffered severely from drought. In 1813-14 the neighbourhood of Sahár was one of the localities where the distress was most intense. Many died from hunger, and others were glad to sell their wives and children for a few rupees, or even for a single meal. In 1825-26, the whole of the territories known at that time as the Western Provinces were afflicted with a terrible drought. The rabi crops of the then Sa'dábád district were estimated by Mr. Boddam, the Collector, as below the average by more than 200,000 *mans*; Mahá-ban and Julesar being the two parganas which suffered most. But the famine of 1837-38 was a far greater calamity and still forms an epoch in native chronology under the name of 'the *chauránave*,' or 'the 94'; 1894 being its date according to the Hindu era. Though Mathurá was not one of the districts most grievously afflicted, distress was still extreme, as appears from the report submitted by the Commissioner, Mr. Hamilton, after personal investigation. About Ráya, Mát, and Mahá-ban, he found the crops scanty, and the soil dry and cultivated only in the immediate vicinity of masonry wells. About Mathurá, the people were almost in despair from the wells fast turning so brackish and salt as to destroy, rather than refresh, vegetation. "All of the Aríng and Gobardhan parganas (he writes) which came under my observation was an extensive arid waste, and for miles I rode over ground which had been both ploughed and sown, but in which the seed had not germinated and where there seemed no prospect of a harvest. The cattle in Aríng were scarcely able to crawl, and they were collected in the village and suffered to pull at the thatch, the people declaring it useless to drive them forth to seek

for pasture. Emigration had already commenced, and people of all classes appeared to be suffering."

Of the famine of 1860-61 (commonly called the *dth-sera* from the prevalent bazar rate of 8 seers only for the rupee) the following narrative was recorded by Mr. Robertson, Officiating Collector:—"Among prosperous agriculturists," he says, "about half the land usually brought under cultivation is irrigated, and irrigated lands alone produce crops this year. But though only half the crop procured in ordinary years was obtained by this class of cultivators, the high price of corn enabled them, while realizing considerable profits, to meet the Government demand without much difficulty. The poorer class of cultivators were, however, ruined, and with the poorest in the cities taking advantage of the position of Mathurá as one of the border famine tracts, they abandoned the district in large numbers, chiefly towards the close of 1860. Rather more than one-fourth of the agricultural emigrants have returned, and the quiet, unrumorming industry with which they have recommenced life is not a less pleasing feature than the total absence of agrarian outrage during the famine. The greatest number of deaths from starvation occurred during the first three months of 1861, when the average per mensem was 497. During the succeeding three months, this average was reduced to 85, while the deaths in July and August were only five and six respectively. The total number of deaths during the eight months have been 1,758. Viewing the universality of the famine, these results sufficiently evidence the active co-operation in measures of relief rendered by the native officials assisted by the Police, and the people everywhere most pointedly express their obligation to the Government and English liberality. No return of the number of deaths caused by starvation seems to have been kept from October, 1860, to January, 1861, but judging by the subsequent returns, 250 per mensem might be considered as the highest average. Thus the mortality caused by the famine in this district in the year 1860-61 may approximately be estimated at 2,500."* If such a large number of persons really died simply from starvation—and there seems no reason to doubt the fact—the arrangements for dispensing relief can scarcely have merited all the praise bestowed upon them. There was certainly no lack of funds towards the end, but possibly they came when it was almost too late. In the month of April, some 8,000 men were employed daily on the Delhi road; the local donations amounted to Rs. 16,227, and this sum

* Mr. Robertson's narrative has been copied from the original paper in the District Office; the other particulars have been extracted from Mr. Girdlestone's report on past famines, published by Government in 1862.

was increased by a contribution of Rs. 8,000 from the Agra Central Committee, and Rs. 5,300 from Government, making a total of Rs. 29,528. An allotment of Rs. 5,000 was also made from the Central Committee for distribution among the indigent agriculturists, that they might have wherewithal to purchase seed and cattle.

At the present time the district is only beginning to recover from a series of disastrous seasons, resulting in a famine of exceptional severity and duration, which will leave melancholy traces behind it for many years yet to come. Both in 1875 and 1876, the rain-fall was much below the average and the crops on all unirrigated land proportionately small. In 1877, the entire period of the ordinary monsoon passed with scarcely a single shower and it was not till the beginning of October, when almost all hope was over, that a heavy fall of rain was vouchsafed, which allowed the ground to be ploughed and seed to be sown for the ensuing year. The autumn crops, upon which the poorer classes mainly subsist, failed absolutely, and for the most part had never even been sown. As early as July, 1877, the prices of every kind of grain were at famine rates, which continued steadily on the increase, while the commoner sorts were before long entirely exhausted. The distress in the villages was naturally greatest among the agricultural labourers, who were thrown out of all employ by the cessation of work in the fields, while even in the towns the petty handicraftsmen were unable to purchase sufficient food for their daily subsistence on account of the high prices that prevailed in the bazar. In addition to its normal population the city was further thronged by crowds of refugees from outside, from the adjoining native states, more especially Bharat-pur, who were attracted by the fame of the many charitable institutions that exist both in the city itself and at Brindá-ban. No relief works on the part of the Government were started till October, when they were commenced in different places all over the district under the supervision of the resident Engineer. They consisted chiefly of the ordinary repairs and improvements to the roads, which are annually carried out after the cessation of the rains. The expense incurred under this head was Rs. 17,762, the average daily attendance being 5,519. On the 25th of November in the same year, 1877, it was found necessary to open a poor-house in the city for the relief of those who were too feeble to work. Here the daily average attendance was 890; but, on the 30th July, 1878, the number of inmates amounted to 2,139, and this was unquestionably the time when the distress was at its highest. The maximum attendance at the relief works, however, was not reached till a little later, viz., the 19th of August, when it was 20,483, but it would seem to have been artificially increased by the unnecessarily high rates which the Government was then paying.

The *robi* crops, sown after the fall of rain in October, 1877, had been further benefitted by unusually heavy winter rains, and it was hoped that there would be a magnificent outturn. In the end, however, it proved to be even below the average, great damage having been done by the high winds which blew in February. Thus, though the spring harvest of 1878 gave some relief, it was but slight, and necessarily it could not affect at all the prices of the common autumn grains. The long continued privation had also had its effect upon the people, both physically and mentally, and they were less able to struggle against their misfortunes. The rains for 1878 were moreover, very slight and partial and so long delayed that they had scarcely set in by the end of July, and thus it was, as already stated, that this month was the time when the famine was at its climax. In August and September matters steadily improved, and henceforth continued to do so; but the poor-house was not closed till the end of June, 1879. The total number of inmates had then been 395,824, who had been relieved at a total cost of Rs. 43,070, of which sum Rs. 2,990 had been raised by private subscription; and Rs. 3,500 was a grant from the Municipality.

Beside the repairs of the roads the other relief works undertaken and their cost were the excavation of the Jait tank, Rs. 6,787; the deepening of the Balbhadra tank, Rs. 5,770; and the levelling of the Jamálpur mounds adjoining the Magistrate's Court-house, which will be frequently mentioned hereafter as the site of a large Buddhist monastery, Rs. 7,238. On the 11th of May, 1878, the earth-work of the Mathurá and Achnera Railway was taken in hand and continued till the beginning of September, during which time it gave employment to 713,315 persons, at an expenditure of Rs. 56,639. An extension of the Mát branch of the Ganges Canal was also commenced, on the 30th July, and employed 579,351 persons, at a cost of Rs. 43,142, till its close on the 16th of October. There should also be added Rs. 6,379, which were spent by the Municipality through the District Engineer, in levelling some broken ground opposite the City Police Station. The total cost on all these relief works thus amounted to Rs. 1,80,630. No remission of revenue was granted by the Government, but advances for the purchase of bullocks and seed were distributed to the extent of Rs. 35,000.*

* I saw nothing of the famine myself, as I left the district in April, 1877, before it had begun. Selfishly, I am glad to have escaped the sight of so much misery; but if I had been at the head of affairs, a position which all previous circumstances seemed to have marked out for me, I cannot but think that my local experience would have proved of use to the Government and the people, and that there would have been a greater independence of mere official routine and more promptness in action than could be expected from an utter stranger.

The following tabular statement shows the frightful mortality that prevailed during the worst months of this calamitous period: the total population of the district being 778,839 :—

	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.
1877-78	978	1,126	932	1,337	1,579	1,973	1,869	1,725	2,018	2,511	2,189	3,672
1879-79	2,562	2,970	6,579	10,414	8,643	4,710	2,491	1,474	1,143	1,511	1,891	1,861

The metalling of the Delhi road, which has been incidentally mentioned as the principal relief work in 1860, was not only a boon at the time, but still continues a source of the greatest advantage to the district. The old imperial thoroughfare, which connected the two capitals of Agra and Lahor, kept closely to the same line, as is shown by the ponderous kos minars, which are found still standing at intervals of about three miles, and nowhere at any great distance from the wayside. Here was the “delectable alley of trees, the most incomparable ever beheld,” which the Emperor Jahángir enjoys the credit of having planted. That it was really a fine avenue is attested by the language of the sober Dutch topographer, John de Laet, who, in his *India Vera*, written in 1631, that is, early in the reign of Sháhjahán, speaks of it in the following terms :—“The whole of the country between Agra and Lahor is well-watered and by far the most fertile part of India. It abounds in all kinds of produce, especially sugar. The highway is bordered on either side by trees which bear a fruit not unlike the mulberry,* and,” as he adds in another place, “form a beautiful avenue.” “At intervals of five or six coss,” he continues, “there are saráes built either by the king or by some of the nobles. In these, travellers can find bed and lodging; when a person has once taken possession he cannot be turned out by any one.” The glory of the road, however, seems to have been of short duration, for Bernier, writing only 30 years later, that is, in 1663, says,—“Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of 50 or 60 leagues, the

* In the original Latin text the word is *morus*, which Mr Lethbridge, in his scholarly English edition, translates by ‘fig,’ but I think that ‘mulberry’ is a more accurate rendering, and that is the tree intended. It is to this day largely used for roadside planting at Lahor and still more so in the Pesháwar valley and in Kábul and on the Oxus. DeLaet says it was only like the mulberry, and not that it positively was the mulberry, on account of the difference of the two varieties of the fruit, the Indian and the European, which is very considerable. In the Kashmir valley both are to be seen.

whole road is cheerless and uninteresting;" and even so late as 1825, Bishop Heber, on his way down to Calcutta, was apparently much struck with what he calls "the wildness of the country," but mentions no avenue, as he certainly would have done had one then existed. Thus it is clear that the more recent administrators of the district, since its incorporation into British territory, are the only persons entitled to the traveller's blessing for the magnificent and almost unbroken canopy of over-arching boughs, which now extends for more than 30 miles from the city of Mathurá to the border of the Gurgúnw district, and forms a sufficient protection from even the mid-day glare of an Indian summer's sun.

Though the country is now generally brought under cultivation, and can scarcely be described as even well wooded, there are still, here and there, many patches of waste land covered with low trees and jungle, which might be considered to justify the Bishop's epithet of wild-looking. The herds of deer are so numerous that the traveller will seldom go many miles in any direction along a bye-road without seeing a black-buck, followed by his harem, bound across the path. The number has probably increased rather than diminished in late years, as the roving and vagabond portion of the population, who used to keep them in check, were all disarmed after the mutiny. Complaints are now frequent of the damage done to the crops; and in some parts of the district yet more serious injury is occasioned by the increase in the number of wolves.

The old Customs hedge, now happily abolished, used to run along the whole length of this road from Jait, seven miles out of Mathurá, to the Gurgúnw border. Though in every other respect a source of much annoyance to the people living in its neighbourhood; the watchmen, who patrolled it night and day, were a great protection to travellers, and a highway robbery was never known to take place; while on the corresponding road between Mathurá and Agra they were at one time of frequent occurrence.*

The quantity of sugar-cane now grown in this part of the district is very inconsiderable. The case may have been different in De Laet's time; but on other grounds there seems reason for believing that his descriptions are not drawn from actual observation, and are therefore not thoroughly trustworthy.

* This Inland Customs Line, which had no parallel in the world except the great wall of China, was about 1,200 miles in length, from the Tápti to the Indus, and was manned by an establishment of between 8,000 and 9,000 officers and men. It consisted of a barrier, chiefly in the form of a thick, thorny hedge, along which were placed at short intervals more than 1,300 guard posts. The cost was about £100,000 per annum, and the revenue realized about a million sterling; the yearly import of salt from Rájputána being about 80,000 tons, of which, on an average, one half came from the Bharat-pur State.

For example, he gives the marches from Agra to Delhi as follows :—"From Agra, the residence of the king, to Rownoctan, twelve coss ; to Bady, a saráe, ten ; to Achbarpore, twelve ; this was formerly a considerable town, now it is only visited by pilgrims who come on account of many holy Muhammadans buried here. To Hondle, 13 coss ; to Pulwool, twelve ; to Fareedabad, twelve ; to Delhi, ten." Now, this passage requires much manipulation before it can be reconciled with established facts. Rownoctan, it may be presumed, would, if correctly spelt, appear in the form Raunak-thán, meaning "a royal halting-place," and was probably merely the fashionable appellation, for the time, of the Hindu village of Rankatá, which is still the first stage out of Agra. Bádý, or Bád, is a small village on the narrow strip of Bharat-pur territory which so inconveniently intersects the Agra and Mathurá road. There has never been any saráe there ; the one intended is the Jamál-pur saráe, some three kos further on, at the entrance to the civil station. The fact that Mathurá has dropt out of the Itinerary altogether, in favour of such an insignificant little hamlet as Bád, is a striking illustration of the low estate, to which the great Hindu city had been reduced at the time in question.* Again, the place with the Muhammadan tombs is not Akbar-pur, but the next village, Dotáná ; and the large saráes at Kosi and Chhátá are both omitted.

These saráes are fine fort-like buildings, with massive battlemented walls and bastions and high arched gateways. They are five in number ; one at the entrance to the civil station ; the second at 'Azamabád, two miles beyond the city on the Delhi road ; another at Chaumuhá ; the fourth at Chhátá, and the fifth at Kosi. The first, which is smaller than the others, and has been much modernized,† has, for many years past, been occupied by the police reserve and is ordinarily called 'the Damdama.' The three latter are generally ascribed by local tradition to Sher Sháh, whose reign extended from 1540 to 1545, though it is also said that Itibár Khán was the name of the founder of the two at Mathurá and Kosi, and A'saf Khán of the one at Chhátá. It is probable that both traditions are based on facts : for at Chhátá it is obvious at a glance that both the gateways are double buildings, half dating from one period, and half from another. The inner front, which is plain and heavy, may be referred to Sher Sháh, while the lighter and more elaborate stone front, looking towards

* Similarly, it will be seen that Tavernier, writing about 1650, recognises Mathurá as the name of a temple only, not of a town at all.

† A range of vaulted chambers flanking the central gateway were very injudiciously, as I think, pulled down by the Public Works Department in 1878, to make way for some modern buildings intended to answer the same purpose, but necessarily of much less substantial construction. The old cells had been rendered unsightly by the mud walls with which the arches had been closed ; but these excrescences could all have been cleared away at very slight expense.

the town, is a subsequent addition. As A'saf Khán is simply a title of honour (the 'Asaph the Recorder' of the Old Testament) which was borne by several persons in succession, a little doubt arises at first as to the precise individual intended. The presumption, however, is strongly in favour of Abd-ul majíd, who was first Humáyún's Diwán, and on Akbar's accession was appointed Governor of Delhi. The same post was held later on by Khwájá Itibár Khán, the reputed founder of the Kosi saráe. The general style of architecture is in exact conformity with that of similar buildings known to have been erected in Akbar's reign, such, for example, as the fort at Agra. The Chaumuhá saráe* is, moreover, always described in the old topographies as at Akbar-pur. This latter name is now restricted in application to a village some three miles distant; but in the 16th century local divisions were few in number and wide in extent, and beyond a doubt the foundation of the imperial saráe was the origin of the village name which has now deserted the spot that suggested it. The separate existence of Chaumuhá is known to date from a very recent period, when the name was bestowed in consequence of the discovery of an ancient Jain sculpture, supposed by the ignorant rustics to represent the four-headed (*chaumuka*) god, Brahma.

Though these saráes were primarily built mainly from selfish motives on the line of road traversed by the imperial camp, they were at the same time enormous boons to the general public; for the highway was then beset with gangs of robbers, with whose vocation the law either dared not, or cared not, to interfere. On one occasion, in the reign of Jahángír, we read of a caravan having to stay six weeks at Mathurá before it was thought strong enough to proceed to Delhi; no smaller number than 500 or 600 men being deemed adequate to encounter the dangers of the road. Now, the solitary traveller is so confident of protection, that rather than drive his cart up the steep ascent that conducts to the portals of the fortified enclosure, he prefers to spend the night unguarded on the open plain. Hence it comes that not one of the saráes is now applied to the precise purpose for which it was constructed. At Chhátá, one corner is occupied by the school, and another by the offices of the tahsildar and local police; at Chaumuhá the solid walls have in past years been undermined and carted away piecemeal for building materials; and at Kosi, the principal bazar lies between the two gateways, and forms the nucleus of the town.

Still more complete destruction has overtaken the 'Azamahád saráe, which seems to have been the largest of the series, as it certainly was the plainest and the most modern. Its erection is ordinarily ascribed by the people on the spot to Prince 'Azam, the son of Aurangzeb, being the only historical personage of

* Chaumuhá is distorted by Tleffenthaler into Tschamao. He speaks of its saráe as "hotellerie belle et commode."

the name with whom they are acquainted. But, as with the other buildings of the same character, its real founder was a local governor, 'Azam Khán Mír Muhammad Bákir, also called Irádat Khán, who was faujdár of Mathurá from 1642 to 1645. In the latter year he was superseded in office, as his age had rendered him unequal to the task of suppressing the constant outbreaks against the Government, and in 1648 he died.* As the new road does not pass immediately under the walls of the saráe, it had ceased to be of any use to travellers; and, a few years ago, it was, to a great extent, demolished and the materials used in paving the streets of the adjoining city. Though there was little or no architectural embellishment, the foundations were most securely laid, reaching down below the ground as many feet as the superstructure which they supported stood above it. Of this, ocular demonstration was recently afforded; for one of the villagers, in digging, came upon what he hoped would prove the entrance to a subterranean treasure chamber; but deeper excavations showed it to be only one of the line of arches forming the foundation of the saráe wall. The original mosque is still standing, but is little used for religious purposes, as the village numbers only nine Muhammadans in a population of 343. They all live within the old ruinous enclosure.

* For ~~this~~ and several other facts gathered from the Persian chronicles, I was indebted to the late Mr. Blochmann, the Secretary of the Calcutta Asiatic Society; a gentleman whose knowledge of Muhammadan history and literature was as unlimited as was the courtesy with which he communicated it.

CHAPTER II.

MATHURÁ SACKED BY MAHMÚD OF GHAZNI, 1017 A.D. ITS TREATMENT BY THE DELHI EMPERORS. RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE JÁT POWER. MASSACRE AT MATHURÁ, 1757. BATTLE OF BARSÁNA, 1775. EXECUTION OF GHULAM KADIR, 1788. BRITISH OCCUPATION, 1803. BATTLE OF DYG, 1804. MUTINY, 1857.

APART from inscriptions and other fragmentary archæological vestiges of its ancient glory, the first authentic contemporary record of Mathurá that we find in existing literature is dated the year 1017 A.D., when it was sacked by Mahmúd of Ghazni in his ninth invasion of India. The original source of information respecting Mahmúd's campaigns is the *Tárikh Yamíni* of Al Utbi, who was himself secretary to the Sultán, though he did not accompany him in his expeditions. He mentions by name neither Mathurá nor Mahá-ban, but only describes certain localities, which have been so identified by Firishita and later historians. The place supposed to be Mahá-ban, he calls 'the Fort of Kulchand,' a Rájá, who (he writes) "was, not without good reason, confident in his strength; for no one had fought against him without being defeated. He had vast territories, enormous wealth, a numerous and brave army, huge elephants, and strong forts that no enemy had been able to reduce. When he saw that the Sultán advanced against him, he drew up his army and elephants in a 'deep forest'* ready for action. But finding every attempt to repulse the invaders fail, the beleaguered infidels at last quitted the fort, and tried to cross the broad river which flowed in its rear. When some 50,000 men had been killed or drowned, Kulchand took a dagger, with which he first slew his wife and then drove it into his own body. The Sultán obtained by this victory 185 fine elephants besides other booty." In the neighbouring holy city, identified as Matnuré, "he saw a building of exquisite structure, which the inhabitants declared to be the handiwork not of men but of Génii.† The town wall was constructed of solid stone, and had opening on to the river two gates, raised on high and massive basements to protect them from the floods. On the two sides of the city were thousands of houses with idol temples attached, all of masonry and strengthened throughout with bars of iron; and opposite them were other buildings supported on stout wooden pillars. In the middle of the city was a temple, larger and finer than the rest, to which neither paint-

* These words may be intended as a literal translation of the name 'Mahá-ban.'

† Possibly 'Jina,' the name both of the Buddhist and Jaini deity, was the word actually used, which was mistaken for the Arabic 'Jinn.'

ing nor description could do justice. The Sultán thus wrote respecting it:— 'If any one wished to construct a building equal to it, he would not be able to do so without expending a hundred million dinars, and the work would occupy two hundred years, even though the most able and experienced workmen were employed.' Orders were given that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground." The city was given up to plunder for twenty days. Among the spoil are said to have been five great idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies and adornments of other precious stones together with a vast number of smaller silver images, which, when broken up, formed a load for more than a hundred camels. The total value of the spoil has been estimated at three millions of rupees; while the number of Hindus carried away into captivity exceeded 5,000.

Nizám-ud-din, Firishta and the other late Muhammadan historians take for granted that Mathurá was at that time an exclusively Bráhmanical city. It is possible that such was really the case; but the original authorities leave the point open, and speak only in general terms of idolaters, a name equally applicable to Buddhists. Many of the temples, after being gutted of all their valuable contents, were left standing; probably because they were too massive to admit of easy destruction. Some writers allege that the conqueror spared them on account of their exceeding beauty, founding this opinion on the eulogistic expressions employed by Mahmúd in his letter to the Governor of Ghazni, quoted above. It is also stated that, on his return home, he introduced the Indian style of architecture at his own capital, where he erected a splendid mosque, upon which he bestowed the name of 'the Celestial Bride.' But, however much he may have admired the magnificence of Mathurá, it is clear that he was influenced by other motives than admiration in sparing the fabric of the temples; for the gold and silver images, which he did not hesitate to demolish, must have been of still more excellent workmanship.

During the period of Muhammadan supremacy, the history of Mathurá is almost a total blank. The natural dislike of the ruling power to be brought into close personal connection with such a centre of superstition divested the town of all political importance; while the Hindu pilgrims, who still continued to frequent its impoverished shrines, were not invited to present, as the priests were not anxious to receive, any lavish donation which would only excite the jealousy of the rival faith. Thus, while there are abundant remains of the earlier Buddhist period, there is not a single building, nor fragment of a building, which can be assigned to any year in the long interval between the invasion of Mahmúd in 1017 A.D. and the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the sixteenth century: and it is only from the day when the Mughals and

Mahrattas began to be the virtual sovereigns of the country that any continuous series of monumental records exists.

Nor can this be wondered at, since whenever the unfortunate city did attract the emperor's notice, it became at once a mark for pillage and desecration : and the more religious the sovereign, the more thorough the persecution. Take for example the following passage from the *Tárikh-i-Dáúdi* of Abdullah (a writer in the reign of Jahángír), who is speaking of Sultán Sikandar Lodí (1488—1516 A.D.), one of the most able and accomplished of all the occupants of the Delhi throne : “ He was so zealous a Musalmán that he utterly destroyed many places of worship of the infidels, and left not a single vestige remaining of them. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathurá, that mine of heathenism, and turned their principal temples into *sardes* and colleges. Their stone images were given to the butchers to serve them as meat-weights, and all the Hindus in Mathurá were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards and performing their ablutions. He thus put an end to all the idolatrous rites of the infidels there ; and no Hindu, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it.” In confirmation of the truth of this narrative, it may be observed that when the Muhammadan Governor Abd-un-Nabi, in 1661, built his great mosque as a first step towards the construction of the new city, of which he is virtually the founder, the ground which he selected for the purpose, and which was unquestionably an old temple site, had to be purchased from the butchers.

During the glorious reign of Akbar, the one bright era in the dreary annals of Imperial misrule, there was full toleration at Mathurá as in all other parts of his dominions. Of this an illustration is afforded by the following incident, which is narrated by Badauni : Among the persons held in high favour at the Court was a Shaikh, by name Abd-un-Nabi, who occupied the distinguished position of *Sádr-us Sadúr*. A complaint was made to him by Kázi Abd-ur-Rahím of Mathurá that a wealthy Bráhman had appropriated some materials that had been collected for the building of a mosque, and not only used them in the construction of a temple, but, when remonstrated with, had, in the presence of a crowd of people, ffully abused the Prophet and all his followers. The Bráhman, when summoned to answer the charge, refused to come ; whereupon Ab-ul-Fazl was sent to fetch him, and on his return reported that all the people of Mathurá agreed in declaring that the Bráhman had used abusive language. The doctors of the law accordingly gave it as their opinion, some that he should be put to death, others that he should be publicly disgraced and fined. The Shaikh was in favour of the capital punishment, and applied to the Emperor to have the sentence confirmed ; but the

latter would give no definite reply and remarked that the Shaikh was responsible for the execution of the law, and need not apply to him.* The Bráhmaṇ, meanwhile, was kept in prison, the Hindu ladies of the royal household using every endeavour to get him released, while the Emperor, out of regard for the Shaikh, hesitated about yielding to them. At last Abd-un-Nabi, after failing to elicit any definite instructions, returned home and issued orders for the Bráhmaṇ's execution. When the news reached the Emperor, he was very angry, and though he allowed Abd-un-Nabi to retain his post till his death, which occurred in 1583, he never took him into favour again.

Jahāngir, on his accession to the throne, continued to some extent his father's policy of religious tolerance; but in the following reign of Sháhjahán, we find Muṣṣhid Ali Khán, in the year 1636, made a commander of 2,000 horse, and appointed by the Emperor Governor of Mathurá and Mahá-bau, with express instructions to be zealous in stamping out all rebellion and idolatry. The climax of wanton destruction was, however, attained by Aurangzeb, the Oliver Cromwell of India, who, not content with demolishing the most sacred of its shrines, thought also to destroy even the ancient name of the city by substituting for it Islámpur or Islámabád.

Mathurá was casually connected with two important events in this Emperor's life. Here was born, in 1639, his eldest son, Muhammad Sultán, who expiated the sin of primogeniture in the Oriental fashion by ending his days in a dungeon; as one of the first acts of his father, on his accession to the throne, was to confine him in the fortress of Gwáliar, where he died in 1665. In the last year of the reign of Sháhjahán, Aurangzeb was again at Mathurá, and here established his pretensions to the crown by compassing the death of his brother, Murád. This was in 1658, a few days after the momentous battle of Samogarh,* in which the combined forces of the two princes had routed the army of the rightful heir, Dárá. The conquerors encamped together, being apparently on the most cordial and affectionate terms; and Aurangzeb, protesting that for himself he desired only some sequestered spot, where, unharassed by the toils of Government, he might pass his time in prayer and religious meditation, persistently addressed Murád by the royal title as the recognised successor of Sháhjahán. The evening was spent at the banquet; and when the wine cup had begun to circulate freely, the pious Aurangzeb, feigning religious scruples, begged permission to retire. It would have been well for Murád, had he also regarded the prohibition of the *Kurán*. The

* Samogarh is a village, one march from Agra, since named, in honour of the event, Fatihábád, 'the place of victory.'

stupor of intoxication soon overpowered him, and he was only restored to consciousness by a contemptuous kick from the foot of the brother who had just declared himself his faithful vassal. That same night the unfortunate Murád, heavily fettered, was sent a prisoner to Delhi, and thrown into the fortress of Salím-garh.* He, too, was subsequently removed to Gwáliar, and there murdered.

In spite of the agreeable reminiscences which a man of Aurangzeb's temperament must have cherished in connection with a place where an act of such unnatural perfidy had been successfully accomplished, his fanaticism was not a whit mitigated in favour of the city of Mathurá. In 1668, a local rebellion afforded him a fit pretext for a crusade against Hinduism. The insurgents had mustered at Sahora,† a village in the Mahā-bān pargana, where (as we learn from the Maāsiri-i-Alamgiri) the Governor Abd-un-Nabi advanced to meet them. "He was at first victorious and succeeded in killing the ring-leaders; but in the middle of the fight he was struck by a bullet, and died the death of a martyr." It was he who, in the year 1661, had founded the Jama Masjid, which still remains and is the most conspicuous building in the city which has grown up around it. He was followed in office by Saff-Shikan Khán; but as he was not able to suppress the revolt, which began to assume formidable dimensions, he was removed at the end of the year 1669, and Hasan Alí Khán appointed Faujdár in his place. The ringleader of the disturbances, a Ját, by name Kokila, who had plundered the Sa'dábád pargana, and was regarded as the instrument of Abd-un-Nabi's death, fell into the hands of the new Governor's Deputy, Shaikh Rázi-ud-dín, and was sent to Agra and there executed.‡ A few months earlier, in February of the same year, during the fast of Ramazán, the time when religious bigotry would be most inflamed,

* Bernier, on whose narrative the above paragraph is founded, calls Salím-garh by the very English-looking name 'Slinger'; a fine illustration of the absurdity of the phonetic system. By phonetic spelling I mean the attempt to represent by written characters the sound of a word as pronounced by the voice, without any reference to its etymology. This would seem to be a perfectly legitimate use of the word; but as some of my critics have objected to it, I add this explanation.

† As is always the case when an attempt is made to identify the local names mentioned by any historian who writes in the Persian character, it is extremely uncertain whether Sahora is really the village intended. The word as given in the manuscript begins with *s* and ends with *a*, and has an *r* in the middle; but beyond that much it is impossible to predicate anything with certainty about it.

‡ His son and daughter were both brought up as Muhammadans, and eventually the girl married Shah Kuli, and the boy, who had received the name of Fázil, became famous for his skill in reciting the Kurán.

Aurangzeb had descended in person on Mathurá. The temple, specially marked out for destruction, was one built so recently as the reign of Jahángír at a cost of 33 lakhs, by Bír Sinh Deva, Bundela, of Urcha. Beyond all doubt this was the last of the famous shrines of Kesava Deva, of which further mention will be made hereafter. To judge from the language of the author of the *Maásir*, its demolition was regarded as a death-blow to Hinduism. He writes in the following triumphant strain :—" In a short time, with the help of numerous workmen, this seat of error was utterly broken down. Glory be to God that so difficult an undertaking has been successfully accomplished in the present auspicious reign, wherein so many dens of heathenism and idolatry have been destroyed. Seeing the power of Islam and the efficacy of true religion, the proud Rájás felt their breath burning in their throats, and became as dumb as a picture on a wall. The idols, large and small alike, all adorned with costly jewels, were carried away from the heathen shrine and taken to Agra, where they were buried under the steps of Nawáb Kudsia Begam's mosque, so that people might trample upon them for ever." It was from this event that Mathúra was called Islámabád.

In 1707 Aurangzeb died; and shortly after began the rule of the Játs of Bharat-pur.

The founder of this royal house was a robber chief, by name Chúrámáni, who built two petty forts in the villages of Thún and Sinsini,* a little south of Dig, from which he organized marauding expeditions, and even ventured to harass the rear of the imperial army on the occasion of Aurangzeb's expedition to the Dakhin. This statement is contradicted by Thornton in his *Gazetteer*, under the word Bharat-pur; but his reasons for doing so are not very conclusive. He writes, " Chúrámáni did not become the leader of the Játs until after the death of Aurangzeb. Besides, the scene of the operations of the Játs was widely remote from that of the disasters of Aurangzeb, which occurred near Ahmad-nagar. According to the *Sair-i-Mutá akhkhírín*, during the struggle between Aurangzeb's sons, 'Azam and Muazzim, Chúrámáni beset the camp of the latter for the purpose of plunder." This correction, if it really is one, is so slight as to be absolutely immaterial; the army, which was led into the Dakhin by Aurangzeb, was brought back by 'Azam after the Emperor's decease, and both father and son died within four months of each other.

A little later, Jay Sinh of Amber was commissioned by the two Saiyids, then in power at Delhi, to reduce the Ját freebooters. He invested their two

* From this place the Bharat-pur Rájá's family derives its name of Sinsinwar.

strongholds, but could not succeed in making any impression upon them, and accordingly retired : only, however, to return almost immediately ; this time bringing with him a larger army, and also a local informant in the person of Badan Sinh, a younger brother of Churá-mani's, who, in consequence of some family feud, had been placed in confinement, from which he had contrived to escape and make his way to Jaypur. Thún was then (1712 A.D.) again invested, and, after a siege of six months, taken, and its fortifications demolished. Churá-mani and his son Muhkam fled the country, and Badan Sinh was formally proclaimed at Dig as leader of the Játs, with the title of Thákur.

He is chiefly commemorated in the Mathurá district by the handsome mansion he built for himself at Sahár. This appears to have been his favourite residence in the latter years of his life. Adjoining it is a very large tank, of which one side is faced with stone, and the rest left unfinished, the works having probably been interrupted by his death. The house was occupied as a tahsili under the English Government till the mutiny, when all the records were transferred for greater safety to Chhátá, which has ever since continued the head of the pargana, and the house at Sahár is now unoccupied and falling into ruin. He married into a family seated at Kámar, near Kosi, where also is a large masonry tank, and in connection with it a walled garden containing three Chhatris in memory of Chaudhari Mahá Rám, Ját, and his wife and child. The Chaudhari was the Thákuráni's brother, and it appears that her kinsmen were people of some wealth and importance, as the Castle Hill at Kámar is still crowned with several considerable edifices of brick and stone where they once resided.

For some years before his death, Thákur Badan Sinh had retired altogether from public life. To one of his younger sons, by name Pratáp Sinh,* he had especially assigned the newly erected fort at Wayar, south-west of Bharat-pur, with the adjoining district ; while the remainder of the Ját principality was administered by the eldest son, Súra-j Mall. On his father's death, Súra-j Mall assumed the title of Rájá, and fixed his capital at Bharat-pur, from which place he had ejected the previous Governor, a kinsman, by name Khema. The matrimonial alliances which he contracted indicate his inferiority to the Rájput princes of the adjoining territories, for one of his wives was a Kurmin, another a Málin, and the remainder of his own caste, Játis. Yet, even at the commencement of his rule, he had achieved a conspicuous position, since, in 1748, we find him accepting the invitation of the Emperor Ahmad Sháh to join with Holkar, under the general command of the Vazir

* Two other sons were named Sobhá Rám and Bír Náráyan.

Safdar Jang, in suppressing the revolt of the Rohillas. In the subsequent dispute that arose between Safdar Jang and Gházi-ud-dín, the grandson of the old Nizám, the former fell into open rebellion and called in the assistance of the Játs, while his rival had recourse to the Mahrattas. Safdar, seeing the coalition against him too strong, withdrew to his vice-royalty of Audh, leaving Súraj Mall to bear alone the brunt of the battle. Bharat-pur was besieged, but had not been invested many days when Gházi-ud-dín, suspecting a secret understanding between his nominal allies, the Mahrattas, and the Emperor, discontinued his operations against the Játs and returned hastily to Delhi, where he deposed Ahmad Sháh, and raised Alamgír II. to the throne in his stead. This was in 1754.

Three years later, when the army of Ahmad Sháh Duráni from Kandahár appeared before Delhi, Gházi-ud-dín, by whose indiscretion the invasion had been provoked, was admitted to pardon in consideration of the heavy tribute which he undertook to collect from the Doáb. Sardár Jahán Khán was despatched on a like errand into the Ját territory; but finding little to be gained there, as the entire populace had withdrawn into their numerous petty fortresses and his foraging parties were cut off by their sudden sallies, he fell back upon the city of Mathurá, which he not only plundered of all its wealth, but further visited with a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants.

In the second invasion of the Duráni, consequent upon the assassination of the Emperor Alamgír II., in 1759, the infamous Gházi-ud-dín again appeared at the gates of Bharat-pur; this time not with a hostile army, but as a suppliant for protection. By his unnatural persuasions a powerful Hindu confederacy was formed to oppose the progress of the Muhammadan, but was scattered for ever in the great battle of Pánipat, in January, 1761, when the dreams of Mahratta supremacy were finally dissolved. Súraj Mall, foreseeing the inevitable result, withdrew his forces before the battle, and falling unexpectedly upon Agra ejected from it the garrison of his late allies and adopted it as his own favourite residence. Meanwhile, Sháh Alam was recognized by the Duráni as the rightful heir to the throne, but continued to hold his poor semblance of a Court at Allahabad; and, at Delhi, his son Mírza Jawán Bakht was placed in nominal charge of the Government under the active protectorate of the Rohilla, Najib-ud-daula. With this administrator of imperial power, Súraj Mall, emboldened by past success, now essayed to try his strength. He put forth a claim to the Faujdárship of Farrukh-nagar; and when the envoy, sent from Delhi to confer with him on the subject, demurred to the transfer, he dismissed him most unceremoniously and at once advanced with an army to Shahdara on the H^{is} Bharat-pur Rájd^{ah} six miles from the capital. Here, in bravado,

he was amusing himself in the chase, accompanied by only his personal retinue, when he was surprised by a flying squadron of the enemy and put to death. His army coming leisurely up behind, under the command of his son Jawáhir Sinh, was charged by the Mughals, bearing the head of SúraJ Mall on a horse-man's lance as their standard, the first indication to the son of his father's death. The shock was too much for the Játs, who were put to flight, but still continued for three months hovering about Delhi in concert with Holkar. This was in 1764.*

In spite of this temporary discomfiture, the Játs were now at the zenith of their power; and Jawáhir had not been a year on the throne when he resolved to provoke a quarrel with the Rájá of Jaypur. Accordingly, without any previous intimation, he marched his troops through Jaypur territory with the ostensible design of visiting the holy lake of Pushkara. There his vanity was gratified by the sovereign of Marwár, Rájá Bijay Sinh, who met him on terms of brotherly equality; but he received warning from Jaypur that if he passed through Amber territory on his return, it would be considered a hostile aggression. As this was no more than he expected, he paid no regard to the caution. A desperate conflict ensued on his homeward route (1765 A.D.), which resulted in the victory of the Kachhwáhas, but a victory accompanied with the death of almost every chieftain of note. Soon after, Jawáhir Sinh was murdered at Agra, at the instigation, as is supposed, of the Jaypur Rájá.

SúraJ Mall had left five sons, viz., Jawáhir Sinh, Ratn Sinh, Naval Sinh, and Ranjít Sinh, and also an adopted son, Hardeva Bakhsh, whom he is said to have picked up in the woods one day when hunting. On the death of Jawáhir, Ratn succeeded, but his rule was of very short duration. A pretended alchemist from Brindá-ban had obtained large sums of money from the credulous prince to prepare a process for the transmutation of the meaner metals into gold. When the day for the crucial experiment arrived and detection had become inevitable, he assassinated his victim and fled.†

His brother, Naval Sinh, succeeded, nominally as guardian for his infant nephew, Kosari, but virtually as Rájá. The Mahrattas had now (1768) recovered from the disastrous battle of Pánipat, and, re-asserting their old claim

* A magnificent cenotaph was erected by Jawáhir Sinh, in honour of his father, on the margin of the Kusum Sarovar, an artificial lake a short distance from Gobardhan, and will be described in connection with that town.

† It was probably this Ratn Sinh, for whom was commenced the large chhattri near the Madan Mohan temple at Brindá-ban, where it is still to be seen in its unfinished state, as left at the time of his sudden death.

to tribute, invaded first Jaypur and then Bharat-pur, and mulcted both territories in a very considerable sum. They then entered into an understanding with the Delhi Government, which resulted in the restoration of Sháh Alam to his ancestral capital. But as the only line of policy which they consistently maintained was the fomentation of perpetual quarrels, by which the strength of all parties in the State might be exhausted, they never remained long faithful to one side; and, in the year 1772, we find them fighting with the Játs against the Imperialists. Naval Sinh, or, according to some accounts, his brother and successor, Ranjít Sinh, laid claim to the fort of Ballabgarh, held by another Ját chieftain. The latter applied to Delhi for help and a force was despatched for his relief; but it was too weak to resist the combined armies of Sindhia and Bharat-pur, and was driven back in disorder. The Mahrattas then pushed on to Delhi; but finding the Commander-in-Chief, Niyáz Khán, ready to receive them, they, with incomparable versatility, at once made terms with him and even joined him in an expedition to Rohilkhand.

Meanwhile, the Játs, thus lightly deserted, espoused the cause of Najaf's unsuccessful rival, Zábíta Khán. But this was a most ill-judged move on their part: their troops were not only repulsed before Delhi, but their garrison was also ejected from Agra,* which they had held for the last 13 years since its occupation by Súraj Mall after the battle of Pánipat in 1761. From Agra the Vazír Najaf Khán hastily returned in the direction of the capital, and found Ranjít Sinh and the Játs encamped near Hodal. Dislodged from this position, they fell back upon Kot-ban and Kosi, which they occupied for nearly a fortnight, and then finally withdrew towards Díg; but at Barsána were overtaken by the Vazír and a pitched battle ensued. The Ját infantry, 5,000 strong, were commanded by Sumroo, or, to give him his proper name, Walter Reinhard, an adventurer who had first taken service under Ranjít's father, Súraj Mall.† The ranks of the Imperialists were broken by his impetu-

* The commander of the Ját garrison in Agra was Dán Sahay, brother-in-law (sála) of Naval Sinh.

† He was a native of the Electorate of Treves, and came out to India as a carpenter in the French navy. After serving under several native chiefs, but staying with none of them long, he joined one Gregory, an Armenian, who was high in the favour of Mir Kásim, the Nawáb of Bengal. It was after the fall of Mongir that he did his employer the base service of putting to death all the English prisoners, who had been collected at Patna; a deed for which his name will ever be held in abhorrence. He next joined the Bharat-pur chief, and from him finally went over to Najaf Khán, from whom he received a grant of the pargana of Sardhana, then valued at six lakhs a year, and to whom he remained faithful for the rest of his life. He died in 1778, and was buried in the cemetery at Agra, where is also a church that he built, now disused, adjoining the new cathedral. The Begam, who had lived with him, (she is said to have been

ous attack, and the Jâts, feeling assured of victory, were following in reckless disorder, when the enemy rallied from their sudden panic, turned upon their pursuers, who were too scattered to offer any solid resistance, and effectually routed them. They contrived, however, to secure a retreat to Dîg,* while the town of Barsâna, which was then a very wealthy place, was given over to plunder, and several of the stately mansions recently erected almost destroyed in the search for hidden treasure. Dîg was not reduced till March of the following year, 1776, the garrison escaping to the neighbouring castle of Kumbhîr. The value of the spoil taken is said to have amounted to six lakhs of rupees. The whole of the country also was reduced to subjection, and it was only at the intercession of the Râni Kishori, the widow of Sûraj Mall, that the conqueror allowed Ranjît Singh to retain the fort of Bharat-pur with an extent of territory yielding an annual income of nine lakhs.

In 1782, the great minister, Najaf Khân, died; and in 1786 Sindhia, who had been recognized as his successor in the administration of the empire, proceeded to demand arrears of tribute from the Râjputs of Jaypur. His claim was partly satisfied; but finding that he persisted in exacting the full amount, the Râjâs of Jaypur, Jodh-pur, and Uday-pur, joined by other minor chiefs, organized a formidable combination against him. The armies met at Lalsot, and a battle ensued which extended over three days, but without any decisive result, till some 14,000 of Sindhia's infantry, who were in arrears of pay, went over to the enemy. In consequence of this defection, the Mahrattas

originally a Kashmirî dancing girl) was recognized as his widow and succeeded to all his estate. In 1781 she was received into the Catholic Church, and in 1792 married a French adventurer, a M. Le Vaisscan. He, however, made himself so unpopular that her people revolted, under the leadership of a son of Reinhard's, Zafar-yâb Khân. By an artifice, that she practised upon her husband, the latter was induced to commit suicide, and the disturbance was soon after quelled by the intervention of one of her old servants, the famous George Thomas. In 1802 Zafar-yâb died, leaving a daughter, whom the Begam gave in marriage to a Mr. Dyce, an officer in her army. The issue was a son and two daughters, of whom the one married Captain Rose Troup, the other the Marquis of Brionna. The son, David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre, was adopted by the Begam, and on her death in 1836, succeeded to the estate. He married Mary Anne, the daughter of Viscount St. Vincent, and died at Paris, in 1851. His widow, in 1862, married the Hon'ble George C. Weld Forester, who has now succeeded his brother as third Baron Forester. The Begam by her will left to the Catholic Cathedrals of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Agra, Rs. 32,000 Rs. 31,800, Rs. 31,000, and Rs. 28,700, respectively; to the Sardhana Cathedral, which she herself had built, Rs. 95,600; to the school or seminary there, called St. John's College, Rs. 95,600; to the poor of the place Rs. 47,800, and to the Merath Chapel, also of her foundation, Rs. 12,500. The administration of the Sardhana endowments has for several years past formed the subject of a dispute between the Roman Catholic Bishop of Agra, who had for some time acted as sole trustee, and Lady Forester, who, as the Begam's legal representative, claims to act as a trustee also: until it is settled the interest on the money cannot be drawn.

* According to local tradition, Naval Singh died some 20 days after the battle of Barsâna.

fell back upon the Játs and secured the alliance of Ranjít Sinh by the restoration of Díg, which had been held by the Emperor since its capture by Najaf Khán in 1776, and by the cession of eleven parganas yielding a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees. The main object of the new allies was to raise the siege of Agra, which was then being invested by Ismail Beg, the Imperial captain, in concert with Zábíta Khán's son, the infamous Ghulám Kádir. In a battle that took place near Fatihpur Sikri, the Játs and Mahrattas met a repulse, and were driven back upon Bharat-pur ; but later in the same year, 1788, being reinforced by troops from the Dakhin under Rána Khán, a brother of the officer in command of the besieged garrison, they finally raised the blockade, and the province of Agra again acknowledged Sindhia as its master.

Ghulám Kádir had previously removed to Delhi and was endeavouring to persuade the Emperor to break off intercourse with the Mahrattas. Failing in this, he dropped all disguise and commenced firing upon the palace, and having in a few days taken possession of the city, he indulged in the most brutal excesses, and after insulting and torturing his miserable and defenceless sovereign in every conceivable way, completed the tragedy by, at last, with his own dagger, robbing him of his eye-sight. Sindhia, who had before been urgently summoned from Mathurá, one of his favourite residences, on hearing of these horrors, sent a force to the relief of the city. Ghulám Kádir, whose atrocities had disgusted all his adherents, fled to Merath, and, endeavouring to escape from there at night alone on horseback, fell into a well from which he was unable to extricate himself. There he was found on the following morning by a Bráhmañ peasant by name Bhikha, who had him seized and taken to the Mahratta camp. Thence he was despatched to Sindhia at Mathurá, who first sent him through the bazar on an ass with his head to the tail, and then had him mutilated of all his members one by one, his tongue being first torn out, and then his eyes, and subsequently his nose, ears, and hands cut off. In this horrible condition he was despatched to Delhi ; but to anticipate his death from exhaustion, which seemed imminent, he was hanged on a tree by the roadside. It is said that his barbarous treatment of the Emperor, for which he suffered such a condign penalty, was in revenge for an injury inflicted upon him when a handsome child by Sháh Alam, who converted him into a haram page.

It was in 1803 that Mathurá passed under British rule, and became a military station on the line of frontier, which was then definitely extended to the Jamuná. This was at the termination of the successful war with Daulat Ráo Sindhia ; when the independent French State, that had been established by

Perron, and was beginning to assume formidable dimensions, had been extinguished by the fall of Aligarh ; while the protectorate of the nominal sovereign of Delhi, transferred by the submission of the capital, invested the administration of the Company with the prestige of Imperial sanction. At the same time a treaty was concluded with Ranjít Singh, who with 5,000 horse had joined General Lake at Agra and thereby contributed to Sindhia's defeat. In return for this service he received a part of the districts of Kishangarh, Katháwar, Rewári, Gokul, and Sahár.

In September of the following year Mathurá was held for a few days by the troops of Holkar Jasavant Ráo ; but on the arrival of reinforcements from Agra was re-occupied by the British finally and permanently. Meanwhile, Holkar had advanced upon Delhi, but the defence was so gallantly conducted by Ochterlony that the assault was a signal failure. His army broke up into two divisions, one of which was pursued to the neighbourhood of Farrukhabád, and there totally dispersed by General Lake ; while the other was overtaken by General Fraser between Dig and Gobardhan, and defeated with great slaughter. In this latter engagement the brilliant victory was purchased by the death of the officer in command, who was brought into Mathurá fatally wounded, and survived only a few days. He was buried in the Cantonment Cemetery, where a monument* is erected to his memory with the following inscription :—

"Sacred to the memory of Major-General Henry Fraser, of His Majesty's 11th Regiment of Foot, who commanded the British Army at the battle of Deig on the 13th of November, 1804, and by his judgment and valour achieved an important and glorious victory. He died in consequence of a wound he received when leading on the troops, and was interred here on the 25th of November, 1804, in the 40th year of his age. The army lament his loss with the deepest sorrow ; his country regards his heroic conduct with grateful admiration ; history will record his fame and perpetuate the glory of his illustrious deeds."

Holkar, who had fled for refuge to the fort of Bharat-pur, was pursued by General Lake, and his surrender demanded ; but Ranjít refused to give him up. The fort was thereupon besieged ; Ranjít made a memorable defence, and repelled four assaults with a loss to the besiegers of 3,000 men, but finally made overtures for peace, which were accepted on the 4th of May, 1805. A new treaty was concluded, by which he agreed to pay an indemnity of twenty lakhs of rupees, seven of which were subsequently remitted, and was guaranteed in the territories which he held previously to the accession of the British Government. The parganas granted to him in 1803 were resumed.

* To judge from the extreme clumsiness both of the design and execution, the irregular spacing of the inscription, and the quaint shape of some of the letters, this must have been one of the very first attempts of a native mason to work on European instructions.

Ranjit died that same year, leaving four sons, Randhír, Baladeva, Harideva, and Lachhman. He was succeeded by the eldest, Randhír, who died in 1823, leaving the throne to his brother, Baladeva.* After a rule of about 18 months he died, leaving a son, Balavant, then six years of age. He was recognized by the British Government, but his cousin, Durjan Sál, who had also advanced claims to the succession on Randhír's death, rose up against him, and had him cast into prison. Sir David Ochterlony, the resident at Delhi, promptly moved out a force in support of the rightful heir, but their march was stopped by a peremptory order from Lord Amherst, who, in accordance with the disastrous policy of non-interference which was then in vogue, considered that the recognition of the heir apparent during the life of his father did not impose on the Government any obligation to maintain him in opposition to the presumed wishes of the chiefs and people. Vast preparations were made, with the secret support of the neighbouring Rájput and Mahratta States, and at last, when the excitement threatened a protracted war, the Governor-General reluctantly confirmed the eloquent representations of Sir Charles Metcalfe, and consented to the deposition of the usurper. After a siege that extended over nearly six weeks, Bharat-pur was stormed by Lord Combermere on the 18th of January, 1826. Durjan Sál was taken prisoner to Allahabad, and the young Mahárája established on the throne under the regency of his mother and the Superintendence of a Political Agent.† He died in 1853, and was succeeded by his only son, Jasavant Singh, the present sovereign, who enjoys a revenue of about Rs. 21,00,000 derived from a territory of 1,974 square miles in extent, with a population of 650,000.

With 1804 began a period of undisturbed peace and rapid growth of prosperity for the city of Mathurá, which in 1832 was made the capital of a new district, then formed out of parts of the old districts of Agra and Sa'dábád; nor does any event claim notice till we come down to the year 1857. It was on the 14th of May in that eventful year that news arrived of the mutiny at Merath. Mr. Mark Thornhill, who was then Magistrate and Collector of the district, with Ghulám Husain as Deputy Collector, sent an immediate requisition for aid to Bharat-pur. Captain Nixon, the political agent, accompanied by Chaudhari Ratn Sinh, chief of the five Sardárs, and Gobardhan Sinh, the Faujdár, came with a small force to Kosi on the northern border of the district, and there stayed for a time in readiness to check the approach of the Mewátis

* Randhír Singh and Baladeva Singh are commemorated by two handsome chhattries on the margin of the Múnsi Gangá at Gobardhan.

† The Ráni of Balavant Singh was a native of Dhádu in the Sa'dábád pargana, where is a garden with a double chhattri erected by her in memory of two of her relatives.

of Gurgaon, and the other rebels from Delhi. Mr. Thornhill had meanwhile removed to Chhátá, a small town on the high-road some eight miles short of Kosi, as being a place which was at once a centre of disaffection, and at the same time possessed in its fortified *sarai* a stronghold capable of long resistance against it. The first outbreak, however, was at Mathurá itself. The sum of money then in the district treasury amounted to rather more than 5½ lakhs, and arrangements had been made for its despatch to Agra, with the exception of one lakh kept in reserve for local requirements. The escort consisted of one company of soldiers from the cantonments, supported by another company which had come over from Agra for the purpose.* The chests were being put on the carts, when one of the subadárs suddenly called out '*hoshiyar sipáhi,*' 'look alive, my man,' which was evidently a preconcerted signal; and at once a shot was fired, which killed Lieut. Burlton, commandant of the escort, dead on the spot.† The rebels then seized the treasure, together with the private effects of the residents in the station, which were also ready to be transported to Agra, and went off in a body to the Magistrate's Court-house, which they set on fire, destroying all the records, and then took the road to Delhi. But first they broke open the jail and carried all the prisoners with them as far as the city, where they got smiths to strike off their fetters. Besides Lieut. Burlton, one of the treasury officials also was killed. An attempt was made to check the rebel body as it marched through Chhátá, but it was quite ineffectual, and on the 31st of May they entered the town of Kosi. There, after burning down the Customs bungalow and pillaging the police station, they proceeded to plunder the tahsili. But some Rs. 150 was all they could find in the treasury, and most of the records also escaped them. The townspeople and most of the adjoining villages remained well affected to the Government; and subsequently, as a reward, one year's revenue demand was remitted, and a grant of Rs 50 made to each head-man. Mr. Thornhill and the other Europeans with him now

* There were present at the time Mr. Elliot Colvin, the son of the Lieutenant-Governor, who had been sent from Agra to supersede Mr. Clifford, laid up by severe fever; Lieutenant Graham, one of the officers of the Treasury Guard; Mr. Joyce, the head clerk, and two of his subordinates, by name Hashman. As they were cut off from the civil station by the rebels, who occupied the intermediate ground, they made their way into the city to the Seth, by whom they were helped on to Mr. Thornhill's camp at Chhátá. Mr. Nicholls the Chaplain, with his wife and child, and a Native Christian nurse, took refuge in the Collector's house, and waited there for some time in hopes of being joined by the others; but on hearing that the jail was broken open, they fled to Agra.

† The site of the old Court-house is now utterly out of the beaten track, and is all overgrown with dense vegetation, among which may be seen a plain but very substantial stone table tomb, with the following inscription: "Sacred to the memory of Lieut. P. H. C. Burlton, 57th N. I., who was shot by a detachment of his regiment and of the 11th N. I. near this spot on the 30th of May, 1857. This tomb is erected by his brother officers."

determined to abandon their position at Uhhátá and return to Mathurá, where they took refuge in the city in the house of Seth Lakhmi Chand. While there a report came that the Játs had set up a Rájá, one Deví Singh, at Rayá, on the other side of the Jamuná. His reign was of no long continuance, for the Kota Contingent, which happened to be on the spot at the time, seized and hanged him with little ceremony. But as soon as this was accomplished, they themselves mutinied; and Mr. Thornhill, who had accompanied them to Rayá, had to make a hasty flight back to Mathurá, bringing some small treasure in the buggy with him.

On the 6th of July, the mutineers of Morár and Nímach, on their retreat from Agra, entered the city. In anticipation of their arrival, Mr. Thornhill, disguised as a native, and accompanied by a trusty jamadár, Diláwar Khán, started to flee to Agra. When they reached Aurangabad, only some four miles on the way, they found the whole country on both sides of the road in the possession of the rebels. The men, whom the Seth had despatched as an escort, took fright and decamped; but the jamadár, by his adroit answers to all enquiries, was enable to divert suspicion and bring Mr. Thornhill safely through to Agra. On the suppression of the disturbances, he received, as a reward for his loyalty, a small piece of land on the Brindá-ban road, just outside Mathurá, called after the name of a Bairági who had once lived there, Dudhádhári.

Though the rebels stayed two days in Mathurá before they passed on to Delhi, the city was not given up to general pluuder, partly in consequence of the prudent management of Seth Mangi Lál, who levied a contribution, according to their means, on all the principal inhabitants. At this time Seth Lakhmi Chand was at Díg, but the greater part of his establishment remained behind, and rendered Government the most valuable assistance by the despatch of intelligence. Order in the city was chiefly maintained by Mír Imdád Ali Khán, tahsildar of Kosi, who had been specially appointed Deputy Collector.

On the 26th of September, the rebels, in their retreat from Delhi, again passed through Mathurá. Their stay on this occasion lasted for a week, and great oppression was practised on the inhabitants, both here and in the neighbouring town of Brindá-ban. They were only diverted from general pillage by the influence of one of their own leaders, a súbadar from Nímach, by name Hirá Sinh, who prevailed upon them to spare the Holy City. For a few days there was a show of regular government; some of the chief officers in the Collector's court, such as the Sadr Kánnungo, Rahmat-ullah, the Sarishtadár, Manohar Lál, and Wazír Ali, one of the muharrirs, were taken by force and

compelled to issue the orders of the new administrators; while Maulvi Karámat Ali was proclaimed in the Jama Masjid as the Viceroy of the Delhi Emperor. It would seem that he also was an involuntary tool in their hands, as he was subsequently put on his trial, but acquitted. He is since dead. It is said that during their stay in the city the rebels found their most obliging friends among the Mathuriya Chaubés, who, perhaps, more than any others, have grown rich and fat under the tolerance of British rule. After threatening Brindá-ban with their cannon and levying a contribution on the inhabitants, they moved away to Háthras and Bareli. Mir Imdád Ali and the Seth returned from Bharat-pur; and in October, Mr. Thornhill arrived from Agra with a company of troops, which in the following month he marched up to Ohhátá. There the rebel zamindárs had taken possession of the fortified *sarais*, and one of its bastions had to be blown up before an entry could be effected; at the same time the town was set on fire and partially destroyed, and twenty-two of the leading men were shot. A few days previously, Mir Imdád Ali with Nathu Lal, Tahsildár of Sahár, had gone up into the Kosi pargana and restored order among the Gújars there, who alone of all the natives of the district had been active promoters of disaffection. While engaged in their suppression, Imdád Ali received a gun-shot wound in the chest; but fortunately it had no fatal result. He is now Deputy Collector of Murálabad, with a special additional allowance of Rs. 150 per mensem, and has been made a C. S. I. By the end of November general tranquillity was restored; but it was not till July, 1858, that the treasury was transferred from the Seth's house in the city to the Police lines in the civil station.* In Christmas week of the following year, 1859, the Viceroy held a Darbár, in which many honours were conferred upon different individuals, and in particular the ten villages, which the Gújars had forfeited by their open rebellion, were bestowed upon Rájá Gobind Sinh of Háthras, in acknowledgment of his distinguished loyalty and good services. The value of this grant has been largely diminished by the persistent lawlessness of the ejected Gújars, who have always sullenly resented the loss of their estates.

* Here it remained till after the completion, in 1861, of the new Court-house and district offices, which, with important results to archæological research, as will hereafter be shown, were rebuilt on a new site.

CHAPTER III.

THE STORY OF KRISHNA, THE TUTELARY DIVINITY OF MATHURÁ.

OF all the sacred places in India, none enjoys a greater popularity than the capital of Braj, the holy city of Mathurá. For nine months in the year festival follows upon festival in rapid succession, and the gháts and temples are daily thronged with new troops of way-worn pilgrims. So great is the sanctity of the spot that its panegyrists do not hesitate to declare that a single day spent at Mathurá is more meritorious than a lifetime passed at Banáras. All this celebrity is due to the fact of its being the reputed birth-place of the demi-god Krishna; hence it must be a matter of some interest to ascertain who this famous hero was, and what were the acts by which he achieved immortality.

The attempt to extract a grain of historical truth from an accumulation of mythological legend is an interesting, but not very satisfactory, undertaking; there is always a risk that the theorist's kernel of fact may be itself as imaginary as the accretions which envelop it. However, reduced to its simplest elements, the story of Krishna runs as follows:—At a very remote period, a branch of the great Jádav clan settled on the banks of the Jamuná and made Mathurá their capital city. Here Krishna was born. At the time of his birth, Ugrasen, the rightful occupant of the throne, had been deposed by his own son, Kansa, who, relying on the support of Jarásandha, King of Magadha, whose daughter he had married, ruled the country with a rod of iron, outraging alike both gods and men. Krishna, who was a cousin of the usurper, but had been brought up in obscurity and employed in the tending of cattle, raised the standard of revolt, defeated and slew Kansa, and restored Ugrasen to the throne of his ancestors.

All authorities lay great stress on the religious persecution that had prevailed under the tyranny of Kansa, from which fact it has been surmised that he was a convert to Buddhism, zealous in the propagation of his adopted faith, and that Krishna owes much of his renown to the gratitude of the Bráhmans, who, under his championship, recovered their ancient influence. If, however, 1000 B. C. is accepted as the approximate date of the Great War in which Krishna took part, it is clear that his contemporary, Kansa, cannot have been a Buddhist, since the founder of that religion, according to the now most generally accepted chronology, died in the year 477 B. C., being then about 80 years of

age. Possibly he may have been a Jaini, for the antiquity of that religion* is now thoroughly established; it has even been conjectured that Buddha himself was a disciple of Mahavira, the last of the Jaini Tirthankaras.† Or the struggle may have been between the votaries of Siva and Vishnu; in which case Krishna, the apostle of the latter faction, would find a natural enemy in the King of Kashmir, a country where Saivism has always predominated. On this hypothesis, Kansa was the conservative monarch, and Krishna the innovator; a position which has been inverted by the poets, influenced by the political events of their own times.

To avenge the death of his son-in-law, Jarásandha marched an army against Mathurá, and was supported by the powerful king of some western country, who is thence styled Kála-Yavana: for *Yavana* in Sanskrit, while it corresponds originally to the Arabic *Yúnán* (Ionia) denotes secondarily—like *Viláyat* in the modern vernacular—any foreign, and specially any western, country. The actual personage was probably the King of Kashmir, Gonanda I., who is known to have accompanied Jarásandha; though the description would be more applicable to one of the Bactrian sovereigns of the Panjáb. It is true they had not penetrated into India till some hundreds of years after Krishna; but their power was well established at the time when the Mahábhárat was written to record his achievements: hence the anachronism. Similarly, in the Bhágvat Purána, which was written after the Muhammadan invasion, the description of the Yavana king is largely coloured by the author's feelings towards the only western power with which he was acquainted. Originally, as above stated, the word denoted the Greeks, and the Greeks only. But the Greeks were the foremost, the most dreaded of all the Mlecchas (i. e., Barbarians) and thus Yavana came to be applied to the most prominent Mleccha power for the time being, whatever it might happen to be. When the Muhammadans trod in the steps of the Greeks, they became the chief Mlecchas and they also were consequently styled Yavanas.

Krishna eventually found it desirable to abandon Mathurá, and with the whole clan of Yádavs retired to the Bay of Kachh. There he founded the

* The oldest Jain inscription that has as yet been discovered is one from the hill Indragiri at Srávana Belgola in the South of India. It records an emigration of Jainis from Ujain under the leadership of Svámi Bhadra Bahu, accounted the last of the Sruta Kevalis who was accompanied by Chandragupta, King of Pataliputra. As the inscription gives a list of Bhadra Bahu's successors, it is clearly not contemporary with the events which it records; but it may be inferred from the archaic form of the letters that it dates from the third century B. C.

† More recent research, however, has revealed the fact that the Gotama Svámi, who was Mahávirá's pupil, was not a Kshatriya by caste, as was Sakya Muni, the Buddha, but a Bráhman of the well-known Gautama family, whose personal name was Indra-bhúti.

flourishing city of Dwáráká, which at some later period was totally submerged in the sea. While he was reigning at Dwáráká, the great war for the throne of Indraprastha (Delhi) arose between the five sons of Pándu and Durjodhan, the son of Dhritaráshttra. Krishna allied himself with the Pándav princes, who were his cousins on the mother's side, and was the main cause of their ultimate triumph. Before its commencement Krishna had invaded Magadha, marching by a circuitous route through Tírhút, and so taking Jarásandha by surprise; his capital was forced to surrender, and he himself slain in battle. Still, after his death, Karna, a cousin of Krishna's of illegitimate birth, was placed on the throne of Mathurá and maintained there by the influence of the Kauravas, Krishna's enemies; a clear proof that the latter's retirement to Dwáráká was involuntary.

Whether the above narrative has or has not any historical foundation, it is certain that Krishna was celebrated as a gallant warrior prince for many ages before he was metamorphosed into the amatory swain who now, under the title of Kanhaiya, is worshipped throughout India. He is first mentioned in the Mahábhárat, the most voluminous of all Sanskrit poems, consisting in the printed edition of 91,000 couplets. There he figures simply as the King of Dwáráká and ally of the Pándavs; nor in the whole length of the poem, of which he is to a great extent the hero, is any allusion whatever made to his early life, except in one disputed passage. Hence it may be presumed that his boyish frolics at Mathurá and Brindá-ban, which now alone dwell in popular memory are all subsequent inventions. They are related at length in the *Hastinapurá*, which is a comparatively modern sequel to the Mahábhárat, ^{the Hastinapurá} and with still greater circumstantiality in some of the later Puránas, which ^{in their present form} date no further back than the tenth century after Christ. So rapid soil of the sensuous East, that while in none of the more congenial even those specially devoted to the inculcation of Vaishnavan Puránas, much as the name mentioned of his favourite mistress, Rádhá, and doctrines, is so enthroned with him in every shrine and claims a full half of the now is jointly Among ordinary Hindus the recognized authority for his popular devotion. the Bhágavat Purána,† or rather its tenth Book, which has been and exploits is every form of the modern vernacular. The Hindi version, entitled the Prem

* Though many episodes of later date have been interpolated into the body of the Mahábhárat may with some confidence be referred to the second or third century before Christ.

† The Bhágavat is written in a more elegant style than any of the other Puránas, and is traditionally ascribed to the grammarian Rájá of Devagiri or Daulatabad, in Brian Bopadeva, who flourished at the Court of Humádrí, the twelfth or thirteenth century after Christ.

Descent of Krishna through his mother, Devaki, from the Yadava clan of Soma-vani; Kshatriyas.

Soma, the Moon-God, by Tîrî, 'the bright star,' whom he stole away from Vrihaspati, had a son Budha, married to Ilâ. From this union sprang Pururavas = Urvasi, 'the dawn.'

Ayus.
|
Nahusha.
|
Yayâti.
|
Yadu.
|
Vidarbha.
|
Andhaka.
|
Abhijit.
|
Ahuka.

Devaki.

Devaki = Vasudeva = Rohini.

Ugrasen, King of Mathurâ.

Krishna = Rukmini, daughter of Bhishmaka,

King of Vidarbha.

Pradyumna = a daughter of Rukmini, the brother of Rukmini.

Balarâma = Revati.

Kansa = Râjivalochna, daughter
of Jarâsandha, King of
Magadha.

Aniruddha = Usha.

Vajra, who is generally said to have been crowned King of Mathurâ on Krishna's death. But this belief rests on a verse in the Vishnu Purân, where for Mathurâ other MSS.—preferably as it would seem from the context—read Indra-prastha, or Hastinapura. The more unscientific native philologists are disposed to derive from Vajra the name of the country, Vraja (Brâj).

might perish amongst the number. Judging these precautions to be sufficient, and that nothing further was to be dreaded from the parents, he set Vasudeva and Devaki at liberty. The former at once* hastened to see Nanda, who had come over to Mathurá to pay his yearly tribute to the king, and after congratulating him on Jasodá's having presented him with a son, begged him to take back to Gokul Rohini's boy, Balarám, and let the two children be brought up together. To this Nanda gladly assented, and so it came to pass that the two brothers, Krishna and Balarám, spent the days of their childhood together at Gokul, under the care of their foster-mother Jasodá.

They had not been there long, when one night the witch Pútaná, hovering about for some mischief to do in the service of Kansa, saw the babe Krishna lying asleep, and took him up in her arms and began to suckle him with her own devil's-milk. A mortal child would have been poisoned at the first drop, but Krishna drew the breast with such strength that her life's blood was drained with the milk, and the hideous fiend, terrifying the whole country of Braj with her groans of agony, fell lifeless to the ground. Another day Jasodá had gone down to the river-bank to wash some clothes, and had left the child asleep under one of the waggons. He all at once woke up hungry, and kicking out with his baby foot upset the big cart, full as it was of pans and pails of milk. When Jasodá came running back to see what all the noise was about, she found him in the midst of the broken fragments quietly asleep again, as if nothing had happened. Again, one of Kansa's attendant demons, by name Trinávart, hoping to destroy the child, came and swept him off in a whirlwind; but the child was too much for him and made that his last journey to Braj.*

The older the boy grew, the more troublesome did Jasodá find him; he would crawl about everywhere on his hands and knees, getting into the cattle-sheds and pulling the calves by their tails, upsetting the pans of milk and whey, sticking his fingers into the curds and butter, and daubing his face and clothes all over; and one day she got so angry with him that she put a cord round his waist and tied him to the great wooden mortar† while she went to look after her household affairs. No sooner was her back turned than the child, in his efforts to get loose, dragged away the heavy wooden block till it got fixed between two immense Arjun trees that were growing in the court-yard. It was wedged tight only for a minute, one more pull and down came the two enormous trunks with

* • The event is commemorated by a small cell at Mahában, in which the demon whirlwind is represented by a pair of enormous wings overshadowing the infant Krishna.

† From this incident Krishna derives his popular name of Dámodar, from *dám* a cord, and *udar*, the body. The mortar, or *ulákhala*, is generally a solid block of wood, three or four feet high, hollowed out at the top into the shape of a basin.

a thundering crash. Up ran the neighbours, expecting an earthquake at least, and found the village half buried under the branches of the fallen trees, with the child between the two shattered stems laughing at the mischief he had caused.*

Alarmed at these successive portents, Nanda determined upon removing to some other locality and selected the neighbourhood of Brindā-ban as affording the best pasturage for the cattle. Here the boys lived till they were seven years old, not so much in Brindā-ban itself as in the copses on the opposite bank of the river, near the town of Mát; there they wandered about, merrily disporting themselves, decking their heads with plumes of peacocks' feathers, stringing long wreaths of wild flowers round their necks and making sweet music with their rustic pipes.† At evening-tide they drove the cows home to the pens, and joined in frolicsome sports with the herdsmen's children under the shade of the great Bhándir tree.‡

But even in their new home they were not secure from demoniacal aggression. When they had come to five years of age, and were grazing their cattle on the bank of the Jamuná, the demon Bachhásur made an open onset against them.§ When he had received the reward of his temerity, the demon Bakásur tried the efficacy of stratagem. Transforming himself into a crane of gigantic proportions he perched on the hill-side, and when the cowherd's children came to gaze at the monstrous apparition, snapped them all up one after the other. But Krishna made such a hot mouthful that he was only too glad to drop him; and as soon as the boy set his feet on the ground again, he seized the monster by his long bill and rent him in twain.

* The traditionary scene of all these adventures is laid, not at Gokul, as might have been anticipated, but at Mahāban, which is now a distinct town further inland. There are shown the *jugal arjun ki thaur*, 'or site of the two Arjun trees,' and the spots where Pūtáná, Trinúvart, and Sakatásur, or the cart-demon (for in the Bhágavat the cart is said to have been upset by the intervention of an evil spirit), met their fate. The village of Koila, on the opposite bank, is said to derive its name from the fact that the 'ashes' from Pūtáná's funeral pile floated down there; or that Vasudeva, when crossing the river and thinking he was about to sink, called out for some one to take the child, saying 'Koi le, koi le.'

† From these childish sports, Krishna derives his popular names of *Ban-mālī*, 'the wearer of a chaplet of wild flowers,' and *Bansi-dhar* and *Murti-dhar*, 'the flute-player.' Hence, too, the strolling singers, who frequent the fairs held on Krishna's fête days, attire themselves in high-crowned caps decked with peacocks' feathers. ***

‡ The Bhándir-ban is a dense thicket of *ber* and other low prickly shrubs in the hamlet of Chhāhīri, a little above Mát. In the centre is an open space with a small modern temple and well. The Bhándir *bat* is an old tree a few hundred yards outside the grove.

§ This adventure gives its name to the Bachh-ban near Selī,

On another day, as their playmate Tosh* and some of the other children were rambling about, they spied what they took to be the mouth of a great chasm in the rock. It was in truth the expanded jaws of the serpent-king Aghásur, and as the boys were peeping in he drew a deep breath and sucked them all down. But Krishna bid them be of good cheer, and swelled his body to such a size that the serpent burst, and the children stepped out upon the plain uninjured.

Again, as they lay lazily one sultry noon under a Kadamb tree, enjoying their lunch, the calves strayed away quite out of sight.† In fact, the jealous god Brahma had stolen them. When the loss was detected, all ran off in different directions to look for them; but Krishna took a shorter plan, and as soon as he found himself alone, created other cattle exactly like them to take their place. He then waited a little for his companions' return; but when no signs of them appeared, he guessed, as was really the case, that they too had been stolen by Brahma; so without more ado he continued the work of creation, and called into existence another group of children identical in appearance with the absentees. Meanwhile, Brahma had dropped off into one of his periodical dozes, and waking up after the lapse of a year, chuckled to himself over the forlorn condition of Braj, without either cattle or children. But when he got there and began to look about him, he found everything just the same as before: then he made his submission to Krishna, and acknowledged him to be his lord and master. -

One day, as Krishna was strolling by himself along the bank of the Jamuná, he came to a creek by the side of which grew a tall Kadamb tree. He climbed the tree and took a plunge into the water. Now, this recess was the haunt of a savage dragon, by name Kāliya, who at once started from the depth, coiled himself round the intruder, and fastened upon him with his poisonous fangs. The alarm spread, and Nanda, Jasodá and Balarám, and all the neighbours came running, frightened out of their senses, and found Krishna still and motionless, enveloped in the dragon's coils. The sight was so terrible that all stood as if spell-bound; but Krishna with a smile gently shook off the serpent's folds, and seizing the hooded monster by one of his many heads, pressed it down upon the margin of the stream and danced upon it, till the poor wretch was so torn and lacerated that his wives all came from their watery cells and threw themselves at Krishna's feet and begged for mercy. The

* Hence the name of the village Tosh in the Mathurá pargana.

† The scene of this adventure is laid at Khadira-ban, near Khaira. The *khadira* is a species of acacia. The Sanskrit word assumes in Prākṛit the form *khaira*.

dragon himself in a feeble voice sued for pardon; then the beneficent divinity not only spared his life and allowed him to depart with all his family to the island of Ramanak, but further assured him that he would ever hereafter bear upon his brow the impress of the divine feet, seeing which no enemy would dare to molest him.*

After this, as the two boys were straying with their herds from wood to wood, they came to a large palm-grove (*tál-ban*), where they began shaking the trees to bring down the fruit. Now, in this grove there dwelt a demon, by name Dhenak, who, hearing the fruit fall, rushed past in the form of an ass and gave Balarám a flying kick full on the breast with both his hind legs. But before his legs could again reach the ground, Balarám seized them in his powerful grasp, and whirling the demon round his head hurled the carcass on the top of one of the tallest trees, causing the fruit to drop like rain. The boys then returned to their station at the Bhándir fig-tree, and that very night, while they were in Bhadra-ban† close by, there came on a violent storm. The tall dry grass was kindled by the lightning and the whole forest was in a blaze. Off scampered the cattle and the herdsmen too, but Krishna called to the cowards to stop and close their eyes for a minute. When they opened them again, the cows were all standing in their pens, and the moon shone calmly down on the waving forest trees and rustling reeds.

Another day Krishna and Balarám were running a race up to the Bhándir tree with their playmate Sridáma, when the demon Pralamba came and asked to make a fourth. In the race Pralamba was beaten by Balarám, and so, according to the rules of the game, had to carry him on his back from the goal to the starting-point. No sooner was Balarám on his shoulders than Pralamba ran off with him at the top of his speed, and recovering his proper diabolical form made sure of destroying him. But Balarám soon taught him differently, and squeezed him so tightly with his knees, and dealt him such cruel blows on the head with his fists, that his skull and ribs were broken, and no life left in the monster. Seeing this feat of strength, his comrades loudly greeted him

* One of the gháts at Brindá-ban is named, in commemoration of this event, Káli-mardan, or Káli-dah, and the, or rather a, Kadamb tree is still shown there.

† *Bhadra-ban* occupies a high point on the left bank of the Jamuná, some three miles above Mát. With the usual fate of Hindi words, it is transformed in the official map of the district into the Persian *Bahádur-ban*. Between it and Bhándir-ban is a large struggling wood called *mekh-ban*. This, it is said, was open ground, till one day, many years ago, some great man encamped there, and all the stakes to which his horses had been tethered took root and grew up.

with the name of Balarám, 'Ráma the strong,'* which title he ever after retained.

But who so frolicsome as the boy Krishna? Seeing the fair maids of Braj performing their ablutions in the Jamuná, he stole along the bank, and picking up the clothes of which they had divested themselves, climbed up with them into a Kadamb tree. There he mocked the frightened girls as they came shivering out of the water; nor would he yield a particle of vestment till all had ranged before him in a row, and with clasped and uplifted hands most piteously entreated him. Thus the boy-god taught his votaries that submission to the divine will was a more excellent virtue even than modesty.†

At the end of the rains all the herdsmen began to busy themselves in preparing a great sacrifice in honour of Indra, as a token of their gratitude for the refreshing showers he had bestowed upon the earth. But Krishna, who had already made sport of Brahma, thought lightly enough of Indra's claims and said to Nanda:—"The forests where we tend our cattle cluster round the foot of the hills, and it is the spirits of the hills that we ought rather to worship. They can assume any shapes they please and, if we slight them, will surely transform themselves into lions and wolves and destroy both us and our herds." The people of Braj were convinced by these arguments, and taking all the rich gifts they had prepared, set out for Gobardhan, where they solemnly circumambulated the mountain and presented their offerings to the new divinity. Krishna himself, in the character of the mountain god, stood forth on the highest peak and accepted the adoration of the assembled crowd, while a fictitious image in his own proper person joined humbly in the ranks of the devotees.

• When Indra saw himself thus defrauded of the promised sacrifice, he was very wrath, and summoning the clouds from every quarter of heaven bid them all descend upon Braj in one fearful and unbroken torrent. In an instant

* Balarám, under the name of Belus, is described by Latin writers as the Indian Hercules and said to be one of the tutelary divinities of Mathurá. Patanjali also, the celebrated Grammarian, a native of Gonda in Oudh, whose most probable date is 150 B.C., clearly refers to Krishna as a divinity and to Kansa's death at his hands as a current tradition, both popular and ancient; the events in the hero's life forming the subject of different poems, from which he quotes lines or parts of lines as examples of grammatical rules. Thus, whatever the date of the eighteen Puránas, as we now have them, Pauránik mythology and the local cultus of Krishna and Balarám at Mathurá must be of higher antiquity than has been represented by some European scholars.

† This popular incident is commemorated by the Chír Ghát at Siyára; *chir* meaning clothes. The same name is frequently given to the Chain Ghát at Brindá-ban, which is also so called in the *Vraja-bhakti-vilása*, written 1553 A.D.

the sky was overhung with impenetrable gloom, and it was only by the vivid flashes of lightning that the terrified herdsmen could see their houses and cattle beaten down and swopt away by the irresistible deluge. The ruin was but for a moment ; with one hand Krishna uprooted the mountain from its base, and balancing it on the tip of his finger called all the people under its cover. There they remained secure for seven days and nights and the storms of Indra beat harmlessly on the summit of the uplifted range ; while Krishna stood erect and smiling, nor once did his finger tremble beneath the weight. When Indra found his passion fruitless, the heavens again became clear ; the people of Braj stepped forth from under Gobardhan, and Krishna quietly restored it to its original site. Then Indra, moved with desire to behold and worship the incarnate god, mounted his elephant Airāvata and descended upon the plains of Braj. There he adored Krishna in his humble pastoral guise, and, saluting him by the new titles of Upendra* and Gobind, placed under his special protection his own son the hero Arjun, who had then taken birth at Indraprastha in the family of Pandu.

When Krishna had completed his twelfth year, Nanda, in accordance with a vow that he had made, went with all his family to perform a special devotion at the temple of Devi. At night, when they were asleep, a huge boa-constrictor laid hold of Nanda by the toe and would speedily have devoured him ; but Krishna, hearing his foster-father's cries, ran to his side and lightly set his foot on the great serpent's head. At the very touch the monster was transformed and assumed the figure of a lovely youth ; for, ages ago, a Ganymede of heaven's court, by name Sudarsan, in the pride of beauty and exalted birth, had vexed the holy sage Angiras when deep in divine contemplation, by dancing backwards and forwards before him, and by his curse had been metamorphosed into a snake, in that vile shape to expiate his offence until the advent of the gracious Krishna.

Beholding all the glorious deeds that he had performed, the maids of Braj could not restrain their admiration. Drawn from their lonely homes by the low sweet notes of his seductive pipe, they floated around him in rapturous love, and through the moonlight autumn nights joined with him in the circling

* The title Upendra was evidently conferred upon Krishna before the full development of the Vaishnava School ; for however Paurānik writers may attempt to explain it, the only grammatical meaning of the compound is 'a lesser Indra.' As Krishna has long been considered much the greater god of the two, the title has fallen into disrepute and is now seldom used. Similarly with 'Gobind' ; its true meaning is not, as implied in the text, 'the Indra of cows,' but simply 'a finder' or 'tender of cows,' from the root '*vid*.' The Hindus themselves prefer to explain Upendra as meaning simply 'Indra's younger brother ;' Vishnu in the dwarf incarnation having been born as the son of Kasyapa, who was also Indra's father.

dance, passing from glade to glade in ever increasing ecstasy of devotion. To whatever theme his voice was attuned, their song had but one burden—his perfect beauty; and as they mingled in the mystic maze, with eyes closed in the intensity of voluptuous passion, each nymph as she grasped the hand of her partner thrilled at the touch, as though the hand were Krishna's, and dreamed herself alone supremely blest in the enjoyment of his undivided affection. Râdhâ, fairest of the fair, reigned queen of the revels, and so languished in the heavenly delight of his embraces that all consciousness of earth and self was obliterated.*

One night, as the choir of attendant damsels followed through the woods the notes of his wayward pipe, a lustful giant, by name Sankhehûr, attempted to intercept them. Then Krishna showed himself no timorous gallant, but casting crown and flute to the ground pursued the ravisher, and seizing him from behind by his shaggy hair, cut off his head, and taking the precious jewel which he had worn on his front presented it to Balarâm.

Yet once again was the dance of love rudely interrupted. The demon Arishta, disguised as a gigantic bull, dashed upon the scene and made straight for Krishna. The intrepid youth, smiling, awaited the attack, and seizing him by the horns forced down his head to the ground; then twisting the monster's neck as it had been a wet rag, he wrenched one of the horns from the socket and with it so belaboured the brute that no life was left in his body. Then all the herdsmen rejoiced; but the crime of violating even the semblance of a bull could not remain unexpiated. So all the sacred streams and places of pilgrimage, obedient to Krishna's summons, came in bodily shape to Gobardhan and poured from their holy urns into two deep reservoirs prepared for the occasion.† There Krishna bathed, and by the efficacy of this concentrated essence of sanctity was washed clean of the pollution he had incurred.

When Kansa heard of the marvellous acts performed by the two boys at Brindâ-ban, he trembled with fear and recognized the fated avengers, who had eluded

* Any sketch of Krishna's adventures would be greatly defective, which contained no allusion to his celebrated amours with the Gopis, or milkmaids of Braj. It is the one incident in his life, upon which modern Hindu writers love to lavish all the resources of their eloquence. Yet, in the original authorities it occupies a no more prominent place in the narrative than that which has been assigned it above. In pictorial representations of the 'circular dance,' or Râsmandal, whatever the number of the Gopis introduced, so often is the figure of Krishna repeated. Thus each Gopi can claim him as a partner, while again, in the centre of the circle, he stands in larger form with his favourite Râdhâ.

† These are the famous tanks of Râdhâ-kund, which is the next village to Gobardhan; while Aring, a contraction for Arishta-gânw, is the scene of the combat with the bull.

all his cruel vigilance and would yet wreak his doqm. After pondering for a while what stratagem to adopt, he proclaimed a great tourney of arms, making sure that if they were induced to come to Mathurá and enter the lists as combatants, they would be inevitably destroyed by his two champions Chánur and Mushtika. Of all the Jádav tribe Akrúr was the only chieftain in whose integrity the tyrant could confide; he accordingly was despatched with an invitation to Nanda and all his family to attend the coming festival. But though Akrúr started at once on his mission, Kansa was too restless to wait the result: the demon Kesi, terror of the woods of Brindá-ban, was ordered to try his strength against them or ever they left their home. Disguised as a wild horse, the monster rushed amongst the herds, scattering them in all directions. Krishna alone stood calmly in his way, and when the demoniacal steed bearing down upon him with wide-extended jaws made as though it would devour him, he thrust his arm down the gaping throat and, with a mighty heave, burst the huge body asunder, splitting it into two equal portions right down the back from nose to tail.*

All unconcerned at this stupendous encounter, Krishna returned to his childish sports and was enjoying a game of blind-man's buff, when the demon Byomásur came up in guise as a cowherd and asked to join the party. After a little, he proposed to vary the amusement by a turn at wolf-and-goats, and then lying in ambush and transforming himself into a real wolf he fell upon the children, one by one, and tore them in pieces, till Krishna, detecting his wiles, dragged him from his cover and, seizing him by the throat, beat him to death.

At this juncture, Akrúr† arrived with his treacherous invitation: it was at once accepted, and the boys in high glee started for Mathurá, Nanda also and all the village encampment accompanying them. Just outside the city they met the king's washerman and his train of donkeys laden with bundles of clothes, which he was taking back fresh washed from the river-side to the palace. What better opportunity could be desired for country boys, who had never before left the woods and had no clothes fit to wear. They at once made a rush at the bundles and tearing them open arrayed themselves in the finery just as it came to hand, without any regard for fit or colour; then on they went

* There are two gháts at Brindá-ban named after this adventure: the first Kesi Ghát, where the monster was slain; the second Chain Ghát, where Krishna rested and bathed. It is from this exploit, according to Pauránik etymology, that Krishna derives his popular name of Keshava. The name, however, is more ancient than the legend, and signifies simply the long-haired, 'crinitus,' or radiant—an appropriate epithet, if Krishna be taken for the Indian Apollo.

† Akrúr is the name of a hamlet between Mathurá and Brindá-ban

again, laughing heartily at their own mountebank appearance, till a good tailor called them into his shop, and there cut and snipped and stitched away till he turned them out in the very height of fashion: and to complete their costume, the *máli* Sudáma gave them each a nosegay of flowers. So going through the streets like young princes, there met them the poor hump-backed woman Kubja, and Krishna, as he passed, putting one foot on her feet and one hand under her chin, stretched out her body straight as a dart.*

In the court-yard before the palace was displayed the monstrous bow, the test of skill and strength in the coming encounter of arms. None but a giant could bend it; but Krishna took it up in sport, and it snapped in his fingers like a twig. Out ran the king's guards, hearing the crash of the broken beam, but all perished at the touch of the invincible child: not one survived to tell how death was dealt.

When they had seen all the sights of the city, they returned to Nanda, who had been much disquieted by their long absence, and on the morrow repaired to the arena, where Kansa was enthroned in state on a high dais overlooking the lists. At the entrance they were confronted by the savage elephant Kuvala-yapida, upon whom Kansa relied to trample them to death. But Krishna, after sporting with it for a while, seized it at last by the tail, and whirling it round his head dashed it lifeless to the ground. Then, each bearing one of its tusks, the two boys stepped into the ring and challenged all comers. Chánur was matched against Krishna, Mushtika against Balarám. The struggle was no sooner begun than ended: both the king's champions were thrown and rose no more. Then Kansa started from his throne, and cried aloud to his guards to seize and put to death the two rash boys with their father Vasudeva—for his sons he knew they were—and the old King Ugrasen. But Krishna with one bound sprung upon the dais, seized the tyrant by the hair as he vainly sought to fly, and hurled him down the giddy height into the ravine below.† Then they dragged the lifeless body to the bank of the Jamuná, and there by the water's edge at last sat down to 'rest,' whence the place is known to this day as the 'Visránt' Ghát.‡ Now that justice had been satisfied, Krishna was too righteous to insult the dead; he comforted the widows of the fallen monarch,

* "Kubja's well" in Mathurá commemorates this event. It is on the Delhi road, a little beyond the Katra. Nearly opposite, a carved pillar from a Buddhist railing has been set up and is worshipped as Párvatí.

† Kansa's Hill and the Rang-Bhúmi, or 'arena,' with an image of Rangasvar Mahádeva, where the bow was broken, the elephant killed and the champion wrestlers defeated, are still sacred sites immediately outside the city of Mathurá, opposite the new dispensary.

‡ The Visránt Ghát, or *Resting Ghát*, is the most sacred spot in all Mathurá. It occupies the centre of the river front, and is thus made a prominent object, though it has no special architectural beauty.

and bid them celebrate the funeral rites with all due form, and himself applied the torch to the pyre. Then Ugrasen was re-seated on his ancient throne, and Mathurá once more knew peace and security.

As Krishna was determined on a lengthened stay, he persuaded Nanda to return alone to Brindá-ban and console his foster-mother Jasodá with tidings of his welfare. He and Balarám then underwent the ceremonies of caste-initiation, which had been neglected during their sojourn with the herdsmen ; and, after a few days, proceeded to Ujjayin, there to pursue the prescribed course of study* under the Káśya sage Sandípani. The rapidity with which they mastered every science soon betrayed their divinity ; and as they prepared to leave, their instructor fell at their feet and begged of them a boon, namely, the restoration of his son, who had been engulfed by the waves of the sea when on a pilgrimage to Prabháśa. Ocean was summoned to answer the charge, and taxed the demon Panchajana with the crime. Krishna at once plunged into the unfathomable depth and dragged the monster lifeless to the surface. Then with Balarám he invaded the city of the dead and claimed from Jama the Bráhmaṇ's son, whom they took back with them to the light of day and restored to his enraptured parents. The shell in which the demon had dwelt (whence his title Sankháśur) was ever thereafter borne by the hero as his special emblem* under the name of Páñchajanya.

Meanwhile, the widows of King Kansa had fled to Magadha, their native land, and implored their father, Jarásandha, to take up arms and avenge their murdered lord. Scarcely had Krishna returned to Mathurá when the assembled hosts invested the city. The gallant prince did not wait the attack ; but, accompanied by Balarám, sallied forth, routed the enemy and took Jarásandha prisoner. Compassionating the utterness of his defeat, they allowed him to return to his own country, where, unmoved by the generosity of his victors, he immediately began to raise a new army on a still larger scale than the preceding, and again invaded the dominions of Ugrasen. Seventeen times did Jarásandha renew the attack, seventeen times was he repulsed by Krishna. Finding it vain to continue the struggle alone, he at last called to his aid King Kálá-yavana,† who with his barbarous hordes from the far west bore down

* The legend has been invented to explain why the *sankha*, or conch-shell, is employed as a religious emblem : the simpler reason is to be found in the fact of its constant use as an auxiliary to temple worship. In consequence of a slight similarity in the name, this incident is popularly connected with the village of Sonsa in the Mathurá pargana, without much regard to the exigencies of the narrative, since Prabháśa, where Panchajana was slain, is far away on the shore of the Western Ocean in Gujarát.

† The soul of Kálá-yavana is supposed in a second birth to have animated the body of the tyrannical Aurangzeb.

upon the devoted city of Mathurá. That very night Krishna bade arise on the far distant shore of the Bay of Kachh the stately Fort of Dwáraká, and thither, in a moment of time, transferred the whole of his faithful people: the first intimation that reached them of their changed abode was the sound of the roaring waves when they woke on the following morning. He then returned alone to do battle against the allied invaders; the barbarian king was put to flight and his army annihilated; but it was only by a stratagem that Krishna and Balarám contrived to secure themselves from the fury of the survivor. So Mathurá fell into the hands of Jarásandha, who forthwith destroyed all the palaces and temples and every memento of the former dynasty, and erected new buildings in their place as monuments of his own conquest.*

Thenceforth Krishna reigned with great glory at Dwáraká; and not many days had elapsed when, fired with the report of the matchless beauty of the princess Rukmini, daughter of Bhishmak, king of Kundalpur in the country of Vidarbha, he broke in upon the marriage feast, and carried her off before the very eyes of her betrothed, the Chanderi king Sisupál.† After this he contracted many other splendid alliances, even to the number of sixteen thousand and one hundred, and became the father of a hundred and eighty thousand sons.‡ In the Great War he took up arms with his five cousins, the Pándav princes, to terminate the tyranny of Duryodhan; and accompanied by Bhíma and Arjuna, invaded Magadhá, and taking Jarásandha by surprise, put him to death and burnt his capital: and many other noble achievements did he perform, which are written in the chronicles of Dwáraká; but Mathurá saw him no more, and the legends of Mathurá are ended.

To many persons it will appear profane to institute a comparison between the inspired oracles of Christianity and the fictions of Hinduism. But if we fairly consider the legend as above sketched, and allow for a slight element of

* As Magadha became the great centre of Buddhism, and indeed derives its latter name of Bihár from the numerous Viháras or Buddhist monasteries which it contained, its king Jarásandha and his son-in-law Kansa have been described by the orthodox writers of the Mahábhárat and Srl Bhágavat with all the animus they felt against the professors of that religion, though in reality it had not come into existence till some 400 years after Jarásandha's death. Thus the narrative of Krishna's retreat to Dwáraká and the subsequent demolition of Hindu Mathurá, besides its primary signification, represents also in mythological language the great historical fact, attested by the notices of contemporary travellers and the results of recent antiquarian research, that for a time Brahmanism was almost eradicated from Central India and Buddhism established as the national religion.

† Sisupál was first cousin to Krishna; his mother, Srutadevá, being Vasudeva's sister.

‡ These extravagant numbers are merely intended to indicate the wide diffusion and power of the great Jádava (vulgarly Jádón) clan.

the grotesque and that tendency to exaggerate, which is inalienable from Oriental imagination, we shall find nothing incongruous with the primary idea of a beneficent divinity, manifested in the flesh in order to deliver the world from oppression and restore the practice of true religion. Even as regards the greatest stumbling-block, viz., the 'Panchādyaaya,' or five chapters of the Bhāgavat, which describe Krishna's amours with the Gopīs, the language is scarcely, if at all, more glowing and impassioned than that employed in 'the song of songs, which is Solomon's;' and if theologians maintain that the latter must be mystical because inspired, how can a similar defence be denied to the Hindu philosopher? As to those wayward caprices of the child-god, for which no adequate explanation can be assigned, the Brāhman, without any derogation from his intellect, may regard them as the sport of the Almighty, the mysterious dealings of an inscrutable Providence, styled in Sanskrit terminology *māyā*, and in the language of Holy Church *sapientia—sapientia ludens omni tempore, ludens in orbe terrarum*.

Attempts have also been made to establish a definite and immediate connection between the Hindu narrative and at least the earlier chapters of S. Matthew's Gospel. But I think without success. There is an obvious similarity of sound between the names Christ and Krishna; Herod's massacre of the innocents may be compared with the massacre of the children of Mathurā by Kansa; the flight into Egypt with the flight to Gokul; as Christ had a forerunner of supernatural birth in the person of S. John Baptist, so had Krishna in Balarām; and as the infant Saviour was cradled in a manger and first worshipped by shepherds, though descended from the royal house of Judah, so Krishna, though a near kinsman of the reigning prince, was brought up amongst cattle and first manifested his divinity to herdsmen.* The inference drawn from these coincidences is corroborated by an ecclesiastical tradition that the Gospel which S. Thomas the Apostle brought with him to India was that of S. Matthew, and that when his relics were discovered, a copy of it was found to have been buried with him. It is further to be noted that the special Vaishnava tenets of the unity of the Godhead and of salvation by faith

* Hindu pictures of the infant Krishna in the arms of his foster-mother Jasodā, with a glory encircling the heads both of mother and child and a background of Oriental scenery, might often pass for Indian representations of Christ and the Madonna. Professor Weber has written at great length to argue a connection between them. But few scenes (as remarked by Dr. Rajendralāla Mitra) could be more natural or indigenous in any country than that of a woman nursing a child, and in delineating it in one country it is all but utterly impossible to design something which would not occur to other artists in other parts of the world. The relation of original and copy in such a case can be inferred only from the details, the technical treatment, general arrangement and style of execution; and in these respects there is no similarity between the Hindu painting and the Byzantine Madonna quoted by Professor Weber,

are said to have been introduced by Nārada from the Sweta-dwīpa, an unknown region, which if the word be interpreted to mean 'White-man's land,' might well be identified with Christian Europe. It is, on the other hand, absolutely certain that the *name* of Krishna, however late the full development of the legendary cycle, was celebrated throughout India long before the Christian era; thus the only possible hypothesis is that some pandit, struck by the marvellous circumstances of our Lord's infancy as related in the Gospel, transferred them to his own indigenous mythology, and on account of the similarity of name selected Krishna as their hero. It is quite possible that a new life of Krishna may in this way have been constructed out of incidents borrowed from Christian records, since we know as a fact of literary history that the converse process has been actually performed. Thus Fr. Beschi, who was in India from 1700 to 1742, in the hope of supplanting the Rāmāyana, composed, on the model of that famous Hindu epic, a poem of 3,615 stanzas divided into 30 cantos, called the *Tombāvanī*, or *Unfading Garland*, in which every adventure, miracle, and achievement recorded of the national hero, Rāma, was elaborately paralleled by events in the life of Christ. It may be added that the *Harivansa*, which possibly is as old* as any of the *Vaishnava Purānas*, was certainly written by a stranger to the country of Braj; † and not only so, but it further shows distinct traces of a southern origin, as in its description of the exclusively *Dakṣiṇī* festival, the *Punjal*: and it is only in the south of India that a Brāhman would be likely to meet with Christian traditions. There the Church has had a continuous, though a feeble and struggling existence, from the very

* It is quoted by Bīrdī (born 970, died 1038 A. D.) as a standard authority in his time.

† The proof of this statement is that all his topographical descriptions are utterly irreconcilable with facts. Thus he mentions that Krishna and Balarāma were brought up at a spot selected by Nanda on the bank of the Jamunā near the hill of Gobardhan (Canto 61). Now, Gobardhan is some fifteen miles from the river; and the neighbourhood of Gokula and Mahā-ban, which all other written authorities and also ancient tradition agree in declaring to have been the scene of Krishna's infancy, is several miles further distant from the ridge and on the other side of the Jamunā. Again Tāl-ban is described (Canto 79) as lying north of Gobardhan—

गोवर्द्धनस्योत्तरतो यमुनातीरमाश्रितम्
ददृशात् ततो वारो रम्यं तालवनं महत्

It is south-east of Gobardhan and with the city of Mathurā between it and Brindā-ban, though in the *Bhāgavat* it is said to be close to the latter town. So also Bhāndīr-ban is represented in the *Harivansa* as being on the same side of the river as the Kālī-Mārdan Ghāt, being in reality nearly opposite to it.

earliest Apostolic times* down to the present; and it must be admitted there is no intrinsic improbability in supposing that the narrative of the Gc may have exercised on some Hindu sectarian a similar influence to that which the Pentateuch and the Talmud had on the founder of Islam. Nor are differences between the authentic legends of Judaism and the perversions of it that appear in the Kurán very much greater than those which distinguish the life of Christ from the life of Krishna. But after all that can be urged there is no historical basis for the supposed connection between the two narratives which probably would never have been suggested but for the similarity of name. Now, that is certainly a purely accidental coincidence; for Christ as obviously a Greek as Krishna is a Sanskrit formation, and the roots from which the two words are severally derived are entirely different.

The similarity of doctrine is perhaps a yet more curious phenomenon, Dr. Lorinser, in his German version of the Bhagavad Gita, which is the authoritative exponent of Vaishnava tenets, has attempted to point out that it contains many coincidences with and references to the New Testament. Dr. Muir has very justly observed, there is no doubt a general resemblance

* According to Eusebius, the Apostle who visited India was not Thomas, but Bartholomew. There is, however, no early tradition to confirm the latter name; while the 'Acts of Thomas'—though apocryphal—are mentioned by Epiphanius, who was consecrated Bishop of Salamis about 368 A.D., and are attributed by Photius to Lucius Charinus, by later scholars to Bardesanes at the end of the second century. Anyhow, they are ancient, and as it would be against the writer's interest to contradict established facts, the probability is that his historical ground-work—S. Thomas' visit to India—is correct. That Christianity still continued to exist there, after the time of the Apostles, is proved by the statement of Eusebius. Pantanus, the teacher of Clemens Alexandrinus, visited the country in the second century brought back with him to Alexandria a copy of the Hebrew Gospel of S. Matthew. Chrysostom also speaks of a translation, into the Indian tongue, of a Gospel or Catechism. Metropolitan of Persia and India attended the Council of Nice; and the heresiarch Mani, by death about 272 A.D., wrote an Epistle to the Indians. Much stress, however, must not be laid on these latter facts, since India in early times was a term of very wide extent. According to tradition S. Thomas founded seven Churches in Malabar, the names of which are given and are certainly old; and in the sixth century, Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Byzantine monk, speaks of a Church at Male (Malabar) with a Bishop in the town of Kalliana (Kalyán) who had been consecrated in Persia. The sculptured crosses which S. Francis Xavier and other Catholic Missionaries supposed to be relics of S. Thomas, have Pahlavi inscriptions, from the character of which it is surmised that they are not of earlier date than the seventh or eighth century. The old connection between Malabar and Edessa is probably to be explained by the fact that S. Thomas was, as Eusebius and other ecclesiastical historians describe him, Apostle of Edessa, while Pahlavi, which is an Aramean dialect of Assyria, may well have been known and used as far north as that city, since it was the language of the Persian Court. From Antioch, which is not many miles distant from ancient Edessa, and to which the Edessan Church was made subject, the Malabar Christians have from a very early period received their Bishops.

between the manner in which Krishna asserts his own divine nature, enjoins devotion to his person and sets forth the blessings which will result to his votaries from such worship on the one hand, and the language of the fourth Gospel on the other. But the immediate introduction of the Bible into the explanation of the Bhagavad Gita is at least premature. For though some of the parallels are curious, the ethics and the religion of different peoples are not so different from one another that here and there coincidences should not be expected to be found. Most of the verses cited exhibit no very close resemblance to Biblical texts and are only such as might naturally have occurred spontaneously to an Indian writer. And more particularly with regard to the doctrine of 'faith,' *bhakti* may be a modern term, but *araddhá*, in much the same sense, is found even in the hymns of the Rig Veda.

A striking example of the insufficiency of mere coincidence in name and event, to establish a material connection between the legends of any two religions, is afforded by the narrative of Buddha's temptation as given in the Lalita Vistara. In all such cases the metaphysical resemblance tends to prove the identity of the religious idea in all ages of the world and among all races of mankind; but any historical connection, in the absence of historical proof, is purely hypothetical. The story of the Temptation in the fourth Chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel, which was undergone after a long fast and before the commencement of our Lord's active ministry, is exactly paralleled by the circumstances of Buddha's victory over the assaults of the Evil One, after he had completed his six years of penance and before he began his public career as a national Reformer. But the Lalita Vistara is anterior in date to the Christian revelation and therefore cannot have borrowed from it; while it is also certain that the Buddhist legend can never have reached S. Matthew's ears, and therefore any connection between the two narratives is absolutely impossible. My belief is that any connection between Christ and Krishna is equally imaginary.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRAJ-MANDAL, THE BAN-JÁTRA, AND THE HOLI.

Not only the city of Mathurá, but with it the whole of the western half of the district, has a special interest of its own as the birth-place and abiding home of Vaishnava Hinduism. It is about 42 miles in length, with an average breadth of 30 miles, and is intersected throughout by the river Jamuná. On the right bank of the stream are the parganas of Kosi and Chhátá—so named after their principal towns—with the home pargana below them to the south; and on the left bank the united parganas of Mát and Noh-jhil, with half the pargana of Malá-ban as far east as the town of Baladeva. This extent of country is almost absolutely identical with the Braj-mandal of Hindu topography; the circuit of 84 kos in the neighbourhood of Gokul and Brindá-ban, where the divine brothers Krishna and Balarám grazed their herds.

The first aspect of the country is a little disappointing to the student of Sanskrit literature, who has been led by the glowing eulogiums of the poets to anticipate a second vale of Tempe. A similarly unfavourable impression is generally produced upon the mind of any chance traveller, who is carried rapidly along the dusty high-road, and can scarcely see beyond the hideous strip of broken ground which the engineers reserve on either side, in order to supply the soil required for annual repairs. As this strip is never systematically levelled, but is dug up into irregular pits and hollows, the size and depth of which are determined solely by the requirements of the moment, the effect is unsightly enough to spoil any landscape. The following unflattering description is that given by Mons. Victor Jacquemont, who came out to India on a scientific mission on behalf of the Museum of Natural History, and passed through Agra and Mathurá on his way to the Himalayas in the cold weather of 1829-30. "Nothing," he writes, "can be less picturesque than the Jamuná. The soil is sandy and the cultivated fields are intermingled with waste tracts, where scarcely anything will grow but the *Capparis aphylla* and one or two kinds of *zyzypus*. There is little wheat; barley is the prevailing cereal, with peas, sesamum, and cotton. In the immediate neighbourhood of the villages the *Tamarix articulata* gives a little shade with its delicate foliage, which is superlatively graceful no doubt, but as melancholy as that of the pine, which it strangely resembles. The villages are far apart from one another and present every appearance of decay. Most of them are surrounded by strong walls

flanked with towers, but their circuit often encloses only a few miserable cottages." After a lapse of 50 years the above description is still fairly applicable. The villages are now more populous and the mud walls by which they were protected, being no longer required, have been gradually levelled with the ground. But the general features remain unchanged. The soil, being poor and thin, is unfavourable to the growth of most large forest trees ; the mango and *shisham*, the glory of the lower Doáb, are conspicuously absent, and their place is most inadequately supplied by the *nīm*, *farás*, and various species of the fig tribe. For the same reason the dust in any ordinary weather is deep on all the thoroughfares and, if the slightest air is stirring, rises in a dense cloud and veils the whole landscape in an impenetrable haze. The Jamuná, the one great river of Braj, during eight months of the year meanders sullenly, a mere rivulet, between wide expanses of sand, bounded by monotonous flats of arable land, or high banks, which the rapidly expended force of contributory torrents has cracked and broken into ugly chasms and stony ravines, naked of all vegetation.

* As the limits of Braj from north to south on one side are defined by the high lands to the east of the Jamuná, so are they on the other side by the hill ranges of Bharat-pur ; but there are few peaks of conspicuous height and the general outline is tame and unimpressive. The villages, though large, are meanly built, and betray the untidiness characteristic of Játs and Gújars, who form the bulk of the population. From a distance they are often picturesque, being built on the slope of natural or artificial mounds, and thus gaining dignity by elevation. But on nearer approach they are found to consist of labyrinths of the narrowest lanes winding between the mud walls of large enclosures, which are rather cattle-yards than houses. At the base of the hill is ordinarily a broad circle of meadow land, studded with low trees, which afford grateful shade and pasturage for the cattle ; while the large pond, from which the earth was dug to construct the village site, supplies them throughout the year with water. These natural woods commonly consist of *pilu*, *chhankar*, and *kadamb* trees, among which are always interspersed clumps of *karíl* with its leafless evergreen twigs and bright-coloured flower and fruit. The *pasendu*, *pápri*, *arni*, *hingot*, *gondi*, *barna*, and *dho* also occur, but less frequently ; though the last-named, the Sanskrit *dhava*, at Barsána clothes the whole of the hill-side. At sun-rise and sun-set the thoroughfares are all but impassable, as the straggling herds of oxen and buffaloes leave and return to the homestead ; for in the straitened precincts of an ordinary village are stalled every night from 500 or 600 to 1,000 head of cattle, at least equalling, often outnumbering, the human population.

The general poverty of the district forms the *motif* of the following popular Hindi couplet, in which Krishna's neglect to enrich the land of his birth with any choicer product than the *karil*, or wild caper, is cited as an illustration of his wilfulness :

कहा कहें रघुनाथ की गई सतलो नाहि ।
काबुल में मेवा करी टेंटी ब्रज की माहि ॥

which may be thus done into English :

Krishna, you see, will never lose his wayward whims and vapours ;
For Kábul teems with luscious fruit, while Braj boasts only capers.

In the rains, however, at which season of the year all pilgrimages are made, the Jamuná is a mighty stream, a mile or more broad ; its many contributory torrents and all the ponds and lakes, with which the district abounds, are filled to overflowing ; the rocks and hills are clothed with foliage, the dusty plain is transformed into a green sward, and the smiling prospect goes far to justify the warmest panegyrics of the Hindu poets, whose appreciation of the scenery, it must be remembered, has been further intensified by religious enthusiasm. Even at all seasons of the year the landscape has a quiet charm of its own ; a sudden turn in the winding lane reveals a grassy knoll with stone-built well and overhanging *pápal* ; or some sacred grove, where gleaming tufts of *karil* and the white-blossomed *arúsa* weed are dotted about between the groups of weird *pilu* trees with their clusters of tiny berries and strangely gnarled and twisted trunks, all entangled in a dense undergrowth of prickly *ber* and *hins* and *chhonkar* ; while in the centre, bordered with flowering oleander and *nidára*, a still cool lake reflects the modest shrine and well-fenced bush of *tulsi* that surmount the raised terrace, from which a broad flight of steps, gift of some thankful pilgrim from afar, leads down to the water's edge. The most pleasing architectural works in the district are the large masonry tanks, which are very numerous and often display excellent taste in design and skill in execution. The temples, though in some instances of considerable size, are all, excepting those in the three towns of Mathurá, Brindá-ban, and Gobardhan, utterly devoid of artistic merit.

To a very recent period, almost the whole of this large area was pasture and woodland, and, as we have already remarked, many of the villages are still environed with belts of trees. These are variously designated as *ghandá*, *jhári*, *rakhyá*, *ban*, or *khandi*,* and are often of considerable extent. Thus, the Koki-la-ban at Great Bathn covers 723 acres; the *rakhyá* at Kúmar more than 1,000 ; and in the contiguous villages of Pisáyo and Karahla the *rakhyá* and

* When the last term is used, the name of the most prevalent kind of tree is always added, as for instance *kadamb-khandi*.

kadamb-khandi together amount to nearly as much. The year of the great famine, 1838 A. D., is invariably given as the date when the land began to be largely reclaimed; the immediate cause being the number of new roads which were then opened out for the purpose of affording employment to the starving population.

Almost every spot is traditionally connected with some event in the life of Krishna or of his mythical mistress Rádhá, sometimes to the prejudice of an earlier divinity. Thus, two prominent peaks in the Bharat-pur range are crowned with the villages of Nand-gánw and Barsána; of which the former is venerated as the home of Krishna's foster-father Nanda, and the latter as the residence of Rádhá's parents, Vrisha-bhánu and Kírat.* Both legends are now as implicitly credited as the fact that Krishna was born at Mathurá; while in reality, the name Nand-gánw, the sole foundation for the belief, is an ingenious substitution for Nandisvar, a title of Mahú-deva, and Barsána is a corruption of Brahma-sánu, the hill of Brahma. Only the Gíri-ráj at Gobardhan was, according to the original distribution, dedicated to Vishnu, the second person of the *tri-murti*, or Hindu trinity; though now he is recognized as the tutelary divinity at all three hill-places. Similarly, Bhau-gánw, on the right bank of the Jamuná, was clearly so called from Bhava, one of the eight manifestations of Siva; but the name is now generally modified to Bhay-gánw, and is supposed to commemorate the alarm (*bhay*) felt in the neighbourhood at the time when Nanda, bathing in the river, was carried off by the god Varuna. A masonry landing-place on the water's edge called Nand-Ghát, with a small temple, dating only from last century, are the foundation and support of the local legend. Of a still more obsolete cultus, *viz.*, snake-worship, faint indications may be detected in a few local names and customs. Thus, at Jait, on the high-road to Delhi, there is an ancient five-headed Nága, carved in stone, by the side of a small tank† which occupies the centre of a low plain adjoining the village. It stands some four feet above the surface of the ground, while its tail was supposed to reach away to the Káli-mardan Ghát at Brindá-ban, a distance of seven miles. A slight excavation at the base of the figure has, for a few years at least, dispelled the local superstition. So again, at the village of Pai-gánw, a grove and lake called respectively Pai-ban and Pai-ban-kund are the scene of an annual fair known as the *Barasi Nága ji mela*. This is now regarded more as the anniversary of the death of a certain Mahant;

* Kírat is the only name popularly known in the locality; in the Padma Purána it appears in its more correct form as Kirtida; in the Brahma Vaivarta she is called Kalávatí. It may also be mentioned that Vrisha-bhánu is always pronounced Brikh-báu.

† This tank has now been excavated as a famine relief work, at a cost of Rs. 6,787.

but in all probability it dates from a much earlier period, and the village name would seem to be derived from the large offerings of milk (*payas*) with which it is usual to propitiate the *Nāga*, or serpent-god.

Till the close of the 16th century, except in the neighbourhood of the one great thoroughfare, there was only here and there a scattered hamlet in the midst of unreclaimed woodland. The Vaishnava cultus then first developed into its present form under the influence of Rūpa and Sanātana, the celebrated Bengālī Gosāins of Brindā-ban; and it is not improbable that they were the authors of the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāna*,* the recognized Sanskrit authority for all the modern local legends. It was their disciple, Nārāyan Bhatt, who first established the Ban-jātra and Rās-līlā, and it was from him that every lake and grove in the circuit of Braj received a distinctive name, in addition to the some seven or eight spots which alone are mentioned in the earlier Purānas. In the course of time, small villages sprung up in the neighbourhood of the different shrines, bearing the same name with them, though perhaps in a slightly modified form. Thus the *khadira-ban*, or 'acacia grove,' gives its name to the village of Khaira; and the *anjan pokhar*, on whose green bank Krishna pencilled his lady's eyebrows with *anjan*, gives its name to the village of Ajnokh, occasionally written at greater length Ajnokhari. Similarly, when Krishna's home was fixed at Nand-grānw and Rādhā's at Barsīna, a grove half-way between the two hills was fancifully selected as the spot where the youthful couple used to meet to enjoy the delights of love. There a temple was built with the title of Rādhā-Raman, and the village that grew up under its walls was called Sanket, that is, 'the place of assignation.' Thus we may readily fall in with Hindu prejudices, and admit that many of the names on the map are etymologically connected with events in Krishna's life, and yet deny that those events have any real connection with the spot; inasmuch as neither the village nor the local name had any existence till centuries after the incidents occurred, which they are supposed to commemorate.

The really old local names are almost all derived from the physical character of the country, which has always been celebrated for its wide extent of

* The *Brahma Vaivarta Purāna* is, as all critics admit, an essentially modern composition, and Professor Wilson has stated his belief that it emanated from the sect of the Vallabhāchāris, or Gosāins of Gokul. Their great ancestor settled there about the year 1480 A. D. The popular Bindi authority for Rādhā's Life and Loves is the *Braj Bilās* of Braj-rāsi Dās. The precise date of the poem, *sambat* 1800, corresponding to 1743 A. D., is given in the following line—

• सम्बत सुम पुराण शत जानो

Another work of high repute is the *Sār Sāgar* of Sār Dās Jī (one of the disciples of the great religious teacher Rāmānand) as edited and expanded by Krishnānand Vyāsa,

pasture land and many herds of cattle. Thus Gokul means originally a herd of kine ; Gobardhan a rearer of kine ; Mát is so called from *mát*, a milk-pail ; and Dadhigánw (contracted into Dah-gánw) in the Kosi pargaua, from *dadhi*, 'curds.' Thus, too, 'Braj' in the first instance means 'a herd,' from the root *vraj*, 'to go,' in allusion to the constant moves of nomadic tribes. And hence it arises that in the earliest authorities for Krishna's adventures, both Vraja and Gokula are used to denote, not the definite localities now bearing those names, but any chance spot temporarily used for stalling cattle ; inattention to this archaism has led to much confusion in assigning sites to the various legends. The word 'Mathurá,' also, is probably connected with the Sanskrit root *math*, 'to churn ;' the churn forming a prominent feature in all poetical descriptions of the local scenery. Take, for example, the following lines from the Harivansa, 3395 :—

क्षेम्यं प्रचारबहुलं हृष्टपुष्टजनावृतं ।
 डामनीप्रायवहुलं गर्गरोद्गारनिस्वनं ॥
 तक्रनिस्त्राववहुलं दधिमण्डाद्रमृत्तिकं ।
 मन्थानवलयाद्गारै गोपीनां जनितस्वनं ॥

"A fine country of many pasture-lands and well-nurtured people, full of ropes for tethering cattle, resonant with the voice of the sputtering churn, and flowing with butter-milk ; where the soil is ever moist with milky froth, and the stick with its circling cord sputters merrily in the pail as the girls spin it round."

And, again, in section 73 of the same poem—

ब्रजेषु च विशेषेण गर्गरोद्गारहासिषु ॥

"In homesteads gladdened by the sputtering churn."

In many cases a false analogy has suggested a mythological derivation. Thus, all native scholars see in Mathurá an allusion to Mathu-mathan, a title of Krishna. Again, the word Bathan is still current in some parts of India to designate a pasture-ground, and in that sense has given a name to two extensive parishes in Kosi ; but as the term is not a familiar one thereabouts, a legend was invented in explanation, and it was said that here Balaráma 'sat down' (*baithen*) to wait for Krishna. The myth was accepted ; a lake immediately outside the village was styled Bal-bhadra kund, was furnished with a handsome masonry ghát by Rúp Rám, the Katára of Barsána, and is now regarded as positive proof of the popular etymology which connects the place with Balaráma. Of Rúp Rám, the Katára, further mention will be made in connection with his birth-place, Barsána. There is scarcely a sacred site in the whole

of Braj which does not exhibit some ruinous record, in the shape of temple or tank, of his unbounded wealth and liberality. His descendant in the fourth degree, a worthy man, by name Lakshman Dás, lives in a corner of one of his ancestor's palaces and is dependent on charity for his daily bread. The present owners of many of the villages which Rúp Rám so munificently endowed are the heirs of the Lálá Bábu, of whom also an account will be given further on.

In the Váráhá Purána, or rather in the interpolated section of that work known as the Mathurá Máhátmya, the Mathurá Mandal is described as twenty *yojanas* in extent.

विंशतियोजनानां च माथुरं मम मंडलं ॥

यच्च यच्च नरः स्नाति मुच्यते सर्वपातकैः ॥

“ My Mathurá circle is one of twenty *yojanas* ; by bathing at any place therein a man is redeemed from all his sins.”

And taking the *yojana* as 7 miles and the *kos* as $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, 20 *yojanas* would be nearly equal to 84 *kos*, the popular estimate of the distance travelled by the pilgrims in performing the *Pari-krama*, or ‘perambulation’ of Braj. It is probable that if an accurate measurement were made, this would be found a very rough approximation to the actual length of the way ; though liberal allowance must be made for the constant ins and outs, turns and returns, which ultimately result in the circuit of a not very wide-spread area. There can be no doubt that the number 84, which in ancient Indian territorial divisions occurs as frequently as a hundred in English counties, and which enters largely into every cycle of Hindu legend and cosmogony, was originally selected for such general adoption as being the multiple of the number of months in the year with the number of days in the week. It is therefore peculiarly appropriate in connection with the Braj Mandal ; if Krishna, in whose honour the perambulation is performed, be regarded as the Indian Apollo, or Sun-God. Thus, the magnificent temple in Kashmír, dedicated to the sun under the title of Mártand, has a colonnade of exactly 84 pillars.

It is sometimes said that the circle originally must have been of wider extent than now, since the city of Mathurá, which is described as its centre, is more than 30 miles distant from the most northern point, Kotban, and only six from Társi to the south ; and Elliot in his glossary quotes the following couplet as fixing its limits :—

इत बरहद इत सोनहद उत शूरसेन का गांव ॥

ब्रज चौरासी कोस में मथुरा मंडल मांह ॥

"On one side Bar, on another Sona, on the third the town of Śūrasen; these are the limits of the Braj Chaurāsi, the Mathurā circle."

According to this authority the area has been diminished by one half; as Bar is in the Aligarh district, Sona, famous for its hot sulphur springs, is in Gur-gānw; while the 'Śūrasen ka gānw' is supposed to be Batesar,* a place of some note on the Jamunā and the scene of a large horse fair held on the full moon of Kārtik. It might equally mean any town in the kingdom of Mathurā, or even the capital itself, as King Ugrasen, whom Krishna restored to the throne, is sometimes styled Śūrasen. Thus, too, Arrian mentions Mathurā as a chief town of the Śūraseni, a people specially devoted to the worship of Hercules, who may be identified with Balarāma: and Manu (II., 19.) clearly intends Mathurā by Śūrasena† when he includes that country with Kuru-kshetra, Panchāla, and Matsya, in the region of Brahmarshi, as distinguished from Brahmāvarta. But though it must be admitted that the circle is sometimes drawn with a wider circumference, as will be seen in the sequel to this chapter, still it is not certain which of the two rests upon the better authority. In any case, the lines above quoted cannot be of great antiquity, seeing that they contain the Persian word *hadd*; and, as regards the unequal distances between the city of Mathurā and different points on the circumference, it has only to be remembered that the circle is an ideal one, and any point within its outer verge may be roughly regarded as its centre.

As the anniversary of Krishna's birth is kept in the month of Bhālon, it is then that the perambulation takes place, and a series of *melas* is held at the different woods, where the *rās-līlā* is celebrated. This is an unwritten religious drama, which represents the most popular incidents in the life of Krishna, and thus corresponds very closely with the miracle plays of mediæval Christendom. The arrangement of the performances forms the recognized occupation of a class of Brāhmans residing chiefly in the villages of Karahla and Pisayo who are called Rāsthāris, and have no other profession or means of livelihood. The complete series of representations extends over a month or more, each scene

* Father Tieffenthaler, in his *Geography of India*, makes the following mention of Batesar:—
 "Lieu celebre et bien bâti sur le Djemna, 22 milles d'Agra. Une multitude de peuple s'y rassemble pour se laver dans ce fleuve et pour célébrer une foire en Octobre. On rend un culte tel dans beaucoup de temples bâtie sur le Djemna, à Mahadeo tant révéré de tout l'univers adonné à la luxure; car Mahadeo est le Priape des anciens qu'encensent ah quelle honte! toutes les nations."

† कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्यश्च पञ्चालः शूरसेनकाः ॥
 यथ ब्रह्माग्निदेशे वै ब्रह्मावर्तानन्दनन्तरः ॥

being acted on the very spot with which the original event is traditionally connected. The marriage scene, as performed at Sanket, is the only one that I have had the fortune to witness : with a garden-terrace for a stage, a grey stone temple for back-ground, the bright moon over head, and an occasional flambeau that shot a flickering gleam over the central tableau framed in its deep border of intent and sympathizing faces, the spectacle was a pretty one and was marked by a total absence of anything even verging upon indecorum. The cost of the whole perambulation with the performances at the different stations on the route is provided by some one wealthy individual, often a trader from Bombay or other distant part of India ; and as he is always accompanied by a large gathering of friends and retainers, numbering at least 200 or 300 persons, the outlay is seldom less than Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000. The local Gosáin, whom he acknowledges as his spiritual director, organizes all the arrangements through one of the Ráshháris, who collects the troupe (or *mandali* as it is called) of singers and musicians, and himself takes the chief part in the performance, declaiming in set recitative with the mandali for chorus, while the children who personate Rádhá and Krishna act only in dumb show. The number of sacred places, woods, groves, ponds, wells, hills, and temples—all to be visited in fixed order—is very considerable ; there are generally reckoned five hills, eleven rocks, four lakes, eighty-four ponds, and twelve wells ; but the twelve bans or woods, and the twenty-four upabans or groves, are the characteristic feature of the pilgrimage, which is thence called the Ban-Játra. The numbers 12 and 24 have been arbitrarily selected on account of their mystic significance ; and few of the local pandits, if required to enumerate either group offhand, would be able to complete the total without some recourse to guesswork. A little Hindi manual for the guidance of pilgrims has been published at Mathurá and is the popular authority on the subject. The compiler, however great his local knowledge and priestly reputation, has certainly no pretensions to accuracy of scholarship. His attempts at etymology are, as a rule, absolutely grotesque, as in the two sufficiently obvious names of Khaira (for Khadira) and Sher-garh (from Sher Sháh), the one of which he derives from *khedna*, 'to drive cattle,' and the other, still more preposterously, from *sihara*, 'a marriage crown.' The list which he gives is as follows, his faulty orthography in some of the words being corrected :—

The 12 Bans: Madhu-ban, Tál-ban, Kumud-ban, Bahulá-ban, Kám-ban, Khadira-ban, Brindá-ban, Bhadra-ban, Bhándír-ban, Bel-ban, Loha-ban and Mahá-ban.

The 24 Upabans : Gokul, Gobardhan, Barsáná, Nand-gánw, Sanket, Paramadra, Aring, Sessái, Mát, Uncha-gánw, Khel-ban, Srí-kund, Gandhary-ban,

Parsoli, Bilchhu, Bachh-ban, Adi-badri, Karahla, Ajnokh, Pisáyo, Kokila-ban, Dadhi-gánw, Kot-ban, and Rával.

This list bears internal evidence of some antiquity in its want of close correspondence with existing facts ; since several of the places, though retaining their traditionary repute, have now nothing that can be dignified with the name either of wood or grove ; while others are known only by the villagers in the immediate neighbourhood and have been supplanted in popular estimation by rival sites of more easy access or greater natural attractions.

Starting from Mathurá, the pilgrims make their first halt at Madhu-ban, in the village of Maholi, some four or five miles to the south-west of the city. Here, according to the Puránas, Ráma's brother, Satrugghna, after hewing down the forest stronghold of the giant Madhu, founded on its site the town of Madhu-puri. All native scholars regard this as merely another name for Mathurá, regardless of the fact that the locality is several miles from the river, while Mathurá has always, from the earliest period, been described as situate on its immediate bank. The confusion between the two places runs apparently through the whole of classical Sanskrit literature ; as, for example, in the Harivansa (Canto 95) we find the city founded by Satrugghna distinctly called not Madhu-puri, but Mathurá, which Bhíma, the king of Gobardhan, is represented as annexing :—

शत्रुघ्नो लवणं हत्वा चिच्छेद स मधोर्वनं ॥
 तस्मिन्मधुवने स्थाने पुरीञ्च मथुरामिमां ॥
 निवेशयामास विभुः सुमित्रानन्दवर्द्धनः ॥
 पर्याये चैव रामस्य भरतस्य तथैव च ॥
 सुमित्रासुतयोश्चैव प्राप्रयोर्वैष्णवं पदं ॥
 भीमेनेयं पुरी तेन राज्यसम्बन्धकारणात् ॥
 स्ववंशे स्थापिता पूर्वं स्वयमध्यासिता तथा ॥

“When Sumitrá's delight, prince Satrugghna, had killed Lavana, he cut down the forest of Madhu, and in the place of that Madhu-ban founded the present city of Mathurá. Then, after Ráma and Bharata had left the world, and the two sons of Sumitrá had taken their place in heaven, Bhíma, in order to consolidate his dominions, brought the city, which had formerly been independent, under the sway of his own family.”

Some reminiscence of the ancient importance of Maholi would seem to have long survived ; for though so close to Mathurá, it was, in Akbar's time and

for many years subsequently, the head of a local division. By the sacred wood is a pond called Madhu-kund, and a temple dedicated to Krishna under his title of Chatur-bhuj, where an annual mela is held on the 11th of the dark fortnight of Bhádon.

From Maholi, the pilgrims turn south to Tál-ban, 'the palm grove,' where Balaráma was attacked by the demon Dhenuk. The village in which it is situated is called Társi, probably in allusion to the legend; though locally the name is referred only to the founder, one Tárá Chand, a Kachhwáhá Thákur, who in quite modern times moved to it from Satoha, a place a few miles off on the road to Gobardhan. They then visit Kumud-ban, 'of the many water-lilies,' in Ucha-gánw, and Bahulá-ban in Báthi, where the cow Bahulá, being seized by a tiger, begged the savage beast to spare her life for a few minutes, while she went away and gave suck to her little one. On her return, bringing the calf with her, the tiger vanished and Krishna appeared in his stead; for it was the god himself who had made this test of her truthfulness. The event is commemorated by the little shrine of Bahulá Gae, still standing on the margin of the Krishna-kund. They next pass through the villages of Tos, Jakhin-gánw, and Mukharái, and arrive at Rádhá-kund, where are the two famous tanks prepared for Krishna's expiatory ablution after he had slain the bull Arishta.* Thence they pass on to Gobardhan, scene of many a marvellous incident, and visit all the sacred sites in its neighbourhood; the village of Basái, where the two divine children with their foster parents once came and dwelt (*basáe*) the Kallol-kund by the grove of Aring; Mádhuri-kund; Mor-ban, the haunt of the peacock, and Chandra-sarovar, 'the moon lake;' where Brahma, joining with the Gopís in the mystic dance, was so enraptured with delight that, all unconscious of the fleeting hours, he allowed the single night to extend over a period of six months. This is at a village called Parsoli by the people, but which appears on the maps and in the revenue-roll only as Muhammad-pur. The tank is a fine octagonal basin with stone gháts, the work of Rájá Náhar Sinh of Bharat-pur. After a visit to Paitha, where the people of Braj 'came in' (*paithi*) to take shelter from the storms of Indra under the uplifted range, they pass along the heights of the Gíri-ráj to Anyor, 'the other side,' and so by many sacred rocks, as Sugandhi-sila, Sindúri-sila, and Sundar-sila, with its temple of Gobardhan-náth, to Gopál-pur, Bilchhu, and Gánthauli, where the marriage 'knot' (*gánth*) was tied, that confirmed the union of Rádhá and Krishna.

* Aring, which is on the road from Mathurá to Gobardhan, and only a few miles distant from Rádhá-kund, is supposed to have been the place where the bull was slain, and to have derived its name, originally Arishta-gánw, from the event.

Then, following the line of frontier, the pilgrims arrive at Kám-ban, now the head-quarters of a tahsíl in Bharat-pur territory, 39 miles from Mathurá, with the Luk-luk cave, where the boys played blind-man's buff; and Aghásur's cave, where the demon of that name was destroyed; and leaving Kanwáro-gánw, enter again upon British ground near the village of Uncha-gánw, with its ancient temple of Baladeva. High on the peak above is Barsána, with its series of temples dedicated to Lárlijí, where Rádhá was brought up by her parents, Brikhbhán and Kírat; and in the glade below, Dohani-kund near Chaksauli, where as Jasodá was cleansing her milk-pail (*dohani*) she first saw the youthful pair together, and vowed that one day they should be husband and wife. There too is Prem Sarovar, or 'love lake,' where first the amorous tale was told; and Sánkari Khor, 'the narrow opening' between the hills, where Krishna lay in ambush and levied his toll of milk on the Gopís as they came in from Gahvarban, the 'thick forest' beyond. Next are visited Sanket, the place of assignation; Rithora, home of Chandrávali, Rádhá's faithful attendant; and Nand-gánw, long the residence of Nanda and Jasodá, with the great lake Pán-Sarovar, at the foot of the hill, where Krishna morning and evening drove his foster-father's cattle to water (*pán*). Next in order come Karahla,* with its fine *kadamb* trees; Kamai, where one of Rádhá's humble friends was honoured by a visit from her lord and mistress in the course of their rambles; Ajnokh,† where Krishna pencilled his lady's eyebrows with *anjan* as she reclined in careless mood on the green sward; and Pisáyo,‡ where she found him fainting with 'thirst,' and revived him with a draught of water. Then, still bearing due north, the pilgrims come to Khadira-ban, 'the acacia grove,' in Khaira; Kumar-ban and Jávak-ban in Jáu, where Krishna tinged his lady's feet with the red Jávak dye, and Kokila-ban, ever musical with the voice of 'the cuckoo;' and so arrive at the base of Charan Pahár in Little Bathán, the

* Karahla, or, as it is often spelt, Karhela, is locally derived, from *kar hila*, the movements of the hands in the *rás-lilá*. At the village of Little Marna, a pond bears the same name—karhela-kund—which is there explained as *karm hila*, equivalent to *páp mochan*. But in the Mainpuri district is a large town called Karhal—the same word in a slightly modified form—where neither of the above etymologies could hold. The name is more probably connected with a simple natural feature, *viz.*, the abundance of the *karí* plant at each place.

† Ajnokh, or, in its fuller form, Ajnokhari, is a contraction for *Anjan Pokkar*, 'the anjan lake.'

‡ *Bhúkho pisáyo* is, in the language of the country, a common expression for 'hungry and thirsty.' But most of these derivations are quoted, not for their philological value, but as showing how thoroughly the whole country side is impregnated with the legends of Krishna, when some allusion to him is detected in every village name. In the Vraja-bhakti-vilása, Pisáyo is called *Pipása-vana*; but it would seem really to be a corruption of *pasavya*.

favoured spot, where the minstrel god delighted most to stop and play his flute, and where Indra descended from heaven on his elephant Airāvata, to do him homage, as is to this day attested by the prints of the divine 'feet' (*charan*) impressed upon the rock.

They then pass on through Dadhi-gánw, where Krishna stayed behind to divert himself with the milk-maids, having sent Baladeva on ahead with the cows to wait for him at Bathan; and so reach Kot-ban, the northernmost point of the perambulation. The first village on the homeward route is Sessai (a hamlet of Hathána), where Krishna revealed his divinity by assuming the emblems of Náráyan and reclining under the canopied heads of the great serpent Sesha, of whom Baladeva was an incarnation; but the vision was all too high a mystery for the herdsmen's simple daughters, who begged the two boys to doff such fantastic guise and once more, as they were wont, join them in the sprightly dance.* Then, reaching the Jamuná at Khel-ban by Shergarh,† where Krishna's temples were decked with 'the marriage wreath' (*sihara*), they follow the course of the river through Bihár-ban in Pír-pur, and by Chirghát in the village of Siyára, where the frolicsome god stole‡ the bathers' 'clothes' (*ohár*), and arrive at Nand-ghát. Here Nanda, bathing one night, was carried off by the myrmidons of the sea-god Varuna, who had long been lying in wait for this very purpose, since their master knew that Krishna would at once follow to recover his foster-father, and thus, the depths of ocean, too, no less than earth, would be gladdened with the vision of the incarnate deity. The adjoining village of Bhay-gánw derives its name from the 'terror' (*bhay*) that ensued on the news of Nanda's disappearance. The pilgrims next pass through Bachh-ban, where the demon Bachhásur was slain; the two villages of Basáí, where the Gopís were first 'subdued' (*bas-ái*) by the power of love; Atas, Nari-señri,§ Chhatíkra, and Akrúr, where

* According to the Vishnu Purána, this transformation was not effected for the benefit of the Gopís, but was a vision vouchsafed to Akrúr on the bank of the Jamuná the day he fetched the boys from Brindá-ban to attend the tourney at Mathurá.

† This is a curious specimen of perverted etymology illustrating the persistency with which Hindus and Muhammadans each go their own way and ignore the other's existence. The town unquestionably derives its name from a large fort, of which the ruins still remain, built by the Emperor Sher Sháh.

‡ In the Vishnu Purána this famous incident is not mentioned at all.

§ A large fair, called the Nau Durgá, is held at the village of Nari-señri during the dark fortnight of Chait, the commencement of the Hindu year. The same festival is also celebrated at Sánchauli in the Kosi pargana and at Nagar-Kot, in Gur-gánw, though not on precisely the same days.

Kansa's perfidious invitation to the contest of arms was received; and wend their way beneath the temple of Bhatronḍ, where one day, when the boys' stock of provisions had run short, some Brahmans' wives supplied their wants, though the husbands, to whom application was first made, had churlishly refused.* So they arrive at Brindá-ban, where many a sacred ghát and venerable shrine claim devout attention.

The pilgrims then cross the river and visit the tangled thickets of Bel-ban in Jahángír-pur; the town of Mát with the adjoining woods of Bhadra-ban, scene of the great conflagration, and Bhándír-ban, where the son of Rohini first received his distinctive title of Bala-ráma, *i.e.*, Ramá the strong, in consequence of the prowess he had displayed in vanquishing the demon Pralamba; Dángoli, where Krishna dropt his 'staff' (*dang*) † and the fair lake of Mún-sarovar, scene of a fit of lover's 'pettishness' (*mán*). Then follow the villages of Piparauli, with its broad spreading *pípai* trees; Lohaban, perpetuating the defeat of the demon Lohásur‡; Gopálpur, favourite station of the herdsmen, and Rával, where Rádhá's mother, Kirat, lived with her father, Surbhán, till she went to join her husband at Barsána. Next comes Burhiya-ká-kherá, home of the old dame whose son had taken in marriage Rádhá's companion, Mánvati. The fickle Krishna saw and loved, and, in order to gratify his passion undisturbed, assumed the husband's form. The unsuspecting bride received him fondly to her arms; while the good mother was enjoined to keep close watch below and, if any one came to the door pretending to be her son, by no means to open to him, but rather, if he persisted, pelt him with brick-bats till he ran away. So the honest man lost his wife and got his head broken into the bargain.

After leaving the scene of this merry jest, the pilgrims pass on to Bandi-gánw, name commemorative of Jasodá's two faithful domestics, Bandi and Anandi, and arrive at Baladeva, with its wealthy temple dedicated in honour of that divinity and his spouse, Revati. Then, beyond the village of Hathaurá, are the two river landing-places, Chintá-haran, 'the end of doubt,' and Brahmánda, 'creation,' ghát. Here Krishna's playmates came running to tell Jasodá that the naughty boy had filled his mouth with mud. She took up a stick to punish him, but he, to prove the story false, unclosed his lips and showed her

* To commemorate the event, a fair called the Bhatmela is held on the spot, on the full moon of Kártik. Compare the story of David repulsed by the churlish Nabal, but afterwards succoured by his wife Abigail.

† The name Dángoli is really derived from the position of the village on the 'high river bank,' which is also called

‡ The name is really from the tree *lodha* or *lodhra*

there, within the compass of his baby cheeks, the whole 'created' universe with all its worlds and circling seas distinct. Close by is the town of Mahá-ban, famous for many incidents in Krishna's infancy, where he was rocked in the cradle, and received his name from the great pandit Garg, and where he put to death Pútaná and the other evil spirits whom Kansa had commissioned to destroy him. At Gokul, on the river-bank, are innumerable shrines and temples dedicated to the god under some one or other of his favourite titles, Madan Mohan, Málhava Ráe, Brajesvar, Gokul-náth, Navanít-priya and Dwáraká-náth; and when all have been duly honoured with a visit, the weary pilgrims finally recross the stream and sit down to rest at the point from which they started, the Visránt Ghát, the holiest place in the holy city of Mathurá.

As may be gathered from the above narrative, it is only the twelve *bans* that, as a rule, are connected with the Pauránik legends of Krishna and Balaráma, and these are all specified by name in the Mathurá Málhátmya. On the other hand, the twenty-four *upabans* refer mainly to Rádhá's adventures, and have no ancient authority whatever. Of the entire number, only three were, till quite recent times, places of any note, viz., Gokul, Gobardhan, and Rádhá-kund, and their exceptional character admits of easy explanation: Gokul, in all classical Sanskrit literature, is the same as Mahá-ban, which is included among the *bans*; Gobardhan is as much a centre of sanctity as Mathurá itself, and is only for the sake of uniformity inserted in either list; while Rádhá-kund, as the name denotes, is the one primary source from which the goddess derives her modern reputation. It is now insisted that the parallelism is in all respects complete; for, as Krishna has four special dwelling-places, Mathurá, Mahá-ban, Gobardhan, and Nand-gúnw, so has Rádhá four also in exact correspondence, viz., Brindá-ban, Rával, Rádhá-kund, and Barsána.

The perambulation, as traced in the foregoing sketch, is the one ordinarily performed, and includes all the most popular shrines; but a far more elaborate enumeration of the holy places of Braj is given in a Sanskrit work, existing only in manuscript, entitled *Vraja-bhakti-vilása*. It is of no great antiquity, having been compiled, in the year 1553 A.D., by the Náráyan Bhatt, who has been already mentioned.* He is said to have been a resident of Unchá-gúnw near Barsána, but he describes himself as writing at Sri-kund, i. e., Rádhá-kund. It is divided into 13 sections extending over 108 leaves, and is professedly based on the Paramahansa Sanhita. It specifies as many as 133 *bans* or woods, 91 on

* The colophon of the *Vraja-bhakti-vilása* runs as follows:—*Śrīmad Bhāskar-ātmaja-Nārāyaṇa-Bhatta-virachite Vraja-bhakti-vilāse Paramahansa-saṅhitodāharane Vraja-Māhātmya-nirūpaṇe Vana-yātra-pīṭha-ange Vraja-yātra-prasaṅgike trayodaśo' dhyāyah.*

the right bank of the Jamuná and 42 on the left, and groups them under different heads as follows :—

I.—The 12 Bans : 1, Mahá-ban ; 2, Kámya-ban ; 3, Kokila-ban ; 4, Tál-ban ; 5, Kumud-ban ; 6, Bhándir-ban ; 7, Chhatra-ban ; * 8, Khádira-ban ; 9, Loha-ban ; 10, Bhadra-ban ; 11, Bahulá-ban,; 12, Vilva-ban, *i. e.*, Bel-ban.

II.—The 12 Upabans : 1, Brahma-ban ; 2, Apsará-ban ; 3, Vihvala-ban ; 4, Kadamb-ban ; 5, Svarna-ban ; 6, Surabhi-ban ; 7, Prem-ban ; † 8, Mayúra, *i. e.*, Mor-ban ; 9, Manongiti-ban ; 10, Sesha-saiyí-ban ; 11, Nárada-ban ; 12, Paramánanda-ban.

III.—The 12 Prati-bans : 1, Ranka-ban ; 2, Vártá-ban ; 3, Karaha ; 4, Kámya-ban ; 5, Anjana-ban ; 6, Káma-ban ; 7, Krishna-kshipanaka ; 8, Nanda-prekshana ; 9, Indra-ban ; 10, Siksha-ban ; 11, Chandrávati-ban ; 12, Loha-ban. ‡

IV.—The 12 Adhi-bans : 1, Mathurá ; 2, Rídhú-kund ; 3, Nanda-gráma ; 4, Gata-sthána ; 5, Lalita-gráma ; 6, Brisha-bhānu-pur ; § 7, Gokul ; 8, Baladeva ; 9, Gobardhan ; 10, Jáva-ban ; 11, Brindá-ban ; 12, Sanket.

V.—The 5 Sevyā-bans ; VI., the 12 Tapo-bans ; VII., the 12 Moksha-bans ; VIII., the 12 Káma-bans ; IX., the 12 Artha-bans ; X., the 12 Dharma-bans ; XI., the 12 Siddhi-bans—all of which the reader will probably think it unnecessary to enumerate in detail.

To every ban is assigned its own tutelary divinity ; thus Haláyndha (Baladeva) is the patron of Mahá-ban ; Gopináth of Kám-ban ; Nata-vara of Kokila-ban ; Dúmodar of Tál-ban ; Kesava of Kumud-ban ; Sridhara of Bhándir-ban ; Hari of Chhatra-ban ; Náráyan of Khádira-ban ; Hayagríva of Bhadra-ban ; Padma-nábhā of Bahulá-ban ; Janardana of Bel-ban ; Adī-vadrīśvara of Paramánanda ; Paramesvara of Kam-ban (prati-ban) ; Jasodá-nandan of Nand-gánw ; Gokul-chandrama of Gokul ; Murlidhar of Karaha ; Līla-kamala-lochana of Hasya-ban ; Lokeshvara of Úpahíra-ban ; Lankadhīpa-kula-dhvasī of Jahnu-ban ; and Śrī-shatsīlankshyama of Bhuvana-ban.

* Chhatra-ban represents the town of Chhátá. The only spot mentioned in connection with it is the Súraj-kund, a pond which still exists and bears the same name, but is not now held in much regard.

† Surabhi-ban adjoins Gobardhan. Near Prem-ban is the Prem-sarovar.

‡ The one Loha-ban on the right bank of the river is described as the scene of the destruction of Jarásandha's armies ; the other, on the left bank, is more correctly styled Loha-jangha-ban.

§ Brisha-bhānu-pur is intended as the Sanskrit original of Barsāna, but incorrectly so.

The four last-named woods are given as the limits of the Braj Mandal in the following sloka, and it is distinctly noted that the city of Mathurá is at the same distance, *viz.*, 21 kos, from each one of them:—

पूर्व हास्यवनं नीय पश्चिमस्यांपहारिकं ॥
दक्षिणे जन्हुसंज्ञाकं भुवनाख्यं तथोत्तरे ॥

The Pandits, who were asked to reconcile these limits with those mentioned in the Hindi couplet previously quoted, declared Hásyá-ban in the east to be the same as Bhrhadd in Aligarh; Upahára-ban in the west as Sona in Gurgánw; Jahnu-ban to the south the same as Súrásen-ká-gánw, or Batesar; and Bhuvana-ban to the north Bhúkhan-ban near Shergarh. The identification is probably little more than conjectural; but a superstition, which is at once both comparatively modern and also practically obsolete, scarcely deserves a more protracted investigation than has already been bestowed upon it.

Next to the Ban-jútra, the most popular local festivity is the Holi, which is observed for several days in succession at different localities. Several of the usages are, I believe, entirely unknown beyond the limits of Braj, even to the people of the country; and, so far as I could ascertain by enquiries, they had never been witnessed by any European. Accordingly, as the festival fell unusually early in 1877, while the weather was still cool enough to allow of a mid-day ride without serious inconvenience, I took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded me and made the round of all the principal villages in the Ohlátá and Kosi parganas where the rejoicings of the Phúl Dol, for so these Hindu Saturnalia are popularly termed, are celebrated with any peculiarities, visiting each place on its special fête-day. The following is an account of what I saw.

Feb. 22nd, Barsána, the Rangila Holi.—In the middle of the town is a small open square, about which are grouped the stately mansions and temples built by the great families who resided here during the first half of the 18th century. A seat in the balcony over the gateway of the house still occupied by the impoverished descendants of the famous Katára, Rúp Rám, the founder of Barsána's short-lived magnificence, commands a full view of the humours of the crowd below. The cheeriness of the holiday-makers as they throng the narrow winding streets on their way to and from the central square, where they break up into groups of bright and ever-varying combinations of colour; with the buffooneries of the village clowns and the grotesque dances of the lusty swains, who with castanets in hand caricature in their movements the conventional graces of the Indian ballet-girl.

Crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus,

all make up a sufficiently amusing spectacle; but these are only interludes and accessories to the great event of the day. This is a sham fight between the men from the neighbouring village of Nand-gánw and the Barsána ladies, the wives of the Gosáins of the temple of Lárli Ji, which stands high on the crest of the rock that overlooks the arena. The women have their mantles drawn down over their faces and are armed with long heavy bambus, with which they deal their opponents many shrewd blows on the head and shoulders. The latter defend themselves as best they can with round leather shields and stags' horns. As they dodge in and out amongst the crowd and now and again have their flight cut off and are driven back upon the band of excited viragoes, many laughable incidents occur. Not unfrequently blood is drawn, but an accident of the kind is regarded rather as an omen of good fortune and has never been known to give rise to any ill-feeling. Whenever the fury of their female assailants appears to be subsiding, it is again excited by the men shouting at them snatches of the following ribald rhymes. They are not worth translation, since they consist of nothing but the repetition of the abusive word *sálá*, applied to every person and thing in Barsána. That town being the reputed home of Rádhlá, the bride, its people are styled her brothers; while the Nand-gánw men account themselves the brothers of Krishna, the bridegroom.

श्रीभांडवधार्ई बरसानेकी ।

सब सारे बरसानेबारे रावलबारे सारे ।
 जगन्नाथके नाती सारे वे बरसानेबारे ॥
 लवानियां और कटारे सारे जे बरसानेबारे ।
 डोंम ठड़ेरे सबही सारे और पत्तराबारे ॥
 बाग बगीचा सबही सारे सारे सांचनबारे ।
 बिरकत और गुदरिया सारे लंबे मुतनाबारे ॥
 वावाजी भानेखरि सारे प्रेमसरोवरबारे ।
 खाट खटोला सबही सारे चौका चूल्ह सारे ॥
 अहलायत महलायत सारे सारे खंभ तिहारे ।
 अगवारे पिछवारे सारे गैल गिरारे सारे ॥

Feb. 23rd, Nand-gánw.—Another sham fight, as on the preceding day, only with the characters reversed; the women on this occasion being the

wives of the Gosáins of the Nand-gánw temple, and their antagonists the men of Barsáua. The combatants are drawn up more in battle-array, instead of skirmishing by twos and threes, and rally round a small yellow pennon that is carried in their midst; but the show is less picturesque in its accessories, being held on a very dusty spot outside the town, and was more of a Phallic orgie.

Feb. 27th, the Holi. Phálen.—Here is a sacred pond called Prahlád-kund, and the fact of its having preserved its original name gives a clue, as in so many parallel cases, to the older form of the name now borne by the village. Local pandits would derive the word *Phálen* from the verb *phárna*, “to tear in pieces,” with a reference to the fate of Prahlád’s impious father, Hiranya-Kasipu: but such a formation would be contrary both to rule and to experience, and the word is, beyond a doubt, a corruption of Prahláda-gráma.

Arriving at the village about an hour before sunset, I found a crowd of some 5,000 people closely packed in the narrow space on the margin of the pond and swarming over the tops of the houses and the branches of all the trees in the neighbourhood. A large bonfire had been stacked half-way between the pond and a little shrine dedicated to Prahlád, inside which the Khera pat, or Pánda, who was to take the chief part in the performance of the day, was sitting telling his beads. At 6 p. m. the pile was lit, and, being composed of the most inflammable materials, at once burst into such a tremendous blaze that I felt myself scorching, though the little hillock where I was seated was a good many yards away. However, the lads of the village kept on running close round it, jumping and dancing and brandishing their *lálhis*, while the Pánda went down and dipped in the pond and then, with his dripping *pagri* and *dhoti* on, ran back and made a feint of passing through the fire. In reality he only jumped over the outermost verge of the smouldering ashes and then dashed into his cell again, much to the dissatisfaction of the spectators, who say that the former incumbent used to do it much more thoroughly. If on the next recurrence of the festival the Pánda shows himself equally timid, the village proprietors threaten to eject him, as an impostor, from the land which he holds rent-free simply on the score of his being fire-proof.

Feb. 28th, Kosi.—After sitting a little while at a *nach* of the ordinary character, given by one of the principal traders in the town, I went on to see the *chaupais*, or more special Holi performances, got up by the different bodies of Ját zamindárs, each in their own quarter of the town. The dancers, exclusively men and boys, are all members of the proprietary clan, and are all dressed alike in a very high-waisted full-skirted white robe, reaching to

the ankles, called a *jhagá*, with a red *pagri* in which is set at the back of the head a long tinsel plume, *kalangi*, to represent the peacock feathers, with which Krishna was wont to adorn himself as he rambled through the woods. The women stand at one end of the court-yard with their mantle drawn over their faces and holding long *lathis* with which, at a later period of the proceedings, they join in the Holi sports. Opposite them are the bands-men with drums, cymbals and timbrels, and at their back other men with sticks and green twigs, which they brandish about over their heads. The space in the middle is circled by torch-bearers and kept clear for the dancers, who are generally six in number, only one pair dancing at a time. Each performer, in the dress as above described, has a knife or dagger in his right hand and its scabbard in his left. At first, darting forward, they make a feint of thrusting at the women or other spectators, and then pointing the knife to their own breast they whirl round and round, generally backwards, the pace growing faster and more furious and the clash of the band louder and louder, till at last they sink down, with their flowing robe spread out all round them, in a sort of curtsy, and retire into the back ground, to be succeeded by another pair of performers. After a pair of men comes a pair of boys, and so on alternately with very little variation in the action. Between the dances a verse or two of a song is sung, and at the end comes the *Holi khelna*. This is a very monotonous performance. The women stand in a line, their faces veiled, and each with a *lathi* ornamented with bands of metal and gaudy pendants, like the Bacchantes of old with the thyrsus, and an equal number of men oppose them at a few yards' interval. The latter advance slowly with a defiant air and continue shouting snatches of scurrilous song till they are close upon the women, who then thrust out their *lathis*, and without uttering a word follow them as they turn their back and retreat to their original standing-place. Arrived there, they let the women form again in line as they were at first and then again advance upon them precisely as before, and so it goes on till their repertory of songs is exhausted, or they have no voice left to sing them. To complete my description I here give some specimens of these *sakhis* or verses, and have added notes to all the words that seemed likely to require explanation. They are many of them too coarse and at the same time too stupid to make it desirable for me to translate them in full.

होली खेलनेके समयकी साखी ।

बूझो याहि संग चलेगी ।

सई सांझ से धरी कर्हैया आध्नीरात नखेगी ॥ १ ॥

1. Krishna says to Udho : Ask her if she will come. She set the *karáhi* on the fire the first thing in the evening and will slip out at midnight.

हरलेगी चीर मुरारी ।
 लैके चीर कदम पै बैठे हम जल मांझ उधारी ॥
 तुम्हरो चीर जबै हम दें जल ते होजाउ न्यारी ।
 जो हम जल ते न्यारी होंगी जायगी लाज तिहारी ॥
 चीर हमारो देहु सांवरे तुम जीते हम हारी ॥ २ ॥
 राधे क्यों दलगोरी मन में ।
 कै कहूं स्याम सेज न आए कै परगई चूक भजन में ॥ ३ ॥
 बिंदावन से बन नहीं नंदगांव से गांव ।
 बंसाबट से बट नहीं कृष्ण नाम से नांव ॥ ४ ॥
 ब्रज चौरामी कोस में चार गांव निज धाम ।
 ब्रंदावन और मधपुरी बरसानो नंदगाम ॥ ५ ॥
 राधे टीजे बंसी मेरी ।
 कै टीजे कै नहीं कीजे देख गरीबी मेरी ॥ ६ ॥
 मन मोहन खेले होरी ।
 घर घर तें बनता बन आई अपनी अपनी जोरी ॥
 इत ते निकसे कुंवर कन्हैया इत ब्रपमान किशोरी ।
 ताल मृदंग भांझ डप बाजै मोंह चंगन की जोरी ॥
 उडत गुलाल लाल भय बादर केसर गागर घोरी ॥ ७ ॥
 होरी खेलें श्रीगिरिधारी ।
 कौनसपै केसरिया बनौ कौन पै चीर हजारो ॥
 कान्हा पै केसरिया बनौ राधे चीर हजारो ॥
 कौन के हाथ गडूरा सोहै कौनसपै पिचकारी ॥
 राधे हाथ गडूरा सोहै कान्हा पै पिचकारी ॥ ८ ॥
 दाधि पीजा स्याम सलाना ।
 काहे की तेरी बनी मथनिया काहेके तेरे दौना ॥
 ब्रजरज की मेरी बनी मथनिया कदम पात के दौना ॥ ९ ॥

2. *Jabi*, then : *jayegi lāj tihāri*. You will be put to shame.

3. *Dilgiri*, sadness.

6. Whether you give or whether you refuse.

7. *Apni apni jori*, in pairs, two and two, *mohchang*, or *morechang*, a Jew's-harp. *Gāgar*, *ajar*, *Ghori* for *ghāli*, mixed.

8. *Kannas* for *kann* *śā*, *bāna*, clothes, *garāra*, a pot.

9. *Pija*, for *pījiye ākur*.

मेरी स्याम बिना कल काते ।
 भुर भुर पिंजर है गई राधे मूखलगी पलकाते ॥ १० ॥
 दधि कौ तू चोर कन्हैया ।
 दधि मेरी खाय मथनिया फोरी और मरोरी बैया ॥ ११ ॥
 दधि लूट लई दगरे में ।
 दधि मेरी खाय मथनिया फोरी भ्वाल बाल सगरेने ॥
 उंगरी में की मुंदरी लूटी नौलखहार गरेमें ॥
 बाजूबंद खयला लूटे नथ राखी भगरे में ॥ १२ ॥
 ऐसो कब करहे मन मेरो ।
 ब्रजवासिनके टूक भूकमें घर घर छांछ महेरो ॥
 भूक लगै जब मांग खातहूं सांभ गिनू न सवेरो ॥ १३ ॥
 कान्हा धरे रे मुकट खेले होरी ।
 एक और खेले कुंवर कन्हैया एक और राधा गोरी ॥ १४ ॥
 इन गलियन काम कहा तेरो ।
 इन गलियन मेरी स्यालू फार्यो में तो फांरूंगी यार भगा तेरो ॥ १५ ॥
 खिसली तोहि देख अटा ते ।
 तू जु कहेहो तोहि अध्वर लूंगे अब मेरी टूटी है बांह बरा ते ॥ १६ ॥
 कब निकसेगो सूक चले चालौ ।
 गोरीने डोला सजवायो रसियाने सिकल कर्यो भालो ॥ १७ ॥
 जोरी मत करे मान राख देंउगी ।
 रंग महल मेरो पलंग बिछ्यो है हूं तेरो जोम डाट लेंउगी ॥ १८ ॥

10. *Kal*, happiness.
11. *Baryān*, for *bānh*, arm.
12. *Khaela*, an ornament that hangs pendent from the elbow.
13. *Mahero*, a mess of rice and sour milk.
15. *Sydā*, a woman's *dopatta*.
Jhayā, a man's dress.
16. *Adhbar*, in the middle.
Barā an ornament worn by women on the elbow.
17. *Suh*, the planet Venus, which is regarded as auspicious.
Chalan, the same as the more common *gauna*.
18. *Jori*, for *zori*, *zabardasti*.
Jom, lust, passion.

संग सोयवेकी दोस कही होती ।

माटी खोदन गई खदाने हूं मेरी बांह गही होती ॥ १६ ॥

March 1st, Kosi.—Spend an hour or two in the afternoon as a spectator of the Holi sports at the Gomati-Kund. Each of the six Ját villages of the Denda Pál* has two or more *chaupáis*, which come up one after the other in a long procession, stopping at short intervals on the way to dance in the manner above described, but several at a time instead of in single pairs. One of the performers executed a *pas de seul* mounted on a *daf*, or large timbrel, which was supported on the shoulders of four other men of his troupe. Bands of mummers (or *swáags*) were also to be seen, one set attired as Muhammadan fakírs; another (*gháyálon ká swáag*) as wounded warriors, painted with streaks, as it were of blood, and with sword-blades and daggers so bound on to their neck and arms and other parts of the body that they seemed to be transfixed by them. Some long iron rods were actually thrust through their protruded tongue and their cheeks, and in this ghastly guise and with drawn swords in their hands, with which they kept on dealing and parrying blows, the pair of combatants perambulated the crowd.

March 2nd.—At 2 P. M. ride over to Bathen for the Holanga mela, and find a place reserved for me on a raised terrace at the junction of four streets in the centre of the village. Every avenue was closely packed with the densest throng, and the house-tops seemed like gardens of flowers with the bright dresses of the women. Most of them were Játs by caste and wore their distinctive costume, a petticoat of coarse country stuff worked by their own hands with figures of birds, beasts, and men, of most grotesque design, and a mantle thickly sewn all over with discs of tale, which flash like mirrors in the sun and quite dazzle the sight. The performers in the *chaupái* could scarcely force their way through the crowd, much less dance, but the noise of the band that followed close at their heels made up for all shortcomings. There was a great deal of singing, of a very vociferous and probably also a very licentious character; but my ears were not offended, for in the general din it was impossible to distinguish a single word. Handfuls of red powder (*abtr*) mixed with tiny particles of glistening tale were thrown about, up to the balconies above and down on the heads of the people below, and seen through this atmosphere of coloured cloud, the frantic gestures of the throng, their white clothes and faces all

* Any subdivision of a Ját clan is called a *Pál*, and the town of Kosi is the centre of one such sub-division, which is known as the Denda Pál.

19. *Dyáus*, the day-time.

Khadána a clay pit.

stained with red and yellow patches, and the great timbrels with bunches of peacocks' feathers, artificial flowers and tinsel stars stuck in their rim, borne above the players' heads and now and again tossed up high in the air, combined to form a curious and picturesque spectacle. After the music came a *posse* of rustics each bearing a rough jagged branch of the prickly acacia, stript of its leaves, and in their centre one man with a small yellow pennon on a long staff, yellow being the colour appropriate to the Spring season and the God of Love. The whole party slowly made its way through the village to an open plain outside, where the crowd assembled cannot have numbered less than 15,000. Here a circular arena was cleared and about a hundred of the Bathen Játinis were drawn up in a line, each with a long bambu in her hands, and confronting them an equal number of the bough-men who are all from the neighbouring village of Jan. A sham fight ensued, the women trying to beat down the thorny bushes and force their way to the flag. A man or two got a cut in the face, but the most perfect good humour prevailed, except when an outsider from some other village attempted to join in the play; he was at once hustled out with kicks and blows that meant mischief. The women were backed up by their own husbands, who stood behind and encouraged them by word, but did not move a hand to strike. When it was all over, many of the spectators ran into the arena and rolled over and over in the dust, or streaked themselves with it on the forehead, taking it as the dust hallowed by the feet of Krishna and the Gopis.

The forenoon had been devoted to the recitation of Hindi poems appropriate to the occasion. I was not on the spot in time enough to hear any of this, but with some difficulty I obtained for a few days the loan of the volume that was used, and have copied from it three short pieces. The actual MS. is of no greater antiquity than 1776 A. D., the colophon at the end, in the curious mixture of Sanskrit and Hindi affected by village pandits, standing thus:

*Sambat 1852 Bhudrapad sudi 2 dwitiya, rabibár, likhitam idam pustakam,
Sri Gopál Dás Charan-Pahári*-madhye parhan árkhi Sri Seva Das Bari
Bathain vási:*

but probably many successive copies have been made since the original was thumbed to pieces. The first stanzas, which are rather prettily worded, are, or at least profess to be, the composition of the famous blind poet Súr Dás.

* Charan-Pahári is the name of a small detached rock, of the same character as the Bharat-pur range, that crops up above the ground in the village of Little Bathen.

॥ पद ॥

तेरी गति जानी न परै करुणामै हो ।

अगम अगम अगाधि अगोचर कैहवुधिविधिसचरै ॥

अति प्रचंड बल पौरुषता मै केहरि भूष मरै ।

अनाआस विन उट्टिम क्रियै अजगर पेट परै ॥

कवहुक चन डूबत पानीमै कवहुक सिला तिरै ।

वागरमै सागर करिडारै चहुदिस नीर भरै ॥

रीते भरै भरे फिर डारै मेहरि करै तौ फेरि भरै ।

पाहन बीच कमल परगासै जलमै अगिन जरै ॥

राजा रंक रंकतै राजा लै सिरछच धरै ।

सूर पतित तिरिजाय छिनकमै जो प्रभु नैक ठरै ॥

Translation.

“Thy ways are past knowing, full of compassion, Supreme Intelligence, unapproachable, unfathomable, beyond the cognizance of the senses, moving in fashion mysterious.

“A lion, most mighty in strength and courage, dies of hunger ; a snake fills his belly without labour and without exertion.

“Now a straw sinks in the water, now a stone floats : he plants an ocean in the desert, a flood fills it all round.

“The empty is filled, the full is upset, by his grace it is filled again ; the lotus blossoms from the rock and fire burns in the water.

“A king becomes a beggar and again a beggar a king, with umbrella over his head ; even the guiltiest (says Sūr Dās) in an instant is saved, if the Lord helps him the least.”

The second piece, in a somewhat similar strain, is by Dāmodar Dās.

॥ पद ॥

अरे मन भजिलै नंदलला ।

ग्रह बांननमै रङ्ग्यौ किन कोऊ पकरत नाहि पला ॥

वेद पुरान संमृत यौ भाषै याते नाहि भला ।

दिनदिन वढत प्रताप चोगुनौ जेसै चंद्रकला ॥

काकौ धन काकौ ग्रहसंपति काके सुतअबला ।

दामोदर कछु धिर न रहेगो जगमै चलीचला ॥

Translation.

"Come, my soul, adore Nand-lala (*i. e.*, Krishna), whether living in the house or in the woods (*i. e.*, whether a man of the world or a hermit), there is no other help to lay hold of.

"The Veda, the Purānas, and the Law declare that nothing is better than this ; every day honour increases four-fold, like the moon in its degrees.

"Who has wealth? who has house and fortune? who has son and wife? says Dāmodar, nought will remain secure in the world, it is gone in a moment."

The third piece, an encomium of the blooming Spring, is too simple to require any translation.

राग वसंत ॥

नवल वसंत नवल वृंदावन नवलै फूलेफूल ।

नवलै कान्ह नवल सब गोपी निरत एकैतूल ॥

नवलै साध जवाटि कुमकुमा नवलै वसन अमूल ।

नवलै छीटवनी केसरिकी मेटत मनमथसूल ॥

नवल गुलाल उड़ै रंगवृका नवल पवनके भूल ।

नवलहीं वाजे वाजै श्रीभट कालिंदीकै कूल ॥

The only divinities who are now popularly commemorated at the Holi Festival are Rādhā, Krishna, and Balarāma ; but its connection with them can only be of modern date. The institution of the Bau-jātra and the Rās-līlā, and all the local legends that they involve is (as has been already stated) traceable to one of the Brindāban Gosāins at the beginning of the 17th century A. D. The fact, though studiously ignored by the Hindus of Mathurā, is distinctly stated in the Bhakt-mālā, the work which they admit to be of paramount authority on such matters. But the scenes that I have described carry back the mind of the European spectator to a far earlier period and are clearly relics, perhaps the most unchanged that exist in any part of the world, of the primitive worship of the powers of nature on the return of Spring. Such were the old English merry-makings on May Day and, still more closely parallel, the Phallic orgies of Imperial Rome as described by Juvenal. When I was

listening to the din of the village band at Bathen, it appeared to be the very scene depicted in the lines—

Plangebant aliæ proceris tympana palmis,
Aut tereti tenuis tinnitus ære ciebant ;
Multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos,
Barbaræque horribili stridebat tibia cantu.

Or again in the words of Catullus—

Levo tympanum remugit, cava cymbala recrepant,
Ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatibus agitant,
Quatiuntque terga tauri teneris cava digitis.

While the actors in the *chaupdi*, with dagger in hand, recalled the pictures of the Corybantes or Phrygian priests of Cybele, the very persons to whom the poet refers. In Greece the Indian Holi found its equivalent in the Dionysia, when the phallus, the symbol of the fertility of nature, was borne in procession, as it now is here, and when it was thought a disgrace to remain sober. In like manner the Gosâins and other actors in the Indian show are quite as much inspired in their frenzied action by their copious preliminary libations as by the excitement of the scene and the barbarous music of the drums, cymbals, and timbrels that accompany them.

CHAPTER V.

THE BUDDHIST CITY OF MATHURÁ AND ITS ANTIQUITIES.

APART from its connection with the deified Krishna, the city of Mathurá has been a place of note from the most distant antiquity. In Buddhist times it was one of the centres of that religion, and its sacred shrines and relics attracted pilgrims even from China, two of whom have left records of their travels. The first, by name Fa Hian, spent, as he informs us, three years in Western Asia, visiting all the places connected with events in the life of the great teacher or of his immediate successors; his main object being to collect authentic copies of the oldest theological texts and commentaries, to take back with him to his own country. Commencing his journey from Tibet, he passed successively through Kashmír, Kábul, Kandahár, and the Panjáb, and so arrived in Central India, the *madhya-des* of Hindu geographers. Here the first kingdom that he entered was Mathurá, with its capital of the same name situate on the bank of the Jamuná. All the people from the highest to the lowest were staunch Buddhists, and maintained that they had been so ever since the time of Sákya Muni's translation. This statement must be accepted with considerable reserve, since other evidence tends to show that Hinduism was the prevalent religion during part of the interval between Buddha's death and Fa Hian's visit, which was made about the year 400 A.D. He assures us, however, that many of the ecclesiastical establishments possessed copper plates engraved with the original deeds of endowment in attestation of their antiquity. In the capital—where he rested a whole month—and its vicinity, on the opposite banks of the river, were twenty monasteries, containing in all some 3,000 monks. There were, moreover, six relic-towers, or *stúpas*, of which the most famous was the one erected in honour of the great apostle Sári-putra. The five other *stúpas* are also mentioned by name; two of them commemorated respectively Ananda, the special patron of religious women, and Mudgala-putra, the great doctor of *Samádhi* or contemplative devotion. The remaining three were dedicated to the cultus of the Abhi-dharma, the Súra, and the Vináya divisions of the sacred books, treating respectively of Metaphysics, Religion, and Morality, and known in Buddhist literature by the collective name of the Tri-pitaka or 'three baskets.'

Some 200 years later, Hwen Thsang, another pilgrim from the Flowery Land, was impelled by like religious zeal to spend sixteen years, from 629 to 645 A.D., travelling throughout India. On his return to China, he compiled,

by special command of the Emperor, a work in twelve Books entitled 'Memoirs of Western Countries,' giving succinct geographical descriptions of all the kingdoms, amounting in number to 128, that he had either personally visited, or of which he had been able to acquire authentic information. After his death, two of his disciples, wishing to individualize the record of their master's adventures, compiled in ten Books a special narrative of his life and Indian travels. This has been translated into French by the great Orientalist, Mons. S. Julien. Mathurá is described as being 20 *li*, or four miles in circumference, and as containing still, as in the days of Fa Hian, 20 monasteries. But the number of resident monks had been reduced to 2,000, and five temples had been erected to Bráhmanical divinities; both facts indicating the gradual decline of Buddhism. There were three *stúpas*, built by King Asoka, and many spots were shown where the four former Buddhas had left the marks of their feet. Several other *stúpas* were revered as containing relics of the holy disciples of Sákya Muni, viz., Sári-putra, Mudgaláyana, Púrna-maitráyani-putra, Upali, Ananda, Ráhula, Manjusri, and other Bodhi-satwas. Every year (he writes) in the months of the three long fasts (the first, fifth, and ninth) and on the six monthly fasts the religious assemble in crowds at these *stúpas*, and make their several offerings at the one which is the object of their devotion. The followers of Abhi-dharma offer to Sári-putra, and those who practise contemplation (*dhyaána*) to Mudgaláyana. Those who adhere to the Sútras pay their homage to Púrna-maitráyani-putra; those who study the Vináyá honour Upali; religious women honour Ananda; those who have not yet been fully instructed (catechumens) honour Ráhula; those who study the Mahá-yána honour all the Bodhi-satwas.* Banners enriched with pearls float in the air, and gorgeous umbrellas are grouped in procession. Clouds of incense and constant showers of flowers obscure the sight of the sun and moon. The king and his ministers apply themselves with zeal to the practice of meritorious works. Five or six *li*—i.e., about a mile and a quarter—to the east of the town is a monastery on a hill, the sides of which have been excavated to allow of the construction of cells. The approach is by a ravine. It is said to have been built by the venerable Upagupta. In its centre may be seen a *stúpa* which encloses some nail-parings of the Tathágata. At a hill to the north of this monastery is a cave in the rock, twenty feet high and thirty feet broad, where had been collected an immense number of little bambu spikes, each only four inches long. When a married couple, whom the venerable Upagupta had converted and instructed, obtained the rank of Arhat,† he added a spike. But he took no note of

* A Bodhi-satwa is defined as a being who has arrived at supreme wisdom (*bodhi*), and yet consents to remain as a creature (*satwa*) for the good of men.

† An Arhat is a saint who has attained to the fourth grade in the scale of perfection,

other persons, even though they had attained the same degree of sanctity. 24 or 25 *li* to the south-east of this cave was a large dry tank with a *stúpa* by its side, where it was said that one day as Buddha was pacing up and down, he was offered some honey by a monkey, which he graciously told him to mix with water and divide among the monks. The monkey was so charmed at the condescension that he forgot where he was, and in his ecstacy fell over into the tank and was drowned: as a reward for his meritorious conduct, when he next took birth, it was in human form. A little to the north of this tank was a wood with several *stúpas* to mark the spots that had been hallowed by the presence of the four earlier Buddhas, and where 1,250 famous teachers of the law, such as Śáripútra and Mudgála-putra, had given themselves up to meditation. When the Tathágata (he adds) lived in the world, he often travelled in this kingdom, and monuments have been erected in every place where he expounded the law.

The *Lalita Vistara*, which is the oldest and most authentic record that the Buddhists possess, gives a most elaborate account of Śákya Muni's early adventures, and of the six years of preliminary penance and seclusion that he spent in the woods of Urúvilva, (now Buddh Gáya) before he commenced his public ministry; but the narrative terminates abruptly with his departure for Banáras, which was the first place to which he betook himself after he had attained to the fulness of perfect knowledge. There is no equally trustworthy and consecutive record of the second and more important half of his life—the 40 years which he spent in the promulgation of his new creed—and it is therefore impossible to say at what period he paid those frequent visits to Mathurá of which Hwen Tsiang speaks. There is, however, no reason to doubt that they were paid; for the place was one of much importance in his time and, like every other new teacher, it was the great centres of population that he laboured most to influence. In Beal's translation of the Chinese version of the *Abhinishkramana Sūtra*, we find Mathurá styled the capital of all Jambu-dwípa, and on that account it was one of the first suggested as a fit place for Buddha to take birth in. He rejected it, however, on the ground that the king by whom it was ruled, a powerful monarch, Subáhu by name, was a heretic. The objections to other large cities were, either that the king's pedigree had some flaw; or that he was a Bráhmaṇa not a Kshatriya by caste; or that he had already a large family; or that the people were insubordinate and self-willed. Banáras and Ujaiyin were considered unworthy for a similar reason as Mathurá, viz., that at the former there were four heretical schools of philosophy, and that the king of the latter did not believe in a future state. The use of the word 'heretical' is to be noted; for it clearly indicates that Buddha did not intend to break entirely with Hinduism; or rather, like the English 'Reformers' of the 16th century and Dr. Dollinger and his "old Catho-

lies" on the continent of Europe at the present day, or Bábu Kesav Chandra Sen in Calcutta, or, in short, like *all* subverters of established systems, he found it politic to disguise the novelty of his theories by retaining the old terminology, and thus investing them with the prestige of a spurious antiquity.

In consequence of the changes in religion and the long lapse of time, the whole of the ancient Buddhist buildings described by the Chinese pilgrims had been overthrown, buried, and forgotten, till quite recently, when some fragments of them have been again brought to light. The first discovery was made by General Cunningham, in 1853, who noticed some capitals and pillars lying about within the enclosure of the Katra, the site of the Hindu temple of Kesava Deva. A subsequent search revealed the architrave of a gateway and other sculptures, including in particular a standing figure of Buddha, three and-a-half feet high, which was found at the bottom of a well, with an inscription at its base recording the gift of the statue to the 'Yasa Vihára,' or 'Convent of Glory,' which may be taken as the name of one of the Buddhist establishments that had existed on the spot. The date of the presentation was recorded in figures which could not be certainly deciphered.*

A far more important discovery was made in 1860, in digging the foundation of the Magistrate and Collector's new court-house. The site selected for this building was an extensive mound overhanging the Agra road at the entrance to the civil station. It had always been regarded as merely the remains of a series of brick-kilns, and had been further protected against exploration by the fact that it was crowned by a small mosque. This was, for military reasons, blown down during the mutiny; and afterwards, on clearing away the rubbish and excavating for the new foundations, it was found to have been erected, in accordance with the common usage of the Muhammadan conquerors, upon the ruins of a destroyed temple. A number of Buddhist statues, pillars, and basso-relievos, were disinterred; and the inscriptions, as partially deciphered, would seem to indicate that the mound was occupied by several different monasteries; three of which, according to General Cunningham, bore the names of Sanghamittra-sada Vihára, Havishka Vihára, and Kundokhara,† or as it may be read, Kunda-Suka Vihára. On the pedestal of a seated figure was found recorded the first half of a king's name, Vasu; the latter part was broken away, but the lacuna should probably be supplied with the word 'deva,' as a group of figures inscribed with the name of King Vasudeva and date Sambat 87, was discovered in 1871 at a neighbouring mound called

* This statue was one of those removed by Dr. Playfair to the Museum at Agra.

† It must be admitted that Kundokhara, *i. e.*, Kunda-pushkara, is a very questionable compound, since the two members of which it is composed would bear each precisely the same meaning.

the 'Kankalí tilá.' Transcripts and translations of many of these inscriptions have been since made by different scholars and have been published by General Cunningham in Volume III. of his *Archæological Survey*; but they are for the most part of a very tentative character and leave much room for uncertainty, both as regards reading and interpretation. They are all brief votive records, giving only the name of the obscure donor, accompanied by some stereotyped religious formula. The dates, which it would be specially interesting to ascertain, are indicated by figures, the value of which has been definitely determined; but the era to which they refer is still matter of dispute. Dr. Rajendra-lála Mitra has consistently maintained from the first that it is the Sâka era, beginning from 76 A. D.; and if so, the series ranges between 120 and 206 A. D. The most numerous remains were portions of stone railing of the particular type used to enclose Buddhist shrines and monuments. The whole were made over to the Agra museum, where the railings were roughly put together in such a way as to indicate the original arrangements. The entire collection has since been again removed elsewhere; I believe to Allahabad; but as there is no proper building for their reception there, nobody appears to know anything about them, and it is very much to be regretted that they were ever allowed to be taken from Mathurá. Many of the pillars were marked with figures as a guide to the builder; and thus we learn that one set, for they were of various sizes, consisted of at least as many as 129 pieces. There were also found three large seated figures of Buddha, of which two were full, the third a little less than life-size; and the bases of some 30 large columns. It was chiefly round these bases that the inscriptions were engraved. One of the most noticeable fragments was a stone hand, measuring a foot across the palm, which must have belonged to a statue not less than from 20 to 24 feet in height.

Most of the sculptures were executed in common red sandstone and were of indifferent workmanship, in every way inferior to the specimens more recently discovered at other mounds in the neighbourhood. The most artistic was the figure of a dancing-girl, rather more than half life-size, in a tolerably natural and graceful attitude.* Like the so-called figure of Silenus, discovered by James Prinsep, in 1836, of which a detailed description will be given further on, it was thought that it might have been the work of a Greek artist. This conjecture, though I do not accept it myself, involves no historical difficulty, since in the Yuga-Purâna of the Gârgi-Sanhitâ, written about the year 50 B. C., it is explicitly stated that Mathurá was reduced by the Greeks, and that

* Two representations of this figure are given in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey*, Vol. I., page 240.

their victorious armies advanced into the very heart of Hindustan, even as far as Pátali-putra. The text is as follows:—

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान् मथुरां तथा ।

यवना दृष्टविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्तिकुसुमध्वजम् ।

ततः पुष्यपुरे प्राप्ते कदमे प्रथिते हिते ।

अकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

"Then those hateful conquerors, the Greeks, after reducing Sáketa,* the country of Panchála and Mathurá, will take Kusuma-dhvaja (Pátali-putra); and when Pushpa-pura (i. e., Pátali-putra) is taken, every province will assuredly become disordered."

In close proximity to the mound where the antiquities, which we have described above, were discovered, is a large walled enclosure, called the Damdama, for some years past occupied by the reserves of the district police, but originally one of a series of *sardes* erected in the time of the Delhi Emperors along the road between the two royal residences of Agra and Delhi. Hence the adjoining hamlet derives its name of Saráe Jamálpur; and for the sake of convenience, when future reference is made to the mound, it will be by that title. As it is at some distance to the south-east of the katra, the traditional site of ancient Mathurá, and so far agrees with the position assigned by Hwen Thsang to the stúpa erected to commemorate Buddha's interview with the monkey, there is plausible ground for identifying the two places. The identification is confirmed by the discovery of the inscription with the name Kundo Khara or Kundasuka; for, whichever way the word is read, it would seem to contain a reference to a tank (*kunda*), and a tank was the characteristic feature of Hwen Thsang's monkey stúpa. It at first appears a little strange that there should be, as the inscriptions lead us to infer, four separate monasteries on one bill; but General Cunningham states that in Barma, where Buddhism is still the national religion, such juxtaposition is by no means uncommon.

As already mentioned, it is very uncertain whether the era intended is really the Saka; it might be that of Vikramáditya, or of the Seleucidæ, or of Buddha's Nirvána, or of the particular monarch whose name is specified.

* The siege of Sáketa is ascertained to have taken place early in the reign of Menander, who ascended the throne in the year 144 B. C., Pushpa-mitra being at that time King of Pátali-putra. The Gárgi Sanhitá is an ancient and extremely rare work, of which only five M.S.S.—all apparently imperfect—are as yet known to be in existence. Three are in European libraries; one belongs to Doctor Kern, who was the first to call attention to the work in the Preface to his edition of Varáha Mihira's Brihat Sanhitá, in which it is frequently quoted; and the fifth has been recently discovered by Doctor Buhler.

Before the discovery of these and similar inscriptions, the history of India, from the invasion of Alexander the Great to that by Mahmūd of Ghazni, was almost an absolute blank, in which however the name of Vikramāditya, the reputed founder of the era still most in vogue among Hindus, enjoyed such universal celebrity that it seemed impossible for any question to be raised regarding him. This solitary stand-point has completely given way under the weight of modern researches, and not only Vikramāditya's paramount sovereignty, but even his existence, is now denied, and that by disputants who will scarcely find a single other matter on which to agree. Mr. Fergusson writes, "No authentic traces exist of any king bearing the name or title of Vikramāditya having lived in the first century before Christ; nor"—though here his assertion will be disputed—"has it been possible to point to any event as occurring B. C. 56, which was of sufficient importance to give rise to the institution of an era for its commemoration." Similarly, Professor Bhan Daji, of Bombay, declared that he knew of no inscription, dated in this *Sambat*, before the eleventh century of the Christian era; and, though this appears to be carrying incredulity a little too far, General Cunningham, upon whose accuracy every reliance can be placed, says that the earliest inscription of the Vikramāditya era, that he has seen, bears date 811, that is A. D. 754. Now, if the era was really established before the birth of Christ, it is difficult to understand why it should have lain so long dormant and then have become so curiously revived and so generally adopted.

Various solutions of the difficulty have been attempted. It has been definitely ascertained that the title Vikramāditya was borne by a king Sri Harsha, who reigned at Ujayin, in the first half of the sixth century A. D., and General Cunningham conjectures with some probability that it was he who restored the general use of the old era (which had been to a great extent superseded by the introduction of the Sāka era in 79 A. D.) and made it his own, simply by changing its name to that which it now bears. The king by whom it was really established about the year 57 B. C., he conceives to have been the Indo-Scythian Kanishka.

This is a personage who as yet scarcely figures at all in histories intended for the general reader; but it is certain that he was one of the greatest sovereigns that ever held sway in Upper India and, if not the first to introduce Buddhism, was at least the one who definitely established it as the state religion. The Sanskrit Chronicle, entitled the *Raja-Taranginī*, mentions among the successors of the great Asoka, in the latter half of the century immediately preceding the birth of Christ, three kings of foreign descent named Hushka (or Huvishka), Jushka, and Kanishka. The later Muhammadan writers

represent them as brothers ; but it is not so stated in the original text, the words of which are simply as follows :—

हुष्कजुष्ककानष्काख्यास्तयस्तचवपाथिवाः
ते तुरुष्कान्वये । दूता अपि पुण्याश्रयानृपाः ।
प्राज्ये राज्यक्षणे तेषां प्रयाः काश्मीरमण्डलं ।
भोज्यमास्ते च वैद्वानां प्रब्रज्योर्जिततेजसां ।

“There, too, the three kings, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, born of Turushka descent, monarchs of eminent virtue. In their exalted reign a great part of the region of Kashmír was occupied by peripatetic Buddhist ascetics.”

Their dominions are known to have included Kábul, Kashmír, and Pan-jáb ; and the recently discovered inscriptions imply that their sway extended thence as far south as Mathurá. It is true that many of the religious buildings in holy places have been founded by foreign princes, who had no territorial connection with the neighbourhood ; but there seems to have been some special bond of union between Mathurá and Kashmír. Incredible as it has been deemed by most geographers, it is yet within the range of possibility, as pointed out by Professor Wilson, that Ptolemy intended, by the close similarity of names, to indicate a connection between *Κασπηρία ὑπὸ τὰς τοῦ Βιδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Σανδύβαλ καὶ τοῦ Ροαδίου πηγὰς*—that is, Kasperia, or Kashmír, at the sources of the Vitasta, the Chandra-bhága, and the Rávi—and the *Kaspeircæ*, dwelling lower down on the Vindhya range and the banks of the Jamuná, one of whose chief towns was Mathurá. For, further, Ptolemy represents *ἡ πανδύου χώρα* ‘the country of Pándu,’ as lying in the neighbourhood of the Vitasta, or Jhelam ; while Arrian, quoting from Megasthenes, says it derived its name from Pandœa, the daughter of Hercules, the divinity specially venerated by the Suraseni on the Jamuná. Thus, as it would seem, he identifies Mathurá, the chief town of the Suraseni, with Pandœa. Balaráma, one of its two tutelary divinities, may be certainly recognized as Belus, the Indian Hercules ; while, if we allow for a little distortion of the original legend, Prithá, another name of Kuntí, the mother of the Pándavas and sister of Krishna and Balaráma’s father, Vasudeva, may be considered the native form which was corrupted into Pandœa.

In historical illustration of the same line of argument, it may be remarked that Gonanda I., the king of Kashmír contemporary with Krishna, is (Rájá-Taranginí, I., 59) to have been a kinsman of Jarásandha

assisted him in the siege of Mathurá.* He was slain there on the bank of the Kálindi, i.e., the Jamuná, by Balaráma. His son and successor, Dámodara, a few years later, thinking to avenge his father's death, made an attack on a party of Krishna's friends, as they were returning from a wedding at Gandhára near the Indus, but himself met his death at that hero's hands. The next occupant of the throne of Mathurá in succession to Jarásandha was Karna, the faithful ally of the Kauravas, against whom the great war was waged by Krishna and the Pándavas. Gonanda II., the son of Dámodara, was too young to take any part in the protracted struggle; but the reigning houses of Mathurá and Kashmir acknowledged a common enemy in Krishna, and the fact appears to have conduced to a friendly feeling between the two families, which lasted for many generations. Thus we read in the Rájá-Taranginí (IV., 512)† that when Jayapida, who reigned over Kashmir at the end of the eighth century after Christ, built his new capital of Jayapura, a stately temple was founded there and dedicated to Mahádeva under the title of Achesvara, by Acha, the son-in-law of Pramoda, the king of Mathurá.‡

Three inscriptions have been found bearing the name of Kanishka. Of these one is dated *Sambat* 9, another 28; in the third the year has unfortunately been broken away. The memorials of his successor, the Maharaja Huvishka, are more numerous, and the dates range from *Sambat* 39 to 50. In one instance, however, the gift is distinctly made to the king's Vihára, which does not necessarily imply that the king was still living at the time; and the

* * काश्मीरेन्द्रः स गोनर्दः ।

साहायकार्यमाहूतो जरासन्धेन बन्धुना ।

समं हरोद्य कंसारेर्मथुरां पृथुभिर्व्वलैः ।

"Gonanda, the king of Kashmir, having been summoned by his relation, Jarásandha, to his assistance, besieged with a mighty army Krishna's city of Mathurá."

† तस्मिन् जयपुरे केट्टे जयदत्तोद्यधान्मठं ।

राजक्षत्रः प्रमोदस्य जामाता मथुरापतेः ।

आचाभिधोव्यचरयच्छुचिराचेश्वरं हरं ।

‡ I have not been able to trace king Pramoda's name elsewhere. He may have been one of the seven Nágas (or, according to another M.S., Mauna) princes, whom the Vayu Purána mentions as destined to reign over Mathurá—

मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्त वै ।

"The seven Nágas will possess the pleasant city of Mathurá."

same may have been the intention of the other inscriptions; since the grammatical construction of the words, which give the king's name and titles in the genitive case, is a little doubtful, the word upon which they depend not being clearly expressed. Huvishka was succeeded by Vasudeva, who, notwithstanding his purely Indian name, must be referred to the same dynasty, since ordinarily he is honoured with the same distinctive titles, *Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra*; and for *Devaputra* is in one legend substituted *Shāhi*, by which the Indo-Scythian Princes were specially distinguished. On gold coins, moreover, his name is given in Greek characters.

Of the Bactrian dynasty that preceded the above the two last reigning princes were the Satrap Rajabal, whose coins bear a double legend, the one in Greek, the other in Pāli characters, and the Satrap Saudāsa, of whose reign one inscription has been discovered at Mathurā. This latter, it appears, was subjugated by the great Indo-Scythian conqueror, Wema Kadphises; and it is perhaps more probable that the Vikramāditya era dates from his victory rather than from the accession of his son Kanishka.

The succession then stands as follows:

BACTRIAN.

The Satrap Rajabal, from 120 to 80 B. C.

The Satrap Saudāsa, from 80 to 57 B. C.

INDO-SCYTHIAN (BUDDHIST).

Wema Kadphises, or Vikramāditya, 57 B. C.

The Mahārāja Kanishka c. 50 to 29 B. C.

The Mahārāja Huvishka, c. 29 to 13 B. C.

The Mahārāja Vasudeva, c. 13 B. C. to 30 A. D.

The Mahārāja Gondophares, c. 30 A. D. to 35 A. D.

Beyond Vasudeva the Mathurā discoveries supply no information; but it may be reasonably conjectured that his immediate successor was Gondophares, of whom an inscription has been found at Takht-i-Bahi, now in the Lahor museum, with a date read by Professor Dowson as Sambat 100, corresponding to 43 A. D. A very special interest attaches to this name, since it has been preserved by ecclesiastical tradition as that of the Prince, under whom St. Thomas the Apostle suffered martyrdom about the year 50 A. D. The substantial truth of the legend is thus confirmed in a very remarkable manner; and whether or no it should be attributed to the effects of the divine displeasure, the fact appears clear that Gondophares was the last of his line to sit

upon the throne. He was deposed by Ghatotkacha, the founder of the famous Gupta dynasty, which lasted for five generations as follows :—

GUPTA DYNASTY (BRÁHMANICAL.)

Chandra Gupta I.,	78 A. D.
Samudra Gupta,	113 A. D.
Chandra Gupta II.,	153 A. D.
Kumára Gupta,	188 A. D.
Skanda Gupta,	220 A. D.

In the reign of Skanda Gupta, one of his Generals, by name Bhattárka, revolted and established himself as the independent sovereign of Sauráshtra. By the year 319 A. D. the Gupta power had been entirely destroyed, and Bhattarka's great grandson, Guhasena, had inaugurated a new era called the Ballabhi.

Mr. Thomas, the celebrated numismatist, has broached a theory that the era intended is that of the Seleucidæ, which commenced on the 1st of October, 312 B. C. The long interval of time between this date and either the Vikramáditya or the Sáka initial year would seem to render his hypothesis altogether untenable, as being utterly subversive of accepted chronology. But from such an inscription as that of Kanishka with the date *Sambat* 9 he does not deduce the year 303 B. C. (that is 312-9) but rather supposes that as we ourselves ordinarily write '75 for 1875, so the Indo-Seythians wrote 9 for 309; and thus *Sambat* 9 might correspond with the year 3 B. C. A curious confirmation of this view may be observed in the fact that the inscriptions, in which the dates range from 9 to 98, employ a division of the year into the three seasons, Grishma, Varsha, and Hemanta, that is to say, the hot weather, the rains, and the winter; and the day is specified as (for example) the 11th of the 4th month of the particular season. In only one of the Mathurá inscriptions is the date above a hundred, viz. 135; and here the division of time is according to the Hindu Calendar still in use, the particular month named being Púshya. Hence it may be inferred that this inscription belongs to an entirely different series and may very probably refer to the Sáka era.

The Seleucidan era is obviously one that might have recommended itself to a dynasty of mixed Greek descent; but another that might with equal or even greater probability have been employed, is the Kashmírian era used by Kalhana in the last three books of his *Rájá-Taranginí*, and which is still familiar to the Bráhmans of that country. It is otherwise called the era of the Saptarshis and dates from the secular procession of Ursa Major, Chaitra sudi 1 of

the 26th year of the Kali-yuga, 3076 B. C. It is known to be a fact and is not a mere hypothesis, that when this era is used, the hundreds are generally omitted. The chronological difficulties involved in these inscriptions seem therefore almost to defy solution : for the era may commence either in March, 3076 B. C., or in October, 312 B. C., or in 57 B. C., or in 78 A. D. There is further a difficulty in considering that *any* one era can be intended : for one inscription has been found, dated 47, mentioning Huvishka as king, while two others bearing Vasudeva's name, are dated respectively 44 and 83, which would thus make Vasudeva at once the predecessor and the successor of Huvishka. The simplest way of meeting this difficulty would be to refer the figures to the year of the king's reign, and a small fragment of an inscription that I found in the Jamálpur mound bears the words...*shkasya rájya-samvatsare 28 Hemant 3 div.* of which the most obvious translation would be 'On the day of the third winter month of the 28th year of the reign of Kanishka' (as the name it would seem must have been). Nor need any difficulty be occasioned by the use of the word *Sambat* to denote the year of a monarch's reign. For though modern practice restricts the term exclusively to the Vikramáditya era, such was not always the case : witness the inscription on the temple of Gobind Deva at Brindá-ban—*Sambat 34 Sri Sakabandh Akbar Sháh ráj*—'in the 34th year of the reign of the Emperor Akbar.' But the height to which the figures run is fatal to *this* theory ; and a final solution to the mystery has yet to be sought.

About half-a-mile due west of the Jamálpur mound is a small one on the edge of the Circular Road, where I found the lower extremities of two large seated figures, in red sandstone ; the one a Buddha, with an inscription at the base, of which the only words legible are : *varsha máse 2 divas 6*, 'on the 6th day of the 2nd month of the rains.' The other is almost a fac-simile of a sculpture figured at page 36 of Mr. Oldham's Memoir of Gházipur, among the antiquities found at a place called Aonrihár. It is well executed and represents a woman with her left hand clasping an infant in her lap. One foot rests on an elaborately ornamented stool, the other is doubled under her body. There are five small accessory figures, one in front and two on either side at the back.

Between this mound and Jamálpur is an extensive ridge, which I spent some days in exploring, but found nothing of interest. The most likely place in this immediate neighbourhood that yet remains to be examined is a mound at the back of the jail and within its outer precincts. I brought away one figure from it. Close by is an enormous pit out of which earth was taken to construct the mud walls of the enclosure. As this is objectionable from a sanitary

point of view as well as unsightly, prison labour might with advantage be employed in levelling the mound and using the earth to fill up the pit; by which means two objects would be obtained.

Since my transfer from the district, the Jamálpur mound, which had so often been explored before with valuable results, has been completely levelled, at a cost of Rs. 7,236, the work having been sanctioned by Government as a famine relief operation. A large number of miscellaneous sculptures have been discovered, of which I have received no definite description. But the more prominent object is a life-size statue of Buddha, which is very finely executed and, when found, was in excellent preservation, though unfortunately broken in two pieces by a fracture just above the ankles.* On the base is an inscription in Páli characters, of which a transcript has been sent me by a clever native draughtsman. I decipher it as follows :—

“Deyadharmáya Sákya-bhikshu Yasa-dittasya. Yad atra punyam, tad bhavatu mātá-pitroh sukhá *rya pádalya yatam* cha sarvva-satv-ánuttarajnána-váptaye.”

I have probably misread some of the letters printed in italics, for as they stand they yield no sense. The remainder I translate as follows :

“This is the votive offering of the Buddhist monk Yasa-ditta. If there is any merit in it, may it work for the good of his father and mother and for the propagation of perfect knowledge throughout the world.”

In Sanskrit the primary meaning of *deya-dharma* is ‘the duty of giving’; but in Páli it ordinarily stands for ‘the gift’ itself. The literal signification of the monk’s name, Yasa-ditta is ‘Resplendent with glory’; *ditta* being the Páli, Prákrit, or Hindi form of the Sanskrit *dīpta*, by a rule of Vararuchi’s, under which the example given is *sutta* (the modern *solá*) for *supta*. *Vápti*, ‘the propagation’ is from the root *vap*, to sow; from which also comes the Hindi word *báp*, ‘a father,’ like the Latin *sator* from *sero*.

A second inscription of some length commences with the words *Mahá-rájasya Devaputrasya Huviskasya Samvatsare 51 Hemanta mása 1 div.....* but I have not been able to read further, as the only transcript that I have received is a very imperfect one. A great number of fragmentary sculptures of different kinds have also, as I understand, been discovered, and some of

* The face of this statue was a really beautiful piece of sculpture, of far more artistic character than in any other figure that has yet been discovered. However, not the slightest care was taken to preserve it from injury; and the nose has now been broken off, either by some bigoted iconoclastic Muhammadan, or by some child in the mere spirit of mischief. The disfigurement is irreparable, and that it should have been allowed to occur is not very creditable to the local authorities.

them have been photographed for General Cunningham, who spent several days at Mathurá, for the purpose of examining them. His account will doubtless appear in some future volume of his *Archæological Survey*.

Since General Cunningham's visit a third inscribed slab has been found. A transcript has been made and sent me and a fac-simile of it is given in the accompanying plate. I have not yet succeeded in deciphering it. It begins with the word *siddham*; then apparently followed the date, but unfortunately there is here a flaw in the stone. After the flaw is the word *etasya*.* The second line begins with the word *Bhagavat*. In the third line is the name *Mathurá*; at the end of the sixth line *mátapitroh*; in the middle of the seventh line *bhuvatu sarva*.

Incidental allusion has already been made to the Kankáli, or, as it is occasionally called, the Jaini Tila.† This is an extensive mound on the side of the Agra and Delhi road, between the Bharat-pur and Dig gates of the city. A fragment of a carved Buddhist pillar is set up in a mean little shed on its summit and does duty for the godless Kankáli, to whom it is dedicated. A few years ago, the hill was partially trenched, when two colossal statues of Buddha, in his character of teacher, were discovered. They are each seven and-a-half feet in height, and are probably now in the Allahabad museum. Whatever else was found was collected on the same spot as the remains from the Jamálpur mound, and it is therefore possible (as no accurate note was made at the time) that some of the specimens referred to the latter locality were not really found there; but there is no doubt as to the inscriptions, and this is the only point of any importance. Further excavations resulted in the discovery of several mutilated statues of finer stone and superior execution, and it was thought that many more might still remain buried; as the adjoining fields for a considerable distance were strewn with fragments applied to all sorts of vile purposes. A

* The word following *etasya* begins with the letters *pu*—the remainder being defaced—and was probable *purvaye*. This phrase *etasya purvaye* is of frequent occurrence in these inscriptions and is translated by General Cunningham 'on this very date'. I do not think it can bear such a meaning. It might be literally rendered 'after this;' but it is really an expletive like the Hindi *áye*, or occasionally the Sanskrit *tail-anantaram*, with which an Indian correspondent generally begins a letter—after the stereotyped complimentary exordium—and which, in the absence of full stops and capital letters, serves to indicate a transition to a new subject.

† By the roadside, between the Kankáli Tila and the Siva Tál there is a handsome chhatra, built in 1873, in memory of Chaubé Genda, Purohit to the Rájá of Jhálrá-pattan. It was intended to add a rest house; but, in consequence of a complaint made by the District Engineer, the design was abandoned and the chhatra itself has never been thoroughly completed. The building is so ornamental that I hoped an encroachment of a few inches on to the side of the road might have been pardoned, but my suggestion to that effect was summarily scouted.

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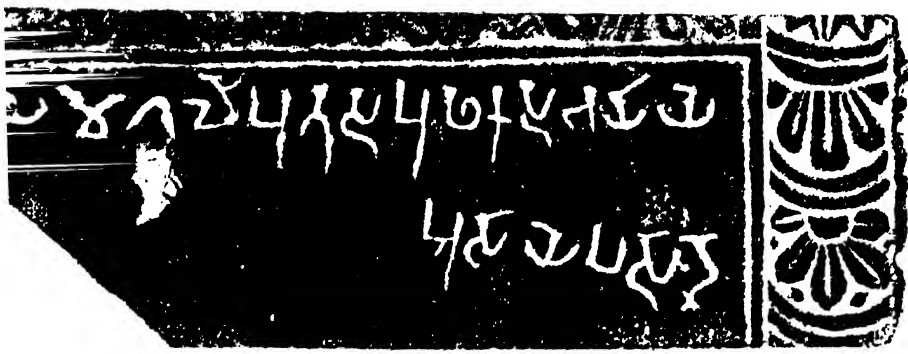


From the Kankali tlla. See page 109.

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From a mound on the Circular Road. See page 106.



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From the Kankali tlla. See page 109.

large figure of an elephant—unfortunately without its trunk—standing on the capital of a pillar and in all respects similar to the well-known example at Sankisa, but of much coarser work, was found in 1871 in a neighbouring garden. On the front of the abacus is engraved an inscription with the name of King Huvishka and date ‘Sambat 39.’ Another inscription, containing the name of King Kanishka, with date ‘Sambat 9,’ was discovered the same day on the mound itself below a square pillar carved with four nude figures, one on each face. This is of special interest, inasmuch as nude figures are always considered a distinctive mark of the Jain sect, which was supposed to be a late perversion of Buddhism; an opinion, however, which most scholars have now abandoned. Mahāvira the 24th and *last* of the great Jinas died in 526 B. C. while the Nirvāna, or death, of Buddha, the *founder* of the rival faith, has finally been determined as having taken place in 477 B. C. Indeed, it was suggested by Colebrooke, though further research would seem to have disproved the theory, that Buddha was actually a disciple of Mahāvira’s.

Among other sculptures more recently found here may be mentioned the following:—

1st.—A life-size seated figure with an elaborately carved nimbus and long hair flowing over the shoulders and down the back. The head is lost. 2nd.—A teacher of the law standing between two tiers of small figures seated in the attitude of contemplation, with a Caliban-like monster sprawling over the top of the canopy above his head. The arms and feet of the principal figure are missing; but with this exception the group is in good preservation and is well executed. 3rd.—A spandril of a doorway carved with the representation of a triumphal column with a bell capital surmounted by winged lions supporting the figure of an elephant. The reverse has an ornamental border enclosing a short inscription in which the name of the donor is given as Mugali-putra. 4th.—A *chaumukhi*, or pillar of four (headless) Buddhas, seated back to back, well executed in fine white stone. 5th.—A *chaumukhi* of four standing nude figures, roughly carved in coarse red sandstone. 6th.—A pair of columns, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, characteristically carved with three horizontal bands of conventional foliage and festoons, which are slightly suggestive of a classic model. 7th.—A cross-bar of a Buddhist railing with a sculptured medallion on either side. 8th.—A small seated figure with six persons standing in a line below, three on each side of a *chakra*, which they are adoring. There is an inscription in one line as follows:—

Siddham. Jivikasya datta Bhikshusya viharasya ;

Which I would translate thus: ‘May it prosper, the gift of Jivika, a mendicant, for the monastery.’

It is worthy of remark that no definite line of foundation has ever been brought to light, nor any large remains of plain masonry superstructure; but only confused medley of broken statues without even the pedestals on which they must have been originally erected. This suggests a suspicion that possibly there never was a temple on the site, but that the sculptures were brought from different places in the neighbourhood and here thrown into a pit by the Muhammadans to be buried. They clearly belong to two very different periods. The more ancient are roughly carved in coarse red sandstone and, whenever there is any lettering, it is in Pāli; the more modern display much higher artistic skill, are executed in much finer material, and all the inscriptions are in the Nāgari character one being apparently dated in the twelfth century after Christ. But upon the whole I conclude that the discovery of no foundations in situ is rather to be explained by the fact that the mound has long served as a quarry, and that bricks and small blocks of stone, being more useful for ordinary building purposes, would all be removed, when cumbersome and at the same time broken statues might be left undisturbed.

It is possible that here may have stood the Upagupta monastery, mentioned by Hwen Thsang. As there is no trace of any large tank in its immediate proximity, it was more probably the site of a monastery than of a stūpa. For a tank was almost a necessary concomitant of the latter; its excavation supplying the earth for the construction of the mound, in the centre of which the relics were deposited. Hence a different procedure has to be adopted in exploring a mound believed to have been a stūpa from what would be followed in other cases. Unless the object be to discover the relics, it is ordinarily a waste of labour to cut deep into its centre; for the images which surmounted it must have fallen down outside its base, where they have been gradually buried by the crumbling away of the stūpa over them and will be found at no great depth below the surface. But, in the case of a temple or monastery, the mound is itself the ruined building; if Muhammadans were the destroyers, it was generally utilized as the substructure of a mosque. The Upagupta monastery, it is true, is said to have comprised a stūpa also, but it would appear from the way in which it is mentioned to have been comparatively a small one: it may well have formed the raised centre of the Kankālī Tila, into which I dug and found nothing.

But whatever the purpose of the original buildings, it is clear that the hill was frequented as a religious site for upwards of a thousand years. Some of the statues are unmistakably Buddhist and about coeval with the institution of Christianity; while others are as clearly Jain and one of these is dated *Sambat* 1134. Either the Jains succeeded the Buddhists in the same way as

Protestants have taken the place of Catholics in our English Cathedrals; or the two rival sects may have existed together, like Greek and Latin Christians in the holy places of Jerusalem.

Hwen Thsang describes the Upagupta monastery as lying to the east of the town and the Kānkali Tilā is a little to the east of the katra, which was certainly the centre of the old Buddhist city, the local tradition to that effect having been confirmed by the large number of antiquities recently found in its neighbourhood. The only difficulty in so considering it arises from the fact that Mathurā has at all times been represented as standing on the bank of the Jammū, while the katra is nearly a mile away from it. Popularly, this objection is removed by an appeal to the appearance of the ground, which has evidently been affected by fluvial action, and also by the present habits of the river, which is persistent in endeavouring to desert its present channel in favour of one still more to the east. The stream, it is said, may have so worked its way between the natural hills and artificial mounds that the temples, which once stood on its east bank, found themselves on the west, while those that were originally on the western verge of the river were eventually left far inland. This was the view taken by Tavernier more than two centuries ago,* who was so far influenced by the popular tradition and the appearance of the country as to assert positively, not only that the course of the river had changed, but that the change had taken place quite recently. His words are as follows:—"At Cheka Sera" (by which he must intend the Shahganj sarāi, then recently built) "may be seen one of the largest pagodas in all India. Connected with it is a hospital for monkeys, not only for those that are ordinarily on the spot, but also for any that may come from the surrounding country, and Hindus are employed to feed them. This pagoda is called Maturā, and was once held in much greater veneration by the heathen than it is now; the reason being that the Jammū used to flow at its foot, and so the Hindus, whether natives, or strangers who had come from a distance on a pilgrimage for purposes of devotion, had facilities for bathing in the river both before they entered the pagoda and also before eating when they went away. For they must not eat without bathing, and they believe that their sins are best effaced by a dip in flowing water. But for some years past the river has taken a turn to the north, and now flows at the distance of a *kos* or more; whence it comes about that the shrine is less frequented by pilgrims than it used to be."

The third of the principal Buddhist sites is the vicinity of the katra. Here, at the back of the temple of Bhūtesvar Mahādeva, is rather a high hill of very

* The edition from which I translate was published at Paris in 1677.

limited area, on the top of which stood, till removed by the writer, a Buddhist pillar of unusually large dimensions. It is carved in front with a female figure, nearly life-size, bearing an umbrella, and above her head is a grotesque bas-relief representing two monkeys, a bird, and a misshapen human dwarf. Immediately opposite the temple is a large ruinous tank, called Balbhadra Kund, with a skirting wall, into which had been built up some good specimens of the cross-bars of a Buddhist railing. From an adjoining well was recovered a plain pillar measuring four feet seven inches in height by eleven inches in breadth, carved in front merely with two roses. The elliptical holes in the sides of the pillar were too large for the cross-bars, which must have belonged to a smaller range. They measure only one foot three inches in length, and are enriched with various devices, such as a rose, a lotus, some winged monster, &c. These were eleven in number; four of the most perfect were taken away by General Cunningham, the rest are still *in situ*. Built into the verandah of a *chaupāl* close by were five other Buddhist pillars of elaborate design and almost perfect preservation. It is said that there was originally a sixth, which some years ago was sent down to Calcutta; there it has been followed by two more: the remaining three were left, by the writer, in the local museum, where possibly they may now have been placed. They are each four feet four inches in height and eleven inches broad; the front is carved with a standing female figure, whose feet rest upon a crouching monster. In an upper compartment, divided off by a band of Buddhist railing, are two demi-figures, male and female, in amorous attitudes, of very superior execution. On one pillar the principal figure is represented as gathering up her drapery, in another as painting her face with the aid of a mirror, and in the third as supporting with one hand a wine-jar and in the other, which hangs down by her side, holding a bunch of grapes. Each of these figures is entirely devoid of clothing: the drapery mentioned as belonging to one of them is simply being gathered up from behind. They have, however, a profusion of ornaments—*karas* on the ankles, a belt round the waist, a *mohan mālā* on the neck, *karn phils* in the ears, and *bāju-band*, *chūri*, and *pahunchi* on the arms and wrists. There are also three bas-reliefs at the back of each pillar: the subject of one is most grossly indecent; another represents Buddha's mother, Māyā Devi, with the *sāl*-tree under which she gave birth to her son. A fragment of a pillar from one of the smaller concentric circles of this same set was at some time sent to Lahor, and is now to be seen in the museum there.

General Cunningham, in his Archaeological Report, has identified the Upagupta monastery with the Yasa Vihāra inside the katra; but in all probability he would not now adhere to this theory; for, at the time when he advanced it, he had never visited the Kankāli Tilā, and was also under

the impression that the Fort had always been, as it now is, the centre of the city. Even then, to maintain his theory, he was obliged to have recourse to a very violent expedient and in the text of the Chinese pilgrim alter the word 'east' to 'west,' because, he writes, "a mile to the east would take us to the low ground on the opposite bank of the Jamuná, where no ruins exist;" forgetting apparently, Fa Hian's distinct statement that in his time there were monasteries on both sides of the river, and being also unaware that there are heights on the left bank, at Isapur and Mahában, where Buddhist remains have been found. The topographical descriptions of the two pilgrims may be reconciled with existing facts without any tampering with the text of their narrative. Taking the katra, or the adjoining shrine of Bhútesvar, as the omphalos of the ancient city and the probable site of the great stúpa of Sáríputra; a short distance to the east will bring us to the Kunkáli Tilá, *i. e.*, the monastery of Upagupta; the Jamálpur mound has already been identified with the monkey stúpa; while some mounds to the north, that will shortly be mentioned, may have been "the stúpas of the four earlier Buddhas and other great teachers of the law."

Close at the back of the Balbhadra Kund and the katra is a range of hills of considerable elevation, commonly called *dhúl kot*, literally 'dust-heaps,' the name given to the accumulation of refuse that collects outside a city, and so corresponding precisely to the Monte Testaccio at Rome. Some of these are, however, clearly of natural formation and probably indicate the old course of the Jamuná or its tributaries. Others are the walls of the old city, which in places are still of great height. They can be traced in a continuous line from the Rangesvar Mahádeo on the Kans ká tilá outside the Holi gate of new Mathurá, across the Agra road, to the temple of Bhútesvar, and thence round by an orchard called the Uthaigira ká bāgh, where the highest point is crowned by a small Bairāgi's celi, at the back of Kesav Dev and between it and the Seth's Chaurási temple, to the shrine of Gartesvar, 'the God of the Moat,' and so on to the Mahávidya hill and the temple of Gokarnesvar near the Sarasvati Sangam.

At the distance of about a mile to the south-west of these ancient ramparts, at the junction of the boundaries of the township of Mathurá and the villages of Bákirpur and Giridharpur, is a group of some twelve or fourteen circular mounds, commonly known as the Chauwára mounds, from a rest-house that once stood there; *Chauwára* and *Chaupál* being different forms of the same word. They are strewn with fragments of brick and stone and would seem all to have been stúpas. As they are to the north of the Jamálpur mound, they may with great probability be identified with the stúpas described by Hwen

Thsang as lying to the north of the monkey tank and marking the spots that had been hallowed by the presence of the 1,250 famous teachers of the law.

In the year 1868, the new road to Sonkh was carried through one of these mounds, and in the centre was disclosed a masonry cell containing a small gold reliquary, the size and shape of a pill-box. Inside was a tooth, the safe-guard of which was the sole object of box, cell, and hill; but it was thrown away as of no value. The box was preserved on account of the material and has been given to the writer by Mr. Hind, the district engineer, whose workmen had discovered it.

Another mound was, as I am informed, examined by General Cunningham in 1872, when, on sinking a well through its centre, he found, at a depth of $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the summit, a small steatite relic casket imbedded in a mass of unburnt bricks. Here I found subsequently the head of a colossal figure of very Egyptian cast of features with a round hole in its forehead, in which was once set a ruby or other precious stone. The lower part of a large seated Buddha was also unearthed with an inscription in the Páli character on the ledge beneath, of which the first three words read *Mahárájasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya*, i. e., 'of the great king, the heaven-born Huvishka,' followed by the date *san 33, gri 1, di 8*, 'the 8th day of the 1st summer month of the 33rd year.' The remainder has not been deciphered with any certainty. I found also several cross-bars and uprights of Buddhist rails of different sizes and a great number of small fragments of male and female figures, animals, grotesques, and decorative patterns, showing that the sculptures here must have been far more varied in design than at most of the other sites. One of the uprights has a well-executed and decently draped figure of a dancing-girl, with the right hand raised and two fingers placed upon her chin. The lower part of the post has been broken away, carrying with it her feet and the third of the three groups at the back. Of the two groups that remain, the upper one represents two seated figures, apparently a teacher and his disciple, with two attendants standing in the back-ground, and has a single line of inscription below, recording the donor's name. The second group shows a sacred tree, enclosed with the conventional rails, and a pilgrim on either side approaching in an attitude of veneration. The only other sculpture deserving special notice is a small bas-relief that represents a capacious throne resembling a garden chair of rustic wood-work, with a footstool in front of it and some drapery spread over the seat, on which is placed a relic casket. In the back-ground are two figures leaning over the high back of the chair. Their peculiarly furtive attitude is characteristic of the style; almost every group includes one or more figures peeping over a balcony, or a curtain, or from behind a tree. On this stone was found a copper coin so much

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

इति श्रीयसुदेवजीवने नमो नमो ॥
निजगो गो

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

From the Kankali tīla; year 1134. See page 110.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

From the Chauwāra mound: King Havishka, year 33. See page 114.



महाराष्ट्रप्रभुपदपदपद ५५

महाराष्ट्रप्रभुपदपदपद ५५

From a Buddhist rail found at the Chauwāra mound. See page 114.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

From the base of a seated Buddha, found in the bed of the Jamunā. See page 126.

corroded that no legend was visible, but bearing in its centre a running figure, which was the device employed both by Kanishka and Huvishka. I had great hopes of discovering another inscription here, as I had picked up a small fragment with the letters  that is, 'Budhānam,' cut very clear and deep; but my search was unsuccessful. Digging in the field some twenty paces from the base of the mound, I came upon the original pavement only two or three feet below the surface, with three large square graduated pedestals, ranged in close line, one overthrown, the other two erect. A capital, found by General Cunningham in 1872, measuring 3ft. \times 2 \times 2, and carved with four winged lions and bulls conjoined, probably belonged to one of the pillars that had surmounted these pedestals. They have been put in the local museum together with the antiquities above described, and the knee of a colossal statue found by General Cunningham in sinking the well through the centre of the mound. A large dry tank, adjoining the mound, is proved to be also of Buddhist construction, as I had anticipated; for I found in one of the mounds on its margin a broken stone inscribed with the letters  that is, 'Dānam Cih.'

Between the Kankāli Tila and these Chauwāra mounds, all the fields are dotted with others, so close together and so much worn by time that they can scarcely be distinguished from the natural level of the ground. One that I searched, after an exploration extending over several days, yielded nothing beyond a few arabesque fragments and, at a depth of six feet below the surface, a small pediment containing in a niche, flanked by fabulous monsters and surmounted by the mystic wheel, a figure of Buddha, canopied by a many-headed serpent and seated on a lion throne. A mound immediately adjoining the pillar that marks the boundary of the township of Mathurā and the villages of Maholi and Pāli-kherā, lying due south of the Kankāli Tila and east of the Gīridhar-pur mound, has yielded a strange squat figure of a dwarf, three feet nine inches high and two feet broad, of uncertain antiquity; and at another mound, just outside the Pāli-kherā village site, I came upon the counter-part of Colonel Stacey's so called Silenus, which he found in 1836 and placed in the Asiatic Society's Museum in Calcutta, where it still is. A full description of this curious sculpture will be given in another chapter. On further excavating the mound, in which I found it, I discovered in situ, three bell-shaped bases of large columns at 13 feet distance from one another, at the three corners of a square; the fourth had completely disappeared. In clearing the space between them I came upon some small figures of baked clay, glazed, of a blueish colour, similar in character to the toys still sold at Hindu fairs; also a few small fragments of carved stone and some corroded pieces of metal bangles. According to village tradition this khera was the fort of a demon, Nonāsūr; the explanation

proves it to have been a Buddhist site ; it adjoins a temple court, of the early part of the 17th century, now occupied by a married Bairági as an ordinary dwelling house. Close by, on the borders of the hamlet of Dhan Sinh, is a small Buddhist rail (now revered as the village Devi) with the usual figure of Buddha's mother under the sál tree on its front, and three roses at the back. A few paces further on is the central portion of a very large Buddhist pillar, with a head on either side, the exact counter-part of one that I extracted from the Chhatthi Pálua at Mahában.

The hill known as the Kans ká Tili just outside the south, or, as it is called, the Holi Gate of the city, is supposed to be the one from the summit of which the tyrant of that name was tumbled down by Krishna. General Cunningham suggests that this might be one of the seven great stúpas mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, and adds that on the north of the city there are two hills still bearing the names of Anand and Vináyaka, titles which they specify. But in this it appears that he was misinformed, as no such localities can be traced. Of the hills to the north of Mathurá, the most conspicuous are the Kailás and Mahá* or Jaysinhpura *khera*, sometimes called the Ganes from the Ghat of that name which is immediately below it. An Anant tirtha, easily to be confounded with Anand, is noted in the Mathurá Mahátnya ; and the fact that Vináyaka, besides its Buddhist meaning, is also an epithet of Ganes, may have given rise to an error in the other name. The Kans ká Tili certainly appears to be primarily of natural formation and hence to have been selected as the river boundary of the old city wall. The whole country, indeed, has been broken up into heights and hollows of indefinite number and extent: but the most ancient Buddhist sites must be looked for at a greater distance from the river and outside the modern city, in what is now open country at the back of the katra, and in the direction of Maholi, the ancient Madhu-puri, where the aboriginal king Madhu held his court. Subsequently to his defeat, the Aryan city was built in the neighbourhood of the present Katra and the temple of Bhútesvar ; and, being the seat of the new Government, it appropriated in a special way the name which formerly had denoted, not the capital, but the whole extent of territory. This view is confirmed by observing that, philologically, 'Mathúra' appears a more fitting name for a country than for a city, and one that could be applied to the latter only inferentially. The present city is the third in order and has for its centre the Fort ; as the second had the temple of Bhútesvar, and the first the grove of Madhu-ban. Thus, speaking generally, the further we move back from the city in the direction of Maholi, the older will probably be the date of any antiquities that may be discovered.

* So called from a dwelling-house that was built there by Sawáe Jay Sinh.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HINDU CITY OF MATHURÁ.

ON the decline of Buddhism, Mathurá acquired that character for sanctity which it still retains, as the reputed birth-place of the deified Krishna. Or, more probably, the triumph of Buddhism was a mere episode, on the conclusion of which the city recovered a character which it had before enjoyed at a much earlier period; for it may be inferred from the language of the Greek geographers that Bráhmaism was in their time the religion of the country, while Hindu tradition is uniform in maintaining its claims both to holiness and antiquity. Thus it is represented as the second of the capitals of the Lunar race, which were in succession Prayág, Mathurá, Kusasthali, and Dwáráká; and in the following well-known couplet it is ranked among the seven sanctuaries of Hindustán:—

Kási Kánti cha Máyákhya twayodhyá Dwáravatynapi
Mathurávantiká chaitá sapta puryo tra mokshadháñ.

“Kási (*i. e.*, Banáras,) Kánti (probably Kanchi), Mayá (*i. e.*, Haridwár), with Ayodhyá, Dwáravati, Mathurá, and Avantiká, are the seven cities of salvation.”

At the present day it has no lack of stately edifices, with which, as described of old in the Harivansa, “it rises beautiful as the crescent moon over the dark stream of the Jamuná;” but they are all modern. The neighbourhood is crowded with sacred sites, which for many generations have been revered as the traditionary scenes of Krishna’s adventures, but, thanks to Muhammadan intolerance, there is not a single building of any antiquity either in the city itself or its environs. Its most famous temple—that dedicated to Kesava Deva—was destroyed, as already mentioned, in 1669, the eleventh year of the reign of the iconoclastic Aurangzeb. The mosque erected on its ruins is a building of little architectural value, but the natural advantages of its lofty and isolated position render it a striking feature in the landscape. The so-called katra, in which it stands, a place to which frequent allusion has been made in the previous chapter, is an oblong enclosure, like a *sarái*, 804 feet in length by 653 feet in breadth. In its centre is a raised terrace, 172 feet long and 86 feet broad, upon which now stands the mosque, occupying its entire length, but only 60 feet of its breadth. About five feet lower is another terrace, measuring 286 feet by 268. There may still be observed, let into the Muhammadan pavement, some votive

* अर्द्धचन्द्रप्रतीकाया यमुनातीरशोभिता ॥ Harivansa, 3,100.

tablets with Nāgari inscriptions, dated *Sambat* 1713 and 1720, corresponding to 1656 and 1663 A. D. In the latter year the temple attracted the notice of the traveller Bernier, who writes :—"Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of fifty or sixty leagues, there are no fine towns, the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting ; nothing is worthy of observation but Mathurá, where an ancient and magnificent pagan temple is still to be seen." The plinth of the temple-wall may be traced to this day at the back of the mosque and at right angles to it for a distance of 163 feet ; but not a vestige of the superstructure has been allowed to remain.

The following description of this famous building is given by Tavernier, who visited it about the year 1650. He writes :—"After the temples of Jagrenath and Banárous, the most important is that of Matura, about 18 *kos** from Agra on the road to Delhi. It is one of the most sumptuous edifices in all India, and the place where there used to be formerly the greatest concourse of pilgrims ; but now they are not so many, the Hindus having gradually lost their previous veneration for the temple, on account of the Jamuna, which used to pass close by, now having changed its bed and formed a new channel half a league away. For, after bathing in the river, they lose too much time in returning to the temple, and on the way might come across something to render them unclean.

"The temple is of such a vast size that, though in a hollow, one can see it five or six *kos* off, the building being very lofty and very magnificent. The stone used in it is of a reddish tint, brought from a large quarry near Agra. It splits like our slate, and you can have slabs 15 feet long and nine or ten broad and only some six inches thick ; in fact, you can split them just as you like and according to your requirements, while you can also have fine columns. The whole of the fort at Agra, the walls of Jehánábád, the king's palace, and some of the houses of the nobles are built of this stone. To return to the temple.—It is set on a large octagonal platform, which is all faced with cut stone, and has round about it two bands of many kinds of animals, but particularly monkeys, in relief ; the one band being only two feet off the ground level, the other, two feet from the top. The ascent is by two staircases of 15 or 16 steps each : the steps being only two feet in length, so that two people cannot mount abreast. One of these staircases leads to the grand entrance of the temple, the other to the back

* Here he states the distance correctly ; but in another place he gives the stages from Delhi to Agra as follows :—"From Delhi to Badelpoura, 8 *kos* ; from Badelpoura to Felwel ki sera, 18 ; from Felwel ki sera to Cot ki sera (Kosl) 15 ; from Cot ki sera to Cheki sera (Mathurá, 'Cheki' standing for 'Sháhki') 16 ; from Cheki sera to Goodki sera, 5 ; from Goodki sera to Agra, 6." One stage must have been omitted at the end.

of the choir. The temple, however, occupies only half the platform, the other half making a grand square in front. Like other temples, it is in the form of a cross, and has a great dome in the middle with two rather smaller at the end. Outside, the building is covered from top to bottom with figures of animals, such as rams, monkeys, and elephants, carved in stone; and all round there are nothing but niches occupied by different monsters. In each of the three towers there are, at every stage from the base to the pinnacle, windows five or six feet high, each provided with a kind of balcony where four persons can sit. Each balcony is covered with a little vault, supported some by four, others by eight columns arranged in pairs and all touching. Round these towers there are yet more niches full of figures representing demons; one has four arms, another four legs; some human heads on bodies of beasts with horns and long tails twining round their thighs. There are also many figures of monkeys, and it is quite shocking to have before one's eyes such a host of monstrosities.

"The pagoda has only one entrance, which is very lofty, with many columns and images of men and beasts on either side. The choir is enclosed by a screen composed of stone pillars, five or six inches in diameter, and no one is allowed inside but the chief Bráhmans, who make use of a little secret door which I could not discover. When in the temple, I asked some of the Bráhmans if I could see the great Rám Rám, meaning the great idol. They replied that if I would give them something, they would go and ask permission of their superior;* which they did as soon as I had put in their hands a couple of rupees. After waiting about half an hour, the Bráhmans opened a door on the inside in the middle of the screen—outside, the screen is entirely closed—and, at about 15 or 16 feet from the door, I saw, as it were, a square altar, covered with old gold and silver brocade, and on it the great idol that they call Rám Rám. The head only is visible and is of very black marble, with what seemed to be two rubies for eyes. The whole body from the neck to the feet was covered with an embroidered robe of red velvet and no arms could be seen. There were two other idols, one on either side, two feet high, or thereabouts, and got up in the same style, only with white faces; these they called Becchor. I also noticed in

* Regarding the veneration paid to the head of the temple, Tavernier, in another place, relates the following anecdote:—"While I was at Agra, in the year 1642, a very odd thing happened. A Hindu broker in Dutch employ, by name Voldas, some 70 or 80 years of age, received tidings of the death of the chief Bráhman, that is to say, the high priest of the temple of Madura. He at once went to the head of the office and begged him to take his accounts and finish them off, for as his high priest was dead he wished to die too, that he might serve the holy man in the other world. Directly his accounts had been inspected, he got into his carriage, together with some relations who followed him, and, as he had taken nothing either to eat or drink since the news had reached him, he died on the road, without ever expressing a wish for any food."

the temple a structure 15 or 16 feet square, and from 12 to 15 feet high, covered with coloured cloths representing all sorts of demons. This structure was raised on four little wheels, and they told me it was the moveable altar, on which they set the great god on high feast days, when he goes to visit the other gods, and when they take him to the river with all the people on their chief holiday."

From the above description, the temple would seem to have been crowded with coarse figure-sculptures, and not in such pure taste as the somewhat older temple of Govind Deva at Brindá-ban; but it must still have been a most sumptuous and imposing edifice, and we cannot but detest the bigotry of the barbarian who destroyed it. At the time of its demolition it had been in existence only some fifty years, but it is certain that an earlier shrine, or series of shrines, on the same site and under the same dedication, had been famous for many ages. Thus it is said in the Váráha Purána —

Na Kesava samo deva na Máthura samo dvija.

“No god like Kesava, and no Bráhmaṇ like a Mathuriya Chaube.”

In still earlier times the site now wrested by the Muhammadans from the Hindus had been seized by the Hindus themselves to the prejudice of another religion, as is attested by the Buddhist remains which we have already described as found there.

With regard to the change in the course of the stream, all engineers whom I have consulted are unanimous in declaring that the main channel of the Jamuná can never in historic times have been at the foot of the temple, as Tavernier imagined. The traces of fluvial action, which he observed, are unmistakable, but they date from the most remote antiquity. This, however, need not occasion any difficulty; for, as Madhu-puri, the first capital, was established at a point which clearly the Jamuná could never have reached, there is no improbability in supposing that the second capital also, though much nearer the stream, was not actually on its bank. The temples which Fa Hian mentions as being on the other side of the river, were probably situate at Isapur and Mahá-ban. It is also to be noted that a *tributary* stream, the bed of which is now partly occupied by the Delhi road, did certainly flow past the katra. This being joined, at the point still called the Sangam, or ‘confluence,’ by another considerable water-course from the opposite direction, fell into the channel now crossed by the Seth’s bridge, and so reached the Jamuná.

In anticipation of Aurangzeb’s raid, the ancient image of Kesava Deva was removed by Ráná Ráj Sinh of Mewár, and was set up on the spot where, as they journeyed, the wheels of the chariot sank in the deep sand and refused

to be extricated. It happened to be an obscure little village, then called Siharh, on the Banás, 22 miles north-east of Udaypur. But the old name is now lost in the celebrity of the temple of Náth Ji, 'the Lord,' which gives its designation to the town of Náth-dwára, which has grown up round it.* This is the most highly venerated of all the statues of Krishna. There are seven others of great repute, which also deserve mention here, as a large proportion of them came from the neighbourhood of Mathurá, viz., Nava-nátha, which is also at Náth-dwára; Mathura-náth at Kota; Dwaraká-náth at Kankarali, brought from Kananj; Bal Kishan at Surat, from Mahá-ban; Biththal-náth or Pándu-rang at Kota, from Banáras; Madan Mohan from Brindá-ban; and Gokul-náth and Gokul-chandramá, both from Gokul. These two last were at Jaypur till a few years ago, when, in consequence of the Mahárája's dislike to all the votaries of Vishnu, they were removed to Kám-ban in Bharat-pur territory. In all probability before very long they will be brought back to their original homes.

At the back of the katra is the modern temple of Kesava Deva, a cloistered quadrangle of no particular architectural merit and, except on special occasions, little frequented, in consequence of its distance from the main town. It is supported by an annual endowment of Rs. 1,027, the rents of the village of Undí in the Chhútá pargana. Close by is a very large quadrangular tank of solid masonry, called the Potara-kund, in which, as the name denotes, Krishna's 'baby-linen' was washed. There is little or no architectural decoration, but the great size and massiveness of the work render it imposing, while the effect is much enhanced by the venerable trees which overhang the enclosing wall. Unfortunately, the soil is so porous that the supply of water is rapidly

* It is described, in the lately published report of the Indian Survey Department, as "a large walled city on the right bank of the Banás river. On the north-east and south it is surrounded by hills, but to the west, across the river, which here takes a very sharp bend, it is fairly open. It has the reputation of being an enormously wealthy city, which I have no doubt is true, as it is a great place of pilgrimage; every pilgrim giving what he can as an offering at the shrine of Srináth. Amongst the more valuable presents given to the Bráhmans, are elephants and cattle; large herds of the latter graze on the hills to the east of the city, where there is a regular cattle farm surrounded by a high wall and guarded by sepoy; the cows in milk receive a daily ration of grain, all sorts mixed, which is boiled in an immense iron caldron. About two years ago the Mahant, or head Gosáin, of Náth-dwára, became troublesome, ignoring all orders of the Darbár, and otherwise misconducted himself to such an extent, that it was found necessary to send a force against him. It was supposed that he would resist, but on seeing some guns commanding his city, he gave in; he was banished to Mathurá and his son allowed to take his place; but at the same time 300 sepoy, under the orders of a Kamdar, appointed by the Darbár, were stationed there to ensure his good behaviour. Even now it is a place rather to be avoided, as the Bráhmans are a very independent set and apt to be insolent on very small provocation. All fishing and shooting is strictly prohibited within the ground belonging to this city."

absorbed, and in every season but the rains the long flights of steps are dry to their very base. Its last restoration was made, at considerable cost, in 1850, by the Kámdár of the Gwáliár Ráj. It might now be easily filled from the canal. A small cell on the margin of the tank, called indifferently Kárá-grah, 'the prison-house,' or Janm-bhūmi, 'the birth-place,' marks the spot where Vasudeva and Devakī were kept in confinement, and where their son Krishna was born. The adjoining suburb, in its name Mallpura, commemorates, it is said, Kansa's two famous *mallas*, i. e., 'wrestlers,' Chánura and Mushtika. At the back of the Potara-kund and within the circuit of the Dhúl-kot, or old ramparts of the city, is a very large mound (where a railway engineer had a house before the Mutiny) which would seem to have been the site of some large Buddhist establishment. It is strewn with broken bits of stone and fragments of sculpture, and I found in particular two large but headless and armless and otherwise mutilated figures of Buddha seated and fully clothed. In this respect they agreed with all the figures found in this particular neighbourhood, as also in the position of the hands, which are not crossed on the feet, but the right is raised in admonition, while the left rests on the thigh. At the Kankáli tīla the statues are mostly nude; and at the Jamálpur mound they are more commonly standing than seated.

In connection with the discovery of Buddhist antiquities, allusion has already been made to the temple of Bhūtesvar Mahádeva, which overlooks the old and ruinous Balbhadra-kund. In its present form it is a quadrangle of ordinary character with pyramidal tower and cloister built by the Mahrattas towards the end of last century. The site has probably been occupied by successive religious buildings from most remote antiquity, and was at one time the centre of the town of Mathurá, which has now moved away from it more than a mile to the east. In the earlier days of Bráhmanism, before the development of the Krishna cultus, it may be surmised that Bhūtesvar was the special local divinity. There are in Braj three other shrines of Mahádeva, which are also of high traditional repute in spite of the meanness of their modern accessories, viz., Kámesvar at Káma, Chakresvar at Gebardhan, and Gopesvar at Brindában. A mela is held by the Balbhadra-kund on the full moon of Srávan, the feast of the Salúno. The pond was partially cleaned out and repaired as a relief work during the late famine, and, as the Aring navigation channel terminates in a reservoir close by, there will now be no difficulty in keeping it always filled with water. This branch of the canal has a length of eight or nine miles, with two locks, one at Ganesra, the other immediately opposite the Chaurási temple. For some little distance it runs directly under the Dhúl-kot, or old city wall.

Of the many little shrines that cluster about the Balbhadra-kund, one is dedicated to Balarāma under his title of Dāu-jī, 'the elder brother'; another to Ganes, and a third to Nar-Sinha, 'the man-lion,' the fourth incarnation of Vishnu. According to the legend, there was an impious king, by name Hiranya Kasipu, who claimed universal sovereignty over all powers on earth, in heaven, and hell. No one had the hardihood to oppose him, save his own son, the pious prince Prahlād, who was for ever singing the praises of the great god Vishnu. "If," said the king, "your god is everywhere present, let him now show himself in this pillar which I strike." At the word the pillar parted in twain and revealed the god in terrible form, half lion half man, who seized the boastful monarch and tore him in pieces and devoured him.

In an adjoining orchard called the Kāzī's Bāgh is a small modern mosque, and in connection with it a curious square building of red sand-stone. It now encloses a Muhammadan tomb, and in all probability was originally constructed for that purpose, though it has nothing Saracenic about it and is a good specimen of the pure Hindu style of architecture, with characteristic columns and square architraves supported on brackets instead of arches. Similarly, almost all the oldest buildings that now remain in and about the city are houses or tombs, that were constructed for Muhammadans by Hindus and in purely Hindu style. At the present day all the new buildings are intended for Hindu use, but their architectural forms have been greatly modified by Muhammadan influences.

After leaving the great entrance to the katra, the Delhi road passes a masonry well* called 'Kubjā's' in commemoration of the miracle which Krishna wrought in straightening the hump-backed maiden who met him there. The turn to the right leads into the city by the Brindā-ban gate, under the Ambarisha hill, and past the Shāhganj sarāe, which has a once handsome, but now sadly ruinous, stone front. In the Muhammadan burial-ground, on the opposite side of the street, is a fine large stone Chhattī, similar to the one near the Idgah at Mahā-ban, which commemorates Ali Khan, the local Governor of that town. It is probably of the reign of Akbar, and is said to cover the ashes of a certain Khwāja. Nearer the roadside is an unfinished square stone building with very elegant tracery, which is said to have been commenced as the monument of some grandee of Darbhanga. The handsome bridge which here crosses the natural water-course known as the Sarasvati Sangam, or 'confluence of the Sarasvati,' was built by Seth Lakhmi Chand in 1849.

* Immediately opposite the well a fragment of a sculptured Buddhist pillar has been set up, and receives religious honours as representing the Hindu goddess Devi.

To the right of it is a temple of Mahádeva, which forms a very conspicuous object. It was built in the year 1850 by Ajudhyá Prasád of Lucknow, and the court-yard is in the debased style of architecture for which that city is notorious. Close by is a walled garden with another temple to the same divinity and a much frequented stone ghát on the river-bank, all constructed at the cost of Srí Gopál, the head of the money changers in the city, who is now represented by his son Rádhá Krishan. Round the garden wall on the inner side are rooms for the accommodation of pilgrims, the arches being fitted in with doors and panels of reticulated tracery, in wood. A daily distribution of grain is here made to the poor. The adjoining hill is called Kailás, and on its slope is the shrine of Gokarnesvar, who is represented as a giant seated figure, with enormous eyes and long hair and beard and moustaches. In one hand is what appears to be a wine cup, in the other some flowers, or grapes. The stone is much worn. The figure is certainly of great antiquity and might have been originally intended to represent some Indo-Scythian king. In a niche in the wall are two small statues, about 1½ foot high, called by the Bráhmans Sati and Párvati. They really are both well executed and early figures of Buddha, seated and preaching. One has lost the right hand. In the same set of buildings is the tomb of Gautama Rishi. Now, Gokarna is the name of a place near the Malabar coast where Bhagirath practised austerities before he brought down the Ganges from heaven, and Gotama (not Gautama) is the author of some of the hymns in the Ríg Veda; so that both names might be connected with Hinduism; but both are also Buddhist, and this fact, combined with the existence of unmistakably Buddhist sculptures on the spot, may be taken as proof that this is one of the old Buddhist sites. Gautama, it need scarcely be said, is one of the commonest names of Buddha himself and Gokarnesvar is one of the eight great Vítá-rágas, or passionless deified saints.

Immediately under the bridge is a shrine bearing the singular name of Gárgi Sárgi, or as it is sometimes called, the Great and Little Pathawari. They are said to have been the two wives of Gokarn, who when translated to heaven became the equal of Mahádeva. The *mantra* to be repeated in honour of the younger lady runs as follows :—

शार्गीदेवि नमस्तुभ्यमृषिपत्नि मनोरमे ।

शुभगे वरदे गौरि सर्वदा सिद्धिदायिनी ॥

“Honour to thee, O divine Sárgi, the Rishi's beautiful wife, happy mother, beneficent incarnation of Gauri, ever bestowing success.”

Here are several other groups of rude vermilion-stained stones, some in the open, some housed in shrines of their own, which do duty for Bháirav,

Sitala Devi, and Masāni. Two fragments are of Buddhist type; one a rail, the other a sculpture of Maya Devi standing under a pillar with bell-shaped capital. Opposite the Kailās hill, across the road, is an open plain, where the sports of the Rām Līlā are celebrated on the festival of the Dashara. Close by is a tank called the Sarasvati-kund, measuring 125 feet square. Owing to some fault in the construction, it is almost always dry, and the adjoining buildings have also rather a ruinous and deserted appearance. We learn, however, from the following inscription, which is on a tablet over the entrance to the temple, that the last restoration was completed so recently as the year 1846 : —

श्रीमत् परमहंस परित्राजकाचार्य श्री ० स्वामी परमहंसजी तत्परण
सेवापरायण वलदेव देव गोस्वामी वासी मधुगर्जा दशवतार बी मन्त्री केनें
सरस्वती कुण्ड को जीर्णोद्धार सर्व श्रुति तथा नवीन सरस्वती को मन्दिर
श्रीमूर्ति प्रतिष्ठा सुद्धा बनवाये मर्फत छोटेलाल मन्त्राल सनाथ का
उस्तां चुन्नी में लागत रुपया २०३१) मिती कार्तिक शु० १३ सं० १९०३ ॥

The above, which exhibits several peculiarities, both in style and phraseology, may be rendered as follows : — “ Baladeva Gostiin, resident of the Dasāvatār Gali of Mathurā, the devoted servant of the venerable contemplative ascetic the right reverend Swāmi Paramhans, thoroughly restored from ruin the Sarasvati-kund, and built this new temple and in due form set up a god in it. His agents were Chibote Lāl and Mannū Lāl, Sanāthīs; the head of the works Chūnni; the cost Rs. 2,735. Kārtik sudi 13th, Sambat 1903.” The Swāmi’s actual name was Nārāyan, and his disciple, Baladeva, was a foundling whom he picked up in the street. Both were Pandits of high local repute.

At no great distance is the temple of Mahā-Vidyā Devi. The original image with that dedication is said to have been set up by the Pandavas; the present shrine, a *Sikhara* of ordinary character in a small quadrangle, was built by the Peshwā towards the end of last century. The hill upon which it stands is ascended by flights of masonry steps between 30 and 40 in number. At the foot is a small dry tank, completely overgrown with a dense jungle of *ber*, *ghu*, and *hūs*. In the court-yard, which occupies the entire plateau, is a *karīl* tree said to be of enormous age, under which were to be seen, among other fragments, a Buddhist pillar carved with the figure of Māyā Devi under the sāl-tree, and a square stone box with a seated Buddha on each of its four sides. Two melas are held here on the 8th of the light fortnight of Chait and Kuwār. This again, like Gokarnesvar, is unquestionably one of the old Buddhist sites, with its name still unchanged; for Mahāvidyā or Vidyā Devi, is, strictly speaking, a Buddhist goddess.

The Jaysinh-pura *Khera*, which overlooks the Sarasvatí Sangam and is separated by a deep ravine from the Mahávidyá hill, is of great extent and has been tunnelled all over in search for bricks. Several Buddhist sculptures have been found at different times and collected at a shrine of Chámund Devi, which is immediately under the *khera* at the back of Seth Mangi Lál's new garden, whence I brought away some of the best for the museum. Across the road, under Jay Sinh's old palace, I found, in the bed of the river, near the ghát erected by one of Sindhia's generals and hence called the 'Senapati's, a draped Buddhist figure of the earliest period, with a Páli inscription at the base, so much obliterated by the wa-hermen, who had used it for beating linen upon, that only a few letters here and there were legible. The figure had lost both head and hands, but was otherwise in good preservation.

At several of the holy places, as we have had occasion to remark, a large tank forms one of the principal features ; but the only one that can be called a success is the Siva tál, not far from the Kankáli tla. This is a spacious quadrangular basin of great depth and always well supplied with water. It is enclosed in a high boundary wall with corner kiosques and a small arched doorway in the centre of three of its sides. On the fourth side is the slope for watering cattle or 'go-ghát,' with two memorial inscriptions facing each other, the one in Sanskrit, the other in Persian ; from which we learn that the tank was constructed by order of Rájá Patni Mall (of Banáras) in the year 1807 A.D. :—

श्रीमन्मायुरमण्डले मुरनते शैवस्थले निर्मले
 वाराहोक्तपुराणवर्णितगुणं प्राक्पुण्यलभ्यंजनैः
 तार्थं तीर्थवरं विशेषं सुखदं श्रीनिर्मलोदाहृत्यं
 दुर्ज्ञेयं बहुकालतस्तदधुना श्रुत्वा महत्वाधिकम् ॥ १ ॥
 कृत्वा नेत्रपथं मुशिलपरचितं नानागवाक्षैर्युतं
 तस्योत्सर्गविधिः कृतो हि पटनी मल्लेन राज्ञाद्विजैः
 विष्णोः पादसमुमोदत्सव इव चैवपृषानन्ददे
 वर्षे व्यङ्गजन्तुके सितदले ज्येष्ठे दशम्यां भृगौ ॥ २ ॥

"In the holy circuit of Mathurá, revered by the gods, pure home of the votaries of Siva, is a sacred place, whose virtues are told in the Varáha Purána, inaccessible by men save through the efficacy of virtuous deeds performed in a previous state of existence ; chief of all sacred places, giver of special graces ; a pellucid lake, whose praises no length of time would suffice fully to tell. After a careful survey and employing the best of architects, who adorned it with



tracery of varied design, the ceremony of its donation was performed by Rájá Patni Mall through the Bráhmaṇas, causing gladness like that which arises from the touch of the foot of Vishnu, rejoicing even the gods. In the year of the (4) oceans, the (6) members, the (8) elephants, and the (solitary) moon, (that is, *Sambat* 1864) on Friday, the 10th of the light fortnight of the month Jeth."

هوالمستعان العباد

شد جدید آثار نام نیک این دیر قدم * در سواد شهر متبراً تیرتبه هر شش جهات
چون بنا فرمود معبد کهنه شوتال نام * بانی جود و عنایت منتھائے محسنات
فیض بخش اهل عالم مرجع احسان عام * راجه پتنی مل بہادر منبع عالی صفات
یکہزار و دو صد و بست و دو آمد در شمار * سال تعمیرش برائے یادگار کائنات
در حساب ابجدی ہم سال تاریخ از ذکا * می شود این بیگمان ہر شہار (?) آب حیات

سنہ ۱۲۲۲ ہجری

"He is the one who is asked for help and who is constantly worshipped. The famous remains of this ancient shrine in the neighbourhood of Mathurá, the place of pilgrimage from all six quarters, have now been renewed. When the old buildings of the Siva tál were restored by that generous and benevolent founder, the goal of good deeds, the bestower of benefits on all the people of the world, the centre of public gratitude, Rájá Patni Mall, Bahádur, fountain of excellent virtue; then the year of its construction—for the remembrance of all the world—was found to be 1222. Thought (or the poet Zaká, suggested the following *tárikh* according to the *abjad* reckoning [illegible] water of life."

The design and execution are both of singular excellence and reflect the highest credit on the architect whom he employed; the sculptured arcades, which project far into the centre of the basin and break up the long flights of steps into three compartments on each side, being especially graceful. The place is visited by a large number of bathers from the neighbourhood every morning, and is the scene of an annual *mela* held on the 11th of the dark fortnight of the month Bhádon. Outside the enclosure is a small temple in the same style of architecture dedicated to Mahádeva under the title of Achalesvar. In the Manoharpur quarter of the city is a large temple of this Rájá's foundation, bearing the title of Dírgha Vishnu. The name is unusual and refers to the 'gigantic' stature which the boy Krishna assumed when he entered the arena to fight with Kansá's champions, Chánura and Mushtika. The Rájá's dwelling-house is still standing, on the Nakárechí tila, and was recently occupied for a time as a normal school for the training of female teachers. He is further commemorated by another small shrine near the Holi gate of the city, which he rebuilt in honour of Vira-bhadra, the terrible being created by Siva and Devi in their wrath, to

disturb the sacrifice of Daksha, a ceremony to which they had not been invited. His great ambition was to rebuild the ancient temple of Kesava Deva, and with this view he had gradually acquired a considerable part of the site. But as some of the Muhammadans, who had occupied the ground for nearly two centuries, refused to be bought out and the law upheld them in their refusal, he was at last, and after great expense had been incurred, reluctantly obliged to abandon the idea. Should a stranger visit the tank early in the morning and enquire of any Hindu he meets there by whom it was constructed, he will find considerable difficulty in eliciting a straightforward answer. The Rājā, it is said, was a man of such delicate constitution that he never could take at one time more than a very few morsels even of the simplest food; hence arises a belief that any one, who mentions him by name the first thing in the morning, will, like him, have to pass the day fasting.

From the katra, the centre of all the localities which we have hitherto been describing, a fine broad road has been carried through the high ridge, which appears to have been at one time part of the mediæval city wall, down to the edge of the river. On the right hand side is the stone-cutter's quarter with the small old temple of Tankbanli Mahādeva, near which is a high mound, lying back from the main streets between the dispensary and the kotwali, and now crowned by a ruinous little shrine dedicated to Bihāri; from this I brought a Buddhist pillar, bearing the figure of a dancing girl, with a leonine monster at her feet and over her head a group representing a teacher of the law seated under an umbrella addressing an audience of ten persons. To the left of the road is the suburb of Manoharpur, with a mosque which, as we learn from the following inscription over the centre arch, was erected in the year 1158 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1745 A.D., during the reign of Muhammad Shāh—

در زمان شاه محمد شاه مسجد عبدالرشید کرد بنا
سال تاریخ او خرد فرمود داد ترتیب مسجدی زیبا

“In the reign of Shāh Muhammad Shāh, Abdurrashīd built this mosque: thought suggested the *tārīkh*, ‘He built a beautiful mosque.’” [A. II. 1158; or A.D. 1745].

From an adjoining street, where it had been built up into a mud wall, I removed to the museum a stone fragment of exceptional interest. It is only a small headless seated nude figure and, to judge from the style of the sculpture and the ill-formed letters in the Pāli inscription at the base, is of no very great antiquity. Under it is a row of six standing figures, three on either side of a central *chakra*. The inscription records nothing whatever beyond the date, but this is given both in words and figures as follows:—

Samvatsare sapta pañcāse 57 themanta tritiye dvādaśe trayasra asya paryāyam, that is to say 'in the year fifty-seven (57) on the thirteenth day of the third winter month.' It is curious in two ways, *first*, because it definitely fixes, beyond any possibility of doubt, the value of the symbol representing 50, and *secondly*, because if the date is really the year 57 of the same era as that employed in the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huviska, it is the earliest unmistakable Jaina figure yet found in the neighbourhood. The computation by seasons certainly favours the idea of antiquity and the argument for its modern date, derived from the character of the sculpture and of the lettering, may be deceptive; for at any period different styles both of carving and writing may exist simultaneously; yet probably the solution of the difficulty is to be found in Mr. Thomas's theory already mentioned, according to which the date is not given in full, but specifies only the year of the century, omitting the century itself, as being at the time well known.

In the streets are many broken Buddhist pillars and other sculptures. The road was constructed in the collectorate of Mr. Best, and in the progress of the work a column was found bearing an inscription in some ancient character: to reduce the size of the stone, the inscribed face was ruthlessly cut away, and it was then converted into a buttress for a bridge. As it approaches the river, the road opens out into a fine square, with graceful arcades of carved stone. These are the property of the Mahārāja of Bharat-pur and Gosāin Purushottam Lal and, though ordinarily they have rather a deserted appearance, on the occasion of any great local festival they let for as much as Rs. 2 or 3 each a day. On the other side of the square opposite the road is a pontoon bridge, which was opened for traffic in 1870. The tolls were farmed for the large sum of Rs. 40,500 a year: whence it is obvious that any reasonable outlay incurred in its construction would soon have been repaid. But unfortunately, everything was sacrificed to a false economy; it was made so narrow that it could not allow of two carts passing, and so weak that it could not bear even a single cart if heavily laden. Thus it was no sooner opened than it broke down; and repairs were in constant progress, till the night of the 13th of August, 1871, — when it was completely swept away by a heavy flood. It was immediately reconstructed; but it is impossible that it should ever present a satisfactory appearance, while at the same time its cost has been excessive. It may be hoped that it will, before many years are over, be superseded by a masonry bridge in connection with the railway, which at present pays for its use a fixed annual sum of Rs. 4,044: its original value having been put at Rs. 1,15,566.

The city stretches for about a mile and-a-half along the right bank of the Jamunā, and from the opposite side has a very striking and picturesque

appearance, which is owing not a little to the broken character of the ground on which it is built. Were it not for this peculiarity of site, the almost total absence of towers and spires would be felt as a great drawback; as all the large modern temples have no *sikhāras*, as are usually seen in similar edifices, but are simple cloistered quadrangles of uniform height. The only exceptions are the lofty minarets of the Jama Masjid on the one side, and the campanile of the English Church seen through the trees in the distance below.

Looking up the stream, the most prominent object is the old Fort, or rather its massive sub-structure, for that is all that now remains, called by the people Kaus-kā kila. Whatever its legendary antiquity, it was rebuilt in historical times by Rājā Mān Sinh of Jaypur, the chief of the Hindu princes at Akbar's Court. At a later period it was the occasional residence of Mān Sinh's still more famous successor on the throne of Amber, the great astronomer Sawāī Jay Sinh, who commenced his long reign of 44 years in 1699 A.D. Till the day of his death he was engaged in almost constant warfare, but is less known to posterity by his military successes, brilliant though they were, than by his enlightened civil administration and still more exceptional literary achievements. At the outset he made a false move: for in the war of succession, that ensued upon the death of Aurangzeb, he attached himself to prince Belār Bakht, and fought by his side in the fatal battle of Dholpur. One of the first acts of Shāh Alam, on his consequent elevation to the throne, was to sequester the principality of Amber. An Imperial Governor was sent to take possession, but Jay Sinh drove him out sword in hand, and then formed a league with Ajīt Sinh of Mārwar for mutual protection. From that day forward he was prominently concerned in all the troubles and warfare of that anarchic period, but never again on the losing side. In 1721, he was appointed Governor of the Province of Agra and later of Mālwa; but he gradually loosened his connection with the Court of Delhi, from a conviction that the dissolution of the Muhammadan empire was inevitable, and concluded terms with the Mahrattas. At his accession, Amber consisted only of the three parganas of Amber, Deosa, and Barsao, as the Shaikhāwats had made themselves independent and the western tracts had been attached to Ajmer. He not only recovered all that his ancestors had lost, but further extended his frontiers by the reduction of the Bargujars of Deoti and Rājāpur and made his State worthy to be called the dominions of a Rājā—a title which he was the first of his line to assume. The new capital, which he founded, he called after his own name Jaypur, and it is still to the present day the only native city in India built upon a regular plan; the only one also, it must unfortunately be added, in which the street architecture is absolutely bad and systematically false and pretentious. He is said to have been assisted in the execution of his design by an architect from Bengal.

In consequence of his profound knowledge of astronomy, he was entrusted by Muhammad Sháh with the reformation of the calendar. To ensure that amount of accuracy, which he considered the small instruments in ordinary use must always fail to command, he constructed observatories with instruments of his own invention on a gigantic scale. One of these was on the top of the Mathurá Fort, the others at Delhi, Jaypur, Ujjaiyin, and Banáras. His success was so signal that he was able to detect errors in the tables of De la Hire, which had been communicated to him by the King of Portugal. His own tables were completed in 1728 and are those still used by native astronomers. He died in 1743. His voluminous correspondence is said by Tod* still to exist and his acts to be recorded in a miscellaneous diary entitled *Kalpadruma* and a collection of anecdotes called the *Eksau nau gun Jay Sinh ká*.

The whole of the Mathurá observatory has now disappeared. A little before the mutiny the buildings were sold to the great Government contractor, Joti Prasád, who destroyed them for the sake of the materials. Certainly, they had ceased to be of any practical use; but they were of interest, both in the history of science and as a memorial of one of the most remarkable men in the long line of Indian sovereigns, and their inconsiderate demolition is a matter for regret. The old hall of audience, which is outside the actual Fort, is a handsome and substantial building divided into three aisles by ranges of red sand-stone pillars. Soon after the mutiny it was converted into a school and, in order to render it as unsightly as such Government buildings ordinarily are, the front arches were all blocked up with a mud wall which concealed every trace of them. Quite by accident I discovered their existence and, after opening them out again, filled in their heads with iron bars set in a wooden frame and the lower part with a slight masonry wall, thus preserving all the architectural effect without any sacrifice of convenience.

About the centre of the river front is the most sacred of all the gháts, marking the spot where Krishna sat down to take 'rest' after he had slain the tyrant Kansa and hence called the 'Visránt Ghát.' The small open court has a series of marble arches facing the water, which distinguishes it from all the other landing-places; and on the other three sides are various buildings erected at intervals during the last century and-a-half by several princely families, but none of them possesses any architectural beauty. The river here swarms with turtles of an enormous size, which are considered in a way sacred, and generally receive a handfull or two of grain from every visitor. Close by is a natural water-course, said to have been caused by the passage of Kansa's giant body, as it was dragged down to the river to be burnt, and hence called

* From whom all the facts in the above narrative of Jay Sinh's life are borrowed.

the 'Kansa Khār.' The following lines in the Vishnu Purāna are alleged in support of the tradition :—

गौरवेणातिमहता परिखा तेन कृष्यता ।

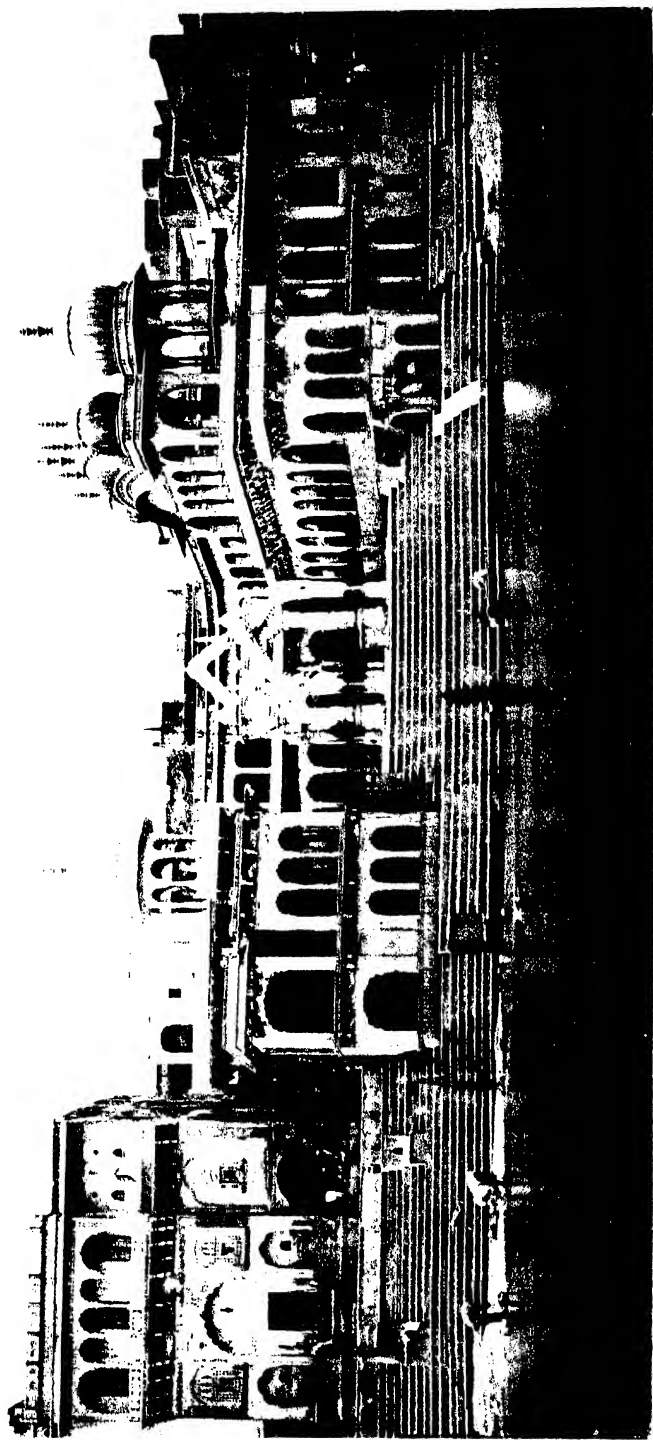
कृता ः सस्य देहेन वेगेनेव महाम्मसः ॥

“By the trailing body of Kansa, with its prodigious weight, a channel was made as by the rush of a mighty stream.”

It is now arched over, like the Fleet river in London, and for many years formed one of the main sewers of the town ; a circumstance which possibly did not affect the sanctity, but certainly detracted somewhat from the material purity of this favourite bathing place. It is now being closed, as it was thought to have contributed not a little to the abnormal sickness which has lately prevailed in the city.

With reference to this spot a story is told in the Bhakt Māla, of Kesav Bhatt, one of the most celebrated of the Vaishnava teachers. After spreading his doctrines through all the chief cities of India and demolishing every argument that the most learned Pandits could bring against him, he was himself unable to reply to the questions put him by Chaitanya, though at the time a child only seven years of age. Thereupon he abandoned the career of a controversialist and retired to his native country Kashmir, where he remained in solitude, absorbed in humble and devout meditation, till roused to action by news of the tyranny that prevailed at Mathurā. For the Muhammadans had set up a diabolical engine at the Visrānt Ghāt, which perforce circumcised every Hindu who went there to bathe. On hearing this, he gathered together a thousand of his disciples and, on arriving at Mathurā, went straight to the spot, where the Governor's myrmidons set upon him and thought to bring him too under the yoke of Islam. But he broke the engine in pieces and threw it into the river. An army was then sent against him, but not a man of it escaped ; for he slew the greater number with the sword and the rest were driven into the Jamunā and drowned.

For this legend it is possible there may be some slight historical foundation ; the next to be told can at the best be regarded as only a pious fiction. It is given in the Mathurā Mahātmya, or Religious Chronicle of Mathurā, which is an interpolation on the Vārāha Purāna, though of sufficient extent to be itself divided into 29 sections. After expatiating in the most extravagant terms on the learning, piety, and other virtues of the Mathurīya Chaubes, and the incomparable sanctity of the city in which they dwell, it briefly enumerates the twelve Vanas or woods, that are included in the perambulation



of the land of Braj, and then at greater length describes the principal shrines which the pilgrim is bound to visit in the capital itself. As a rule, no attempt is made to explain either the names borne by the different holy places, or the origin of their reputed sanctity; but their virtue is attested by the recital of some of the miracles, which have been worked through their supernatural influence, such as the following:—

“Once upon a time there was a Bráhmaṇ living at Ujjaiyin, who neglected all his religious duties, never bathed, never said a prayer, never went near a temple. One night, when out with a gang of thieves, he was surprised by the city watchmen, and in running away from them fell down a dry well and broke his neck. His ghost was doomed to haunt the place, and was so fierce that it would tear to pieces and devour every one who came near it. This went on for many years, till at last one day a band of travellers happened to pitch their tents by the well, and among their number was a very holy and learned Bráhmaṇ. So soon as he knew how the neighbourhood was afflicted, he had recourse to his spells and compelled the evil spirit to appear before him. Discovering, in the course of his examination, that the wretched creature had in his lifetime been a Bráhmaṇ, he was moved with pity for him and promised to do all in his power to alleviate his sentence. Whereupon the ghost begged him to go straight to Mathurá, and bathe on his behalf at the Visránt Ghát, ‘for,’ said he, ‘I once in my life went into a temple of Vishnu, and heard the priest repeat this holy name and tell its wondrous saving power.’ The Bráhmaṇ had often bathed there and readily agreed to transfer the merit of one such ablution. The words of consent had no sooner passed his lips than the guilty soul was absolved from all further suffering.”*

* To a devout Hindu, who believes that Krishna was an incarnation of the Deity, and that he hallowed with his presence the place now called the Visránt Ghát, there is no intrinsic absurdity in the legend as above quoted. It can be paralleled in all its particulars by many that have been recorded for the edification of the faithful by canonized saints of the Church. That the merit of good deeds can be transferred—the point upon which the story mainly turns—is a cardinal Catholic doctrine; and as to the dying in sin and yet being saved through the efficacy of a formal act of devotion, take the following example from the pages of S. Alphonsus Liguori:—“A certain Canon was reciting some prayers in honour of the Divine Mother, and, whilst doing so, fell into the river Seine and was drowned. Being in mortal sin, the devils came to take him to hell. In the same moment Mary appeared and said, ‘How do you dare to take possession of one who died in the act of praising me?’ Then addressing herself to the sinner, she said, ‘Now change thy life and nourish devotion to my Conception.’ He returned to life and became Religious.” Here the concluding words correspond precisely with the finale of the story of the barbar Tinduk, as told on the next page. In short, the Hindu in his ideas of divine worship, of the religious life, of the efficacy of faith and good works, of the earnest sympathy of the Divine Being with human distress, and His occasional miraculous intervention for its relief, falls little, if at all, short of Catholic truth. Unhappily he has no clear perception of the true God, to

On the other side of this sacred spot, a number of minor gháts stretch up and down the river, those to the north being called the *uttar kot* and those to the south the *dakshin kot*. They are invariably represented as twenty-four in all, twelve in either set; but there is a considerable discrepancy as to the particular names. The following list has been supplied by a Pandit of high local repute, Mákhan Misr, a Gaur Bráhmaṇ, from whose extensive library of manuscripts I have been able to procure almost every Sanskrit work that I have had occasion to consult.

To the north : Ganes Ghát ; Mánasa Ghát ; Dasasvamedha Ghát, under the hill of Ambarísha ; Chakra-tirtha Ghát ; Krishna-Gangá Ghát, with the shrine of Kálinjaresvar Mahádeva ; Som-tirtha Ghát, more commonly called Vasudeva Ghát or Shaikh Ghát ; Brahma-loka Ghát ; Ghantábharaṇa Ghát ; Dhárá-patana Ghát ; Sangama-tirtha Ghát, otherwise called Vaikuntha Ghát ; Nava-tirtha Ghát ; and Asikunda Ghát.

To the south : Avimukta Ghát ; Visránti Ghát ; Prág Ghát ; Kankhal Ghát ; Tinduk Ghát ; Súra Ghát ; Chintá-mani Ghát ; Dhruva Ghát ; Rishi Ghát ; Moksha Ghát ; Koti Ghát ; and Buddh Ghát.

The more common division is to include the Avimukta Ghát in the first set, from which the Mánasa is then omitted; to except the Visránti Ghát altogether from the number of the twenty-four; and to begin the second series with the Balabhadra and the Jog Ghát. By the former of these two are the Satghara or 'seven chapels,' commemorating Krishna's seven favourite titles and the shrine of Gata Sram or 'ended toil.' The Jog Ghát is supposed to mark the spot where Joga-Nidra, the infant daughter of Nanda and Jasodá, whom Vasudeva had substituted for his own child Krishna, was dashed to the ground by Kansa and thence in new form ascended to heaven as the goddess Durgá. Between it and the Prág Ghát (where is the shrine of Beni Mádhó) is one of more modern date called Sringár Ghát, with two temples dedicated respectively to Pipalesvar Mahádeva and Batuk-náth: by Prág Ghát is also

whom the devotion, which he understands so well, should alone be paid: yet for all this drawback, Hinduism remains in one aspect divine, which is more than can be said either of Islam, or of Protestantism. They are both essentially human inventions in direct antagonism to the truth, while Hinduism is a genuine natural religion, which only needs to be sustained and completed by Revelation. Thus St. Augustine says of the heathen of old: "*Res ipsa qua nunc christiana religio nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec deit ab initio generi humani quousque Christus veniret in carne, unde vera religio, que jam erat, cepit appellari christiana.*" It is upon this principle that the Church has admitted into the calendar, among her canonized saints, certain worthies of the old dispensation, such as the Machabees, with reference to whom St. Gregory Nazianzen, in a sermon preached on their feast day, declares it to be a pious opinion "*neminem eorum, qui ante christi adventum martiris consummati sunt, id sine fide in Christum consequi potuisse.*"

the shrine of Rāmesvar Mahā-leva. Two other ghāts occupy far more conspicuous sites than any of the above, but are included in no list, as being devoid of any legendary reputation. The first bears the name of Sāmi Ghāt, not, as might be supposed, a corruption of *Svāmi*, but of *Sāmlne* 'opposite,' as it faces the main street of the city, where is a mansion of carved stone built by the famous Rūp Rām, Katāra, of Barsūna. The second is the Bengāli Ghāt, at the foot of the pontoon bridge and close to a large house, the property of the Rāja of Jhāra-pattan. It is so called from having been built by the Gosāin of the temple of Gobind Deva at Brindā-ban, the head of the Bengāli Vaishnavas, who has a residence on the opposite side of the street. The end of the ghāt adjoining the Rāja of Jhāra-pattan's house has been left unfinished, as the right to the ground forms the subject of a dispute between the Rāja and the Gosāin.

Most of the ghāts refer in their names to well-known legends and are of no special historical or architectural interest. The list is appropriately headed by one dedicated to Ganes, the god invoked at the commencement of every undertaking; the second and third are both sacred to Siva, the one commemorating the Mānasa lake, a famous place of pilgrimage on mount Kailās in the Himalayas; the other the Dasavamedh Ghāt, the holiest spot in Siva's city of Banāras. The fourth or chakra-tirtha, with the hill of Ambarisha, refers to Vishnu's magic discus, *chakra*, with which he defended his votary Ambarisha against the assaults of the Sivite Duvāsas. The hill is between 60 and 70 feet high, and according to popular rumour there is in the centre of it a cave containing an enormous treasure. I did not expect to discover this, but as General Cunningham had told me of a gold coin of Apollodotus that had been found there, I got some men to dig, thinking it not unlikely something might turn up. The only reward for my trouble was a small fragment of Buddhist sculpture representing a devotee under a niche with the rail pattern below and the capitals of the pillars of Indo-Ionic type. This however was sufficient proof of the great antiquity and also of the Buddhist occupation of the mound.

The temple of Mahāleva at the Ganga Krishan Ghāt has some very rich and delicate reticulated stone tracery, and all the work about this ghāt is exceptionally good, both in design and execution. It was done, a little before the mutiny, under the immediate superintendence of the Brāhman then in charge of the shrine, Baladeva Byās by name. The title Kalinjabesvar would seem to be a mistake for Kālindīsvār; Kālindī being a name of the Jamunā, which takes its rise in the Kalinda range. A little above the ghāt is an old red stone chhattri, which has a singularly graceful finial.

A little below the Sāmi Ghāt is a small mosque and group of tombs commemorating a Muhammadan saint, Makhdūm Shāh Wiliyat, of Hirāt. The

tombs date apparently from the sixteenth century, and the architecture is in all its details so essentially of Hindu design, that, were it not for the word 'Allah,' introduced here and there into the sculptured decorations, there would be nothing to distinguish them from Hindu chhatris. The Muhammadans call this the Shaikh Ghát, while the Hindus maintain that the word is not Shaikh, but Shesh, the name of the thousand-headed serpent that forms Vishnu's couch and canopy. This is probable enough, for the final cerebral sibilant is vulgarly pronounced and indeed often written as the guttural *kh*. After long dispute between the two parties as to who should have the privilege of rebuilding the ghát, the work was taken in hand in 1875, by Viláyat Husain, the Seth's house agent, who also added a mosque; but he gave no little offence thereby and died in 1879, leaving one minaret of the mosque still unfinished.

The word Ghantábharan (which would be derived from *ghanta*, 'a bell,' and *bharan*, 'bearing,') is in the Vraj-bhakti-vilás perhaps more correctly written Ghantábhan, *bhan* meaning 'sound.' The allusion is to the bell, by the ringing of which Vishnu is roused from his four months' slumber on the 11th of the month Kártik.

The name Dhárápatan (from *dhára*, 'a stream,' and *patan*, 'falling,') probably referred primarily to the position of the ghát, which is on a projecting point where it bears the full force of the 'fall of the stream.' But in the Máhátmya it is explained by the following legend: - "Once upon a time, a woman, whose home was on the bank of the Ganges, came on a pilgrimage to Mathurá, and arrived there on the 12th of Kártik. As she was stepping into a boat near the place where now is the Dhárá-patan Ghát, she fell over and was drowned. By virtue of this immersion in the sacred flood, she was born again in an exalted position as the daughter of the king of Banáras, and, under the name of the Ráni Pivari, was married to Kshatra-dhanu, the king of Suráshtra, by whom she had seven sons and five daughters. Upon one occasion when the royal pair were comparing notes, it came to light that he too had undergone a very similar experience: for, originally he had been a wild savage, who had come over to Mathurá from the Naimisha forest and was crossing the Jamuná with his shoes balanced on the top of his head, when they fell off into the water. He dipped down to recover them and was swept away by the torrent and drowned. Every stain of sin being thus washed out of his body, when he again took birth it was no longer as a barbarous Nishádha, or wild man of the woods, but as a noble Kshatriya king.

Dhruva who gives a name to one of the most southern of the gháts was, according to the legend, the son of a king by name Uttána-páda. Indignant

at the slights put upon him by his stepmother, he left his father's palace to make a name for himself in the world. By the advice of the seven great Rishis, Maríchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Kratu, Pulaha, and Vasishta, he repaired to Madhu-ban near Mathurá and there, absorbed in the contemplation of Vishnu, continued for seven years a course of the severest penance. At last the god appeared to him in person and promised to grant him any boon he might desire. His request was for a station exalted above every station and which should endure for ever ; whereupon he was translated to heaven as the polar star together with his mother Sunítí.

On the Dhruva *tílá*, or hill at the back of the ghát, is a small temple, built *Sambat* 1894, in place of an older shrine, of which the ruins remain close by dedicated to Dhruva Jí. Here I found a set of Buddhist posts, with the cross rails and top bar all complete, cut out of a single slab of stone, measuring two feet two inches square. The *Pujáris*, or priests in charge, by name Dámodar Dás and Chhote Lál, belong to the Sanakádi or Nimbárák Sampradáyá of Vaishnavas, and produce a manuscript pedigree in Sanskrit in proof of their direct spiritual descent from Kesava Bhatt, one of Nimbárák's successors, who is regarded as the head of the secular, or *Grihastha*, sub-division of the sect, as his brother-in-law, Hari Vyása, was of the celibate, or *Virakta*, order. In the temple are figures of Rádhá Krishan, whom the Nimbáraks have adopted as their special patrons. The list of superiors, or Guru-Parampará, as it is called, runs as follows :—

I.—1 Hansávatúr ; 2 Sanakádi ; 3 Nárada ; 4 Nimbárák Swámi : all deified characters.

II.—1 Sríváśáchárya ; 2 Biswáchárya ; 3 Purushottam ; 4 Bilása ; 5 Sarúpa ; 6 Mádhava ; 7 Balbhadra ; 8 Padma ; 9 Syáma ; 10 Gopála ; 11 Kripála ; 12 Deva : all distinguished by the title of Achárya.

III.—1 Sundar Bhatt ; 2 Padma-nábha ; 3 Srí Ráma-chandra ; 4 Baman ; 5 Srí Krishua ; 6 Padmákara ; 7 Sravan ; 8 Bhúri ; 9 Mádhava ; 10 Syáma ; 11 Gopála ; 12 Sri-bal, or Balbhadra ; 13 Gopináth ; 14 Kesáva ; 15 Gangal ; 16 Kesava Kashmíri ; 17 Srí Bhatt ; 18 Kesava Bimáni : all bearing the title of Bhatt.

IV.—1 Giridhar Gosáin ; 2 Ballabh Lál ; 3 Mukund Lál ; 4 Nand Lál ; 5 Mokañ Lál ; 6 Rám Jí Lál ; 7 Manu Lál ; 8 Rádhá Lál ; 9 Kanhaiya Lál ; and 10 Dámodar Dás : all bearing the title of Gosáin.

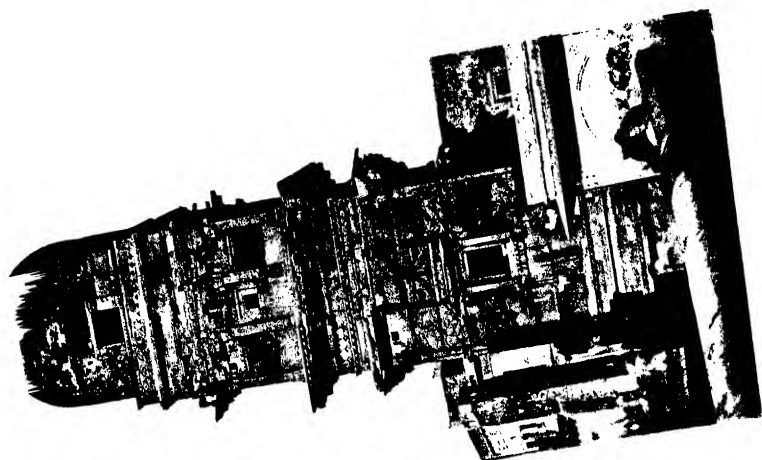
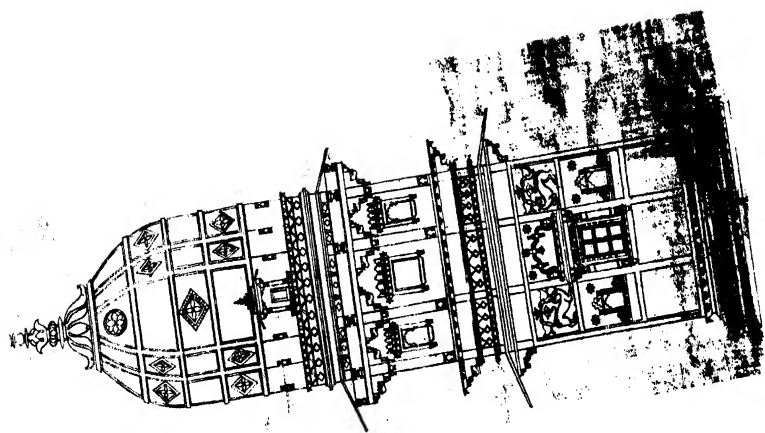
The Nimbáraks have also a temple at Brindá-ban, dedicated to Rasak Bihári, and some account of their tenets will be given in connection with that town. Their distinguishing sectarial mark consists of two white perpendicular streaks

on the forehead with a black spot in the centre. The natural parents of their founder are said to have been named Aruna Rishi and Jayanti.

The Tinduk ghát, according to the *Máhátmya*, is so called after a barber who lived at Kámpilya, the capital of Páñchála, in the reign of King Devadatta. After losing all his family, he came to live at Mathurá and there practised such rigorous austerities and bathed so constantly in the sanctifying stream of the Jamuná, that after death he took birth once more as a high-caste Bráhmaṇ.

The legend of the Asikunda Ghát is told on this wise:—A pious king, by name Sumati, had started on a pilgrimage, but died before he was able to complete it. His son, Vimati, on succeeding to the throne, was visited by the sage Nárad, who, at the time of taking his departure, uttered this oracular sentence: 'A pious son settles his father's debts.' After consulting with his ministers, the prince concluded that the debt was a debt of vengeance, which he was bound to exact from the places of pilgrimage, which had tempted his father to undertake the fatal journey. Accordingly, having ascertained that every holy place paid an annual visit in the season of the rains to the city of Mathurá, he assembled an army and marched thither with full intent to destroy them all. They fled in terror to Kalpa-gráma to implore the aid of Vishnu, who at last yielded to their entreaties, and assuming the form of a boar joined in combat with King Vimati on the bank of the Jamuná and slew him. In the fray, the point of the divine sword, '*asi*,' snapped off and fell to the ground; whence the ghát to this day is called Asi-kunda Ghát, and the plain adjoining it Váraha Kshetra, or 'the field of the boar.'

Before finally leaving the river side, one other building claims a few words, *viz.*, 'the Sati Burj.' This is a slender quadrangular tower of red sand-stone commemorating the self-sacrifice of some faithful wife. According to the best authenticated tradition, she is said to have been the Queen of Rájá Bihár Mall of Jaypur and the mother of the famous Rájá Bhagaván Dás, by whom the monument was erected in the year 1570 A.D. It has, as it now stands, a total height of 55 feet and is in four stories: the lowest forms a solid basement; the second and third are lighted by square windows and are supplied with an internal staircase. The exterior is ornamented with rude bas-reliefs of elephants and other devices, but is in a very ruinous condition. The tower was originally of much greater height; but all the upper part was destroyed, it is said, by Aurangzeb. The exceedingly ugly and incongruous plaster dome, which now surmounts the building, was apparently added about the beginning of the present century. It no doubt helps to preserve what yet remains of the original work, but it sadly detracts from its architectural effect. I had hoped that the reigning Maharája might be induced to undertake the complete restoration of



this interesting family monument, and if the matter had been properly represented to him, he would in all probability have consented to do so. It is not at all likely that anything will be done now; but the design that I had prepared may be thought worthy of preservation. No small amount of time and thought was bestowed upon it; and I hope that architects will consider it both a pleasing object in itself and also a faithful reproduction of the destroyed original.

At the time when it was built, that is, at the end of the 16th century, it may be presumed that the city of Mathurá occupied its old position in the neighbourhood of the katra, and that the river-bank was used as the ordinary place for the cremation of the dead. Several cenotaphs of about the same period still remain, being mostly in the old Hindu style, with brackets of good and varied design. The two largest bear the dates 1638 and 1715 *Sambat*, corresponding to 1581 and 1638 A.D. They had all been taken possession of by the Chaubes, who had blocked up the arches with mud or rough brick-work and converted them into lodging houses, which they rented to pilgrims. In 1875 I had them all opened out when widening and paving the street along the river bank. This work was left unfinished, but enough had been done to render the street, though still narrow, the most picturesque in the city. Many of the gháts had been repaired, while the removal of a number of obstructions had opened out a view not only of the river but also of the houses and temples on the land side. Some of these are very graceful specimens of architecture, in particular the house of Purushottam Lál, the Gokul Gosáin, close to the Bengali ghát, which has a most elaborate façade and a balcony displaying a great variety of patterns of reticulated tracery.

Immediately below the last of the gháts and opposite the Sadr Bazar, which has a population of some 6,000 souls and forms a small town by itself, entirely distinct both from the city and the European quarter, are two large walled gardens on the river bank. One of these, called the Jamuná bāgh, is the property of the Seth. It is well kept up and contains two very handsome chhatris, or cenotaphs, in memory of Párikh Jí, the founder of the family, and Mani Rám his successor. The latter, built in the year of the *chauránawe* famine, 1837 A.D., is of exceedingly beautiful and elaborate design; perhaps the most perfect specimen ever executed of the reticulated stone tracery, for which Mathurá is famous. It has been purposely made a little lower and smaller than the earlier monument, the eaves of which at one corner completely overhang it. The adjoining garden, which may be of even greater extent, has a small house and enclosed court-yard, in the native style, on the bank of the river, and, in the centre, an obelisk of white stone raised on a very high and

substantial plinth of the same material, with the following inscription : " Erected to the memory of Robert Sutherland, Colonel in Mahārāj Daulat Rao Scindia's service, who departed this life on the 20th July, 1804, aged 33 years. Also in remembrance of his son, C. P. Sutherland (a very promising youth), who died at Hindia on the 14th of October, 1801, aged 3 years." The monument is kept in repair by the grandson, Captain S. S. Sutherland, of the Police Department. Colonel Sutherland was the officer whom De Boigne, on his retirement in 1795, left in command of the brigade stationed at Mathurá, one of three that he had raised in the service of Mádhó Jí Sindhiá. The Mahratta Commander-in-Chief, who also had his head-quarters at Mathurá, was at that time one Jagu Bapu, who was probably the Senapat of whom local tradition still speaks. In 1797 he was superseded by Perron, to whom Daulat Rao had given the supreme command of all his forces and who thereupon established himself at Kol, as virtual sovereign of the country. In the following year he discharged Sutherland for intriguing with the other Mahratta chiefs, but not long after he recovered his post through the interest of his father-in-law, Colonel John Hessing, to whose memory is erected the very fine monument in the Catholic cemetery at Agra, which Jacquemont considered superior to the Taj. In 1813 Sutherland, like the other British officers in Sindhiá's service, received a pension from the Government, but he lived only one year to enjoy it.

On a rising ground in the very heart of the city stands the Jama Masjid, erected in the year 1661 A.D., by Abd-un-Nabi Khán, the local governor. The following inscription seems very clearly to indicate that it was erected on the ruins of a Hindu temple :—

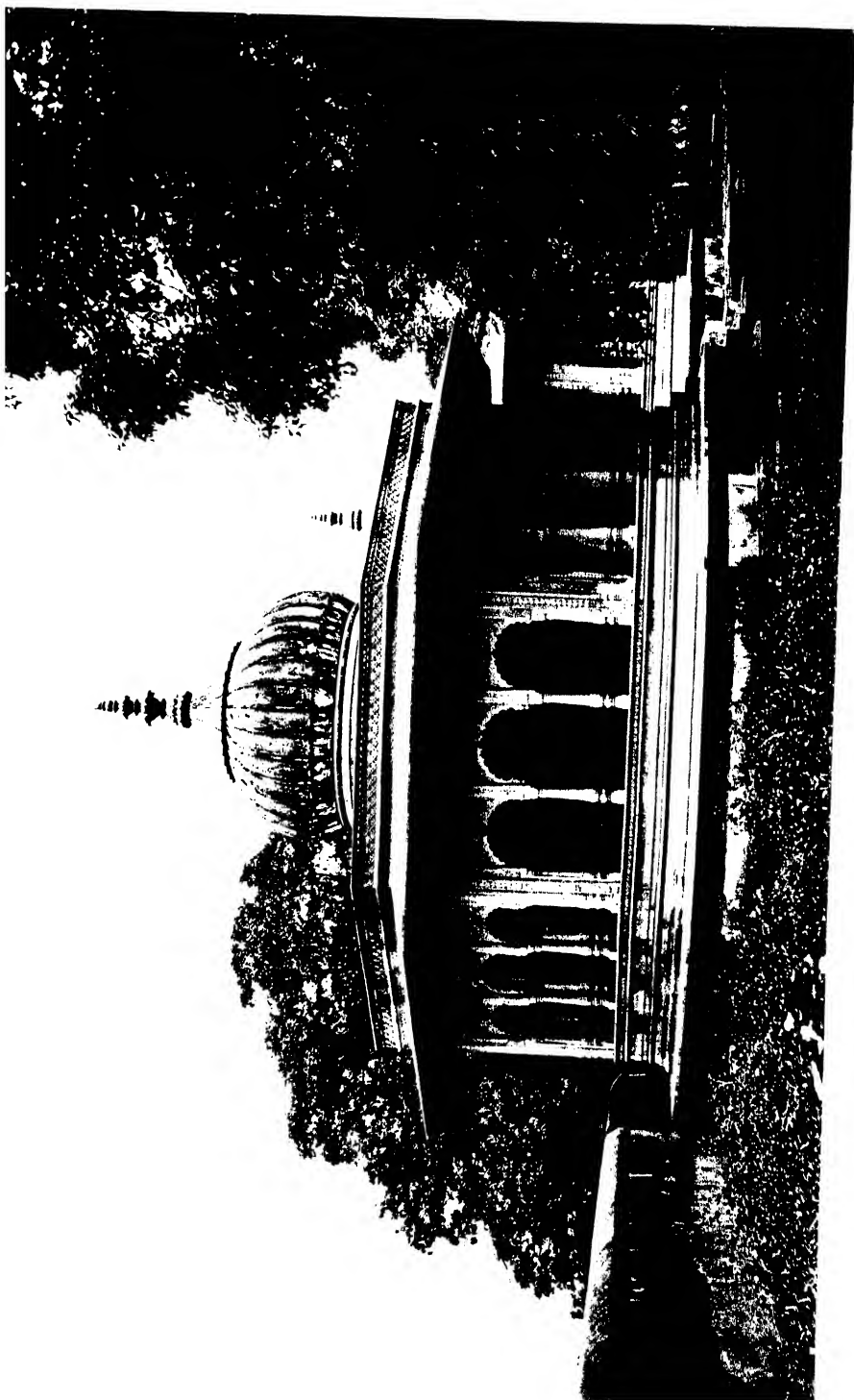
بمهد شاه عالمگور محي الدين والملة * شهنشاه جهان اورنگ زیب معدلت پدرا
بمحمدالله تابان است افوار مسلماني * كه از عبدالنبي خان شد بنا اين مسجد زيبا
بتان را درسجده آورد اين بهت الله ثاني * بعبود معني جاء الحق كه باطل گشت ناپيدا
چوچشم سال تاريخش زفيض حق ندآمد * بگو عبدالنبي خان باني اين مسجد زيبا

" 1. In the reign of Sháh 'Alamgir Muhiuddín Walmillah, the king of the world, Aurangzeb, who is adorned with justice,

" 2. The lustre of Islám shone forth to the glory of God ; for 'Abd-un-nabi Khán built this beautiful mosque.

" 3. This second 'Holy Temple' caused the idols to bow down in worship. You will now see the true meaning of the text, 'Truth came and error vanished. ['Korán, XVII., 83.']

" 4. Whilst I searched for a *darák*, a voice came from blissful Truth, ordering me to say 'Abd-un-Nabi Khán is the builder of this beautiful mosque.' A.H. 1071, or 1660-61."



CENOTAPH IN THE SETH'S GARDEN.

این مسجد جامع همایون بنیاد * بادا چو دل خدا پرستان آید
بامی دارد چو همت عشق بلند * صحنی دارد چو عرصه فکر کشاد

"1. May this Jāma Masjid of majestic structure shine forth for ever like the hearts of the pious !

"2. Its roof is high like aspirations of love ; its court-yard is wide like the arena of thought."*

The founder is first mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as fighting on the side of Dārā Shikoh at the battle of Samogarh in 1658. About a week after the defeat, he joined Aurangzeb and was immediately appointed faujdār of Itāwa. This office he retained only till the following year, when he was transferred to Sirhind and thence, after a few months, to Mathurā. Here he remained from August, 1660, to May, 1668, when, as we have already mentioned, he met his death at Sahora, a village in the Mahā-ban pargana on the opposite side of the Jamunā, while engaged in quelling a popular *émeute*. The author of the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* says of him:—"He was an excellent and pious man, and as courageous in war as successful in his administration. He has left a mosque in Mathurā as a monument, which, for a long time to come, will remind people of him. Muhammad Anwar, his nephew, received from His Majesty a mourning dress of honour ; but the property of the deceased lapsed (according to custom) to the State, and the Imperial Mutasaddis reported it to be 93,000 gold muhrs, 13,00,000 rupees, and 14,50,000 rupees' worth of property." The architecture of his mosque is not of particularly graceful character, but there are four lofty minarets, and as these and other parts of the building were originally veneered with bright-coloured plaster mosaics, of which a few panels still remain, it must at one time have presented a brilliant appearance.†

* For this and other translations from the Persian, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Mr. Blochmann, whose immense fund of information was always at the service of all enquirers, and whose untimely death is an irreparable loss to the Calcutta Branch of the Asiatic Society, of which he was for many years the Secretary.

† Father Tieffenthaler, who visited Mathurā in 1745, after mentioning the two mosques, says that Abd-un-nabi was a convert from Hinduism, a statement for which there seems to be no authority. He describes the mosaics as "un ouvrage plombé en diverses couleurs et incrusté à la manière dont sont vernis les poeles in Allemagne." "La villa," he says, "est entouré d'une levée de terre, et obelit aujourd'hui au Djā. Auparavant elle était sous les ordres du Raja de Djepour à qui l'empereur Mogol en avait confié le gouvernement : " i. e., Raja Jay Sinh, who died 1743. He goes on to describe the streets as narrow and dirty and most of the buildings as in ruins; the fort very large and massive, like a mountain of hewn stone, with an observatory, which was only a feeble imitation of the one at Jaypur, but with the advantage of being much better raised. The only other spot that he particularises is the Visrāt ghāt. Jacquemont's description is in very similar terms: he says, "The streets are the narrowest, the crookedest, the steepest and dirtiest that I have ever seen."

It was greatly injured by an earthquake which took place, strange to say, in 1803, the very year in which the country was first brought under British rule. The following account of this most exceptional event is copied from pages 57 and 58 of 'The Asiatic Annual Register' for 1804:—

DREADFUL EARTHQUAKE.

Mathurá, September 24, 1803.

"On the night between the 31st August and the 1st of September, at half-an-hour after midnight, a severe shock of an earthquake was felt at this place, which lasted for many minutes and was violent beyond the memory of man. Probably not a living creature in the place, but was roused from his slumbers by the alarm and felt its effects. Many of the pukka buildings were cast down and zanánas, hitherto unassailed by violence, were deserted, and their fair inhabitants took refuge in the streets and in the fields, seeking protection with men, whose visages it would otherwise have disgraced them to behold. The night was calm and enjoyed the full influence of a bright moon.

"In the morning very extensive fissures were observed in the fields, which had been caused by the percussion of the night before, through which water rose with great violence and continues to run to the present date, though its violence has gradually abated. This has been a great benefit to the neighbouring ryots, as they were thence enabled to draw the water over their parched fields.

"The principal mosque of the place, erected on an eminence by the famous Gházi Khan, as a token of his triumph over the infidelity of the Hindus, has been shattered to pieces, and a considerable part of the dome was swallowed up during the opening of the earth.

"Several slighter shocks have since occurred, but I do not hear they have occasioned any further damage."*

The above description certainly exaggerates and also to some extent misrepresents the effects of the shock upon the mosque. The gateway was cracked from top to bottom, the upper part of one of the great minarets was thrown down and one of the little corner kiosques of the mosque itself was also destroyed, but the dome was uninjured. In 1875 the Sa'dábád family started a subscription for the repairs of the building and over Rs. 5,000 were collected. This sum I expended on the restoration of the fallen minaret and kiosque and of the two *hujras* or alcoves, at the sides of the court-yard. Several of

* For the knowledge of this curious letter I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Constable, of the Education Department, who sent me a copy of it.

the shops that disfigured the approaches were also bought up and demolished. As soon as I left, the work came to a standstill.

The mosque now appears out of place, as the largest and most conspicuous edifice in what is otherwise a purely Hindu city, and there is also every reason to suppose that it was founded on the ruins of a pagan temple. But at the same time it should be observed that all the buildings, by which it is now surrounded, are of more modern date than itself. It was not planted in the midst of a Hindu population; but the city, as we now see it, has grown up under its shadow. Old Mathurá had been so often looted and harried by the Muhammadans that, as has been noted in other parts of this work, it had actually ceased to exist as a city at all. It was a place of pilgrimage, as it had ever been; there were saráis for the accommodation of travellers and ruins of temples and a few resident families of Bráhmans to act as cicerones, living for the most part in the precincts of the great temple of Kesava Deva, or still further away towards Madhu-ban; but it was as much a scene of desolation as Goa with its churches and convents now is, and on the spot where the present Mathurá stands there was no town till Abd-un-Nabi founded it. The whole of the land was in the possession of Muhammadans. The ground, which he selected as the site of his mosque, he purchased from some butchers, and the remainder he obtained from a family of Kázis, whose descendants still occupy what is called the Kushk Mahalla, one of the very few quarters of the city that are known by a Persian name. They continued to be regarded as the zamindars of the township till the time of the Játs, when Saiyid Bákir, their then head, quarrelled with the local governor, and being afraid of the consequences made over all his rights to some Chaubes and others. When the English Government took possession, the Chaubes' title was alone recognized and the first settlement was made with one of their number, Shio Lál, as mukaddam. A claim was brought forward by Imám Bakhsh, a son of the Saiyid abovenamed, but he died before it could be heard, and the suit thus falling through has never since been revived. In 1812, the then Chaube landholders, Bishnú, Ajita, Shio Lál, Ghisa and Jwála, styling themselves mukaddams, made over their rights to the Lála Bábu, who engaged to pay them Rs. 150 a year and 5 per cent. on his collections. The area, so transferred, according to the settlement of 1841 was only 568 bíghas, 11 biswas; but in the revision of records the Lála Bábu's widow had herself entered as owner of every rood of land, excepting only such as was or had been rent-free, and the agreement was with her as sole zamindar of the township of Mathurá. On the strength of this she claimed to exercise over the whole city the same rights that a zamindar can claim in any petty vilage; but, after oft-renewed litigation,

these extravagant claims have been set aside, and by the new settlement the property of her heirs is shown as a separate thok, the muáfi and resumed muáfi grants forming another, while the Jamuná sands, used for melon cultivation, all nazúl lands and the streets and city generally are shown as Government property.*

From the mosque as a central point diverge the main thoroughfares, leading respectively towards Brindá-ban, Díg, Bharat-pur,† and the civil station. They are somewhat broader than is usual in Indian cities, having an average breadth of 24 feet, and were first opened out at the instance of Mr. E. F. Taylor, in 1843. A number of houses were demolished for the purpose, but, in every instance, all claim to compensation was waived. Seth Lakhmi Chand's loss, thus voluntarily sustained for the public good, was estimated at a lakh of rupees, as he had recently completed some handsome premises, which had to be taken down and rebuilt.

These streets have now, throughout their entire length and breadth, been paved by the municipality with substantial stone flags brought from the Bharat-pur quarries.‡ The total cost has been Rs. 1,38,663. Many of the townspeople and more particularly the pilgrims, who go about barefooted, are by no means pleased with the result; for in the winter the stone is too cold to be pleasant to tread upon, while in the summer again, even at sunset, the streets do not cool down as they used to do aforetime, but retain their heat through the greater part of the night. As is the custom in the East, many mean tumble-down hovels§ are allowed here and there to obtrude themselves upon the view; but the majority of the buildings that face the principal thoroughfares are of handsome and imposing character. With only two exceptions all have been erected during the seventy years of British rule. The first of the two exceptional buildings is a large red sandstone house, called Chaubó Jí ka Burj, which may be as old as the time of Akbar. The walls are divided into square panels in each of which, boldly carved in low relief, is a vase filled with flowers,

* *Vide* a report on the Proprietary Rights claimed by the heirs of the Lála Bábu, drawn up by Mr. Whiteway, Settlement Officer, in 1875. •

† Close to the mosque on the left hand side of the Bharat-pur gate bazár, is a high hill with very steep ascent, all built over. On the summit, which is called Sítulá ghát, may be seen many fragments of Buddhist pillars and bas-reliefs, and an armless seated figure, the size of life.

‡ This important work was commenced in November, 1867.

§ As an indication that many of the houses are not of the most substantial construction, it may be observed that, after three days of exceptionally heavy rain in the month of August, 1873, as many as 6,000 were officially reported to have come down; 14 persons, chiefly children, having been crushed to death under the ruins.

executed in a manner which is highly effective, but which has quite gone out of fashion at the present day, when pierced tracery is more appreciated. The second is a temple near the turn to the Sati Burj. This is remarkable for a long balcony supported on brackets quaintly carved to represent elephants. Many of these had been built up with masonry, either by the Hindus to protect the animal form from iconoclastic bigotry, or else by the Muhammadans themselves to conceal it from view. This unsightly casing was at last removed in 1875.

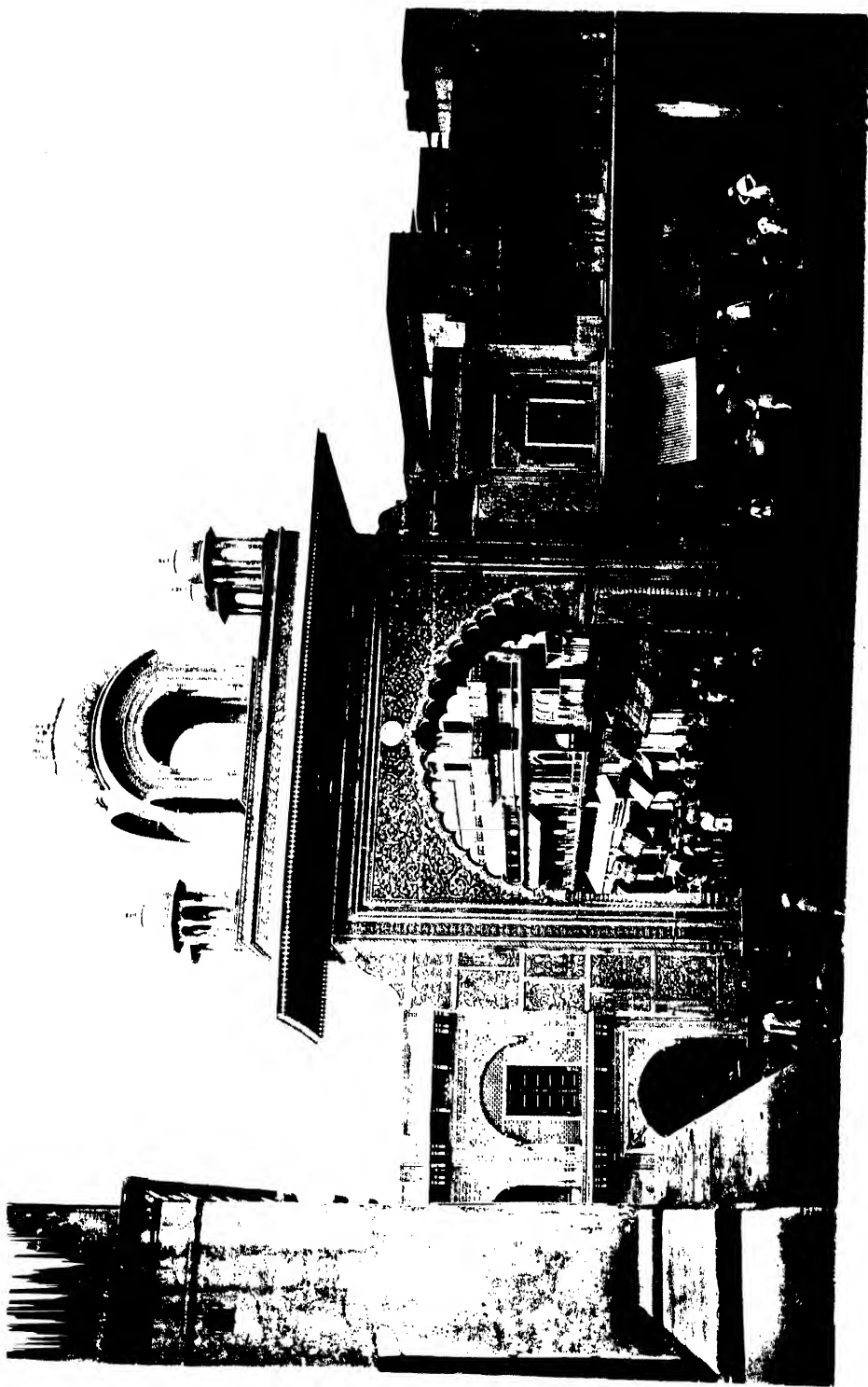
In all the modern buildings, whether secular or religious, the design is of very similar character. The front is of carved stone with a grand central archway and arcades on both sides let out as shops on the ground floor. Storey upon storey above are projecting balconies supported on quaint corbels, the arches being filled in with the most minute reticulated tracery of an infinite variety of pattern, and protected from the weather by broad eaves, the under-surface of which is brightly painted. One of the most noticeable buildings in point of size, though the decorations perhaps are scarcely so elegant as in some of the later examples, is the temple of Dwárakadhís, founded by the Gwáliar treasurer, Párikh Jí, and visited in 1825 by Bishop Heber, who in his journal describes it as follows:—"In the centre, or nearly so, of the town, Colonel Penny took us into the court of a beautiful temple or dwelling-house, for it seemed to be designed for both in one, lately built and not yet quite finished, by Gokul Pati Sinh, Sindhia's treasurer, and who has also a principal share in a great native banking-house, one branch of which is fixed at Mathurá. The building is enclosed by a small but richly carved gateway with a flight of steps, which leads from the street to a square court, cloistered round, and containing in the centre a building, also square, supported by a triple row of pillars, all which, as well as the ceiling, are richly carved, painted, and gilt. The effect internally is much like that of the Egyptian tomb, of which the model was exhibited in London by Belzoni; externally, the carving is very beautiful. The cloisters round were represented to me as the intended habitations of the Bráhmans attached to the fane; and in front, towards the street, were to be apartments for the founder on his occasional visits to Mathurá." To show how differently the same building sometimes impresses different people, it may be mentioned that Jacquemont, only four years later, describes the temple as like nothing but a barrack or cotton factory: but possibly he may have seen it soon after the festival of the Diwáli, when, according to barbarous Hindu custom, the whole of the stone front is beautified with a thick coat of whitewash. This gentleman's architectural ideas were, however, a little peculiar. Thus he says, of the Jama Masjid at Agra, that the bad taste of the design and the coarseness of the materials are good reason for leav-

ing it to the ravages of time ; that the tomb of Itimád-ud-danla is in the most execrable taste ; that the Taj, though pretty, cannot be called elegant ; and that the only building in Agra, which is really a pure specimen of oriental architecture, is the tomb of Colonel Hessing in the Catholic cemetery, the work of 'a poor devil' called Latff. His theological views would seem to have been equally warped, for in another place he thus expresses himself :—" Of all the follies and misfortunes of humanity, religion is the one which is the most wearisome and the least profitable to study."

The Dwárakádhistemple has always been in the hands of the Vallabhácharyas, the sect to which the founder belonged. It is now administered by the Gosáin who is the hereditary lord of the much older and yet wealthier shrine with the same name at Kankarauli in Udaypur (see page 121). Hitherto the expenses of the Mathurá establishments have been defrayed by annual grants from the Seth's estate ; but the firm has lately made an absolute transfer to the Gosáin of landed property yielding an income of Rs. 25,000 ; thus religiously carrying out the intention of their ancestor, though in so doing they further the interests of a sect not a little antagonistic to the one of which they themselves are members.

On the opposite side of the street is the palace of the Princes of Bharat-pur. The lofty and highly enriched entrance gateway was added by Rájá Balavant Sinh, and the magnificent brass doors by the present Rájá. Close by is the mansion of Seth Lakhmi Chand, built at a cost of Rs. 1,00,000. The latest of the architectural works with which the city is decorated, and one of the most admirable for elegance and elaboration is a temple near the Ohhata Bazar built by Deva Chand Bohra, and completed only at the end of the year 1871. Whatever other buildings there are of any note will be found enumerated in the list at the end of the next chapter. In most cases the greatest amount of finish has been bestowed upon the street front, while the interior court is small and confined ; and the practice of having only a single gate both for entrance and exit occasions great, and sometimes dangerous, crowding on high feast days. It is, as before remarked, a peculiarity of the Mathurá temple architecture to have no tower over the seat of the god.

If the new city was ever surrounded by walls, not a vestige of them now remains, though the four principal entrances are still called the Brindá-ban, Díg, Bharat-pur, and Holi gates. The last-named is the approach from the Civil Station, and here a lofty and elaborately sculptured stone arch has been erected over the roadway, in accordance with an elegant design in the local style, supplied by Yúsuf, the municipal architect, a man of very exceptional taste and ability. As the work was commenced at the instance of the late Mr.



THE CITY GAT ATH RA

Bradford Hardinge, who was for several years Collector of the district and took a most lively interest in all the city improvements, it is named in his honour* 'the Hardinge arch,' though it is not very often so called. Since his death, it has been surmounted by a cupola, intended at some future time to receive a clock, with four corner kiosques, the cost of these additions being Rs. 3,493. Two shops in uniform style were also built in 1875, one on either side, at a further cost of Rs. 1,621, in order to receive and conceal the ponderous staged buttresses, which the engineers in the Public Works Department had thought it necessary to add. The expenditure on the gate itself was Rs. 8,617 making a total of Rs. 13,731.

As may be inferred from the above remarks, stone-carving, the only indigenous art of which Mathurá can boast, is carried to great perfection. All the temples afford specimens of elegant design in panels of reticulated tracery (*jali*) as also do the *chhatris* of the Seth's family in the Jamuná bāgh. The only other specialties are of very minor importance. One is the manufacture of little brass images, which, though of exceedingly coarse execution, command a large sale among pilgrims and visitors, especially the religious toy called Vāsudeva Katorá (described at page 52); the other the manufacture of paper. This is made in three sizes, the smallest, which is chiefly in demand, is called Mán-sinhi and varies in price, according to quality, from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2-6 a *gaddi* or bundle. The medium size, called Bichanda, sells for Rs. 4 a *gaddi*, and the larger size, called Syálkoti, for Rs. 10. The factories are some 100 in number and can turn out in the course of the day 150 *gaddis*, every *gaddi* containing 10 *dastas* of 24 *takhtas*, or sheets, each. There is also a kind of string made which is much appreciated by natives. It is chiefly used for lowering *lotas*, the ordinary brass drinking cups of the country, into wells to draw water with. The price is about three or four anas for 40 yards. A coloured variety is made for temple use.

* The little marble tablet, on which the name has been inscribed in the straightest and most uncompromising Roman Capitals, is a conspicuous disfigurement and looks exactly like an auction ticket. The Engineer, who inserted it, cannot have had much of an eye for harmony of effect.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CITY OF MATHURÁ (*concluded*): ITS EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS AND MUSEUM.

A LIGHT railway, on the metre guage, $29\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, which was opened for traffic on the 19th of October, 1875, now connects the city with the East India Line, which it joins at the Háthras road station. The cost was Rs. 9,55,868, being about Rs. 30,000 a mile, including rolling stock and everything else. Of this amount Rs. 3,24,100 were contributed by local shareholders, and the balance, Rs. 6,31,768, came from Provincial Funds. Interest is guaranteed at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, and a further prospect is held out of a division of the surplus earnings, should such at any time be realized. The line has proved an unquestionable success and its yearly earnings continue to show a steady increase, the average income being now about Rs. 180 a day. But it is highly improbable that the shareholders will—for at least a very long time to come—ever draw more than the minimum of 4 per cent. Nor was any such hope entertained when the project was first started. The principal shareholders—including the Seth, who invested as much as a lakh and-a-half in it—were certainly not attracted by the largeness of the pecuniary profit; for 12 per cent. is the lowest return which India capitalists ordinarily receive for their money. They were entirely influenced by a highly commendable public spirit and a desire to support the local European authorities, who had shown themselves personally interested in the matter. The ultimate success of the line depends entirely upon its being continued to join the Rajputana State Railway. The distance is only some 25 miles and, as the earth-work was actually commenced during the late famine, the scheme might be completed in a very short time, were it not for the necessity of bridging the Jamuná, the present terminus being on the opposite bank of the river. A design has been supplied for a bridge having 12 spans of 93 feet each, with passage both for road and railway traffic and two foot-paths, at an estimated cost of Rs. 3,00,000. As the receipts from tolls on the existing pontoon bridge are about Rs. 45,000 per annum, even a larger expenditure might safely be incurred. Cross sections of the river have been obtained, and a series of borings taken, which show a flood channel of 1,000 feet and clay foundations underlying the sand at 33 feet. The site is in every way well suited for the purpose and presents no special engineering difficulties; but the construction of so large a bridge must necessarily be a work of time, and before it is completed it is probable that the line will have been extended from its other end, the Háthras terminus, to Farukhabad and so on to Cawnpore, the great centre of the com-

merce of Upper India. As yet, the line labours under very serious disadvantages from being so very short and also from the want of a depôt on the city side of the river at Mathurá and further from the necessity of breaking bulk at the little wayside station of Mendu, the Háthras Road junction. Consequently, traders who have goods to despatch to Háthras find it cheaper and more expeditious to send them all the way by road, rather than to hire carts to take them over the pontoon bridge and then unlade them at the station and wait hours, or it may be days, before a truck is available to carry them on. Thus the goods traffic is very small, and it is only the passengers who make the line pay. These are mostly pilgrims, who rather prefer to loiter on the way and do not object to spending two hours and fifty minutes in travelling a distance of $29\frac{1}{2}$ miles. As the train runs along the side of the road, there are daily opportunities for challenging it to a race, and it must be a very indifferent country pony which does not succeed in beating it.

The Municipality has an annual income of a little under Rs. 50,000; derived, in the absence of any special trade, almost exclusively from an octroi tax on articles of food, the consumption of which is naturally very large and out of all proportion to the resident population, in consequence of the frequent influx of huge troops of pilgrims. The celebrity among natives of the Mathurá *perá*, a particular kind of sweetmeat, also contributes to the same result. Besides the permanent maintenance of a large police and conservancy establishment, the entire cost of paving the city streets has been defrayed out of municipal funds, and a fixed proportion is annually allotted for the support of different educational establishments.

The High School, a large hall in a very un-Oriental style of architecture, was opened by Sir William Muir on the 21st of January, 1870. It was erected at a cost of Rs. 13,000, of which sum Rs. 2,000 were collected by voluntary subscription, Rs. 3,000 were voted by the municipality, and the balance of Rs. 8,000 granted by Government.* The City Dispensary, immediately opposite the Kans-ká-tílá and adjoining the Munsif's Court, has accommodation for 20 in-door patients; there is an ordinary attendance *per*

* The School, Court-house, and Protestant Church are—fortunately, as I think—the only local buildings of any importance, in the construction of which the Public Works Department has had any hand. I have never been able to understand why a large and costly staff of European engineers should be kept up at all, except for such Imperial undertakings as Railways and Canals. The finest buildings in the country date from before our arrival in it, and the descendants of the men who designed and executed them are still employed by the natives themselves for their temples, tanks, palaces, and mosques. If the Government utilized the same agency, there would be a great saving in cost and an equal gain in artistic result.

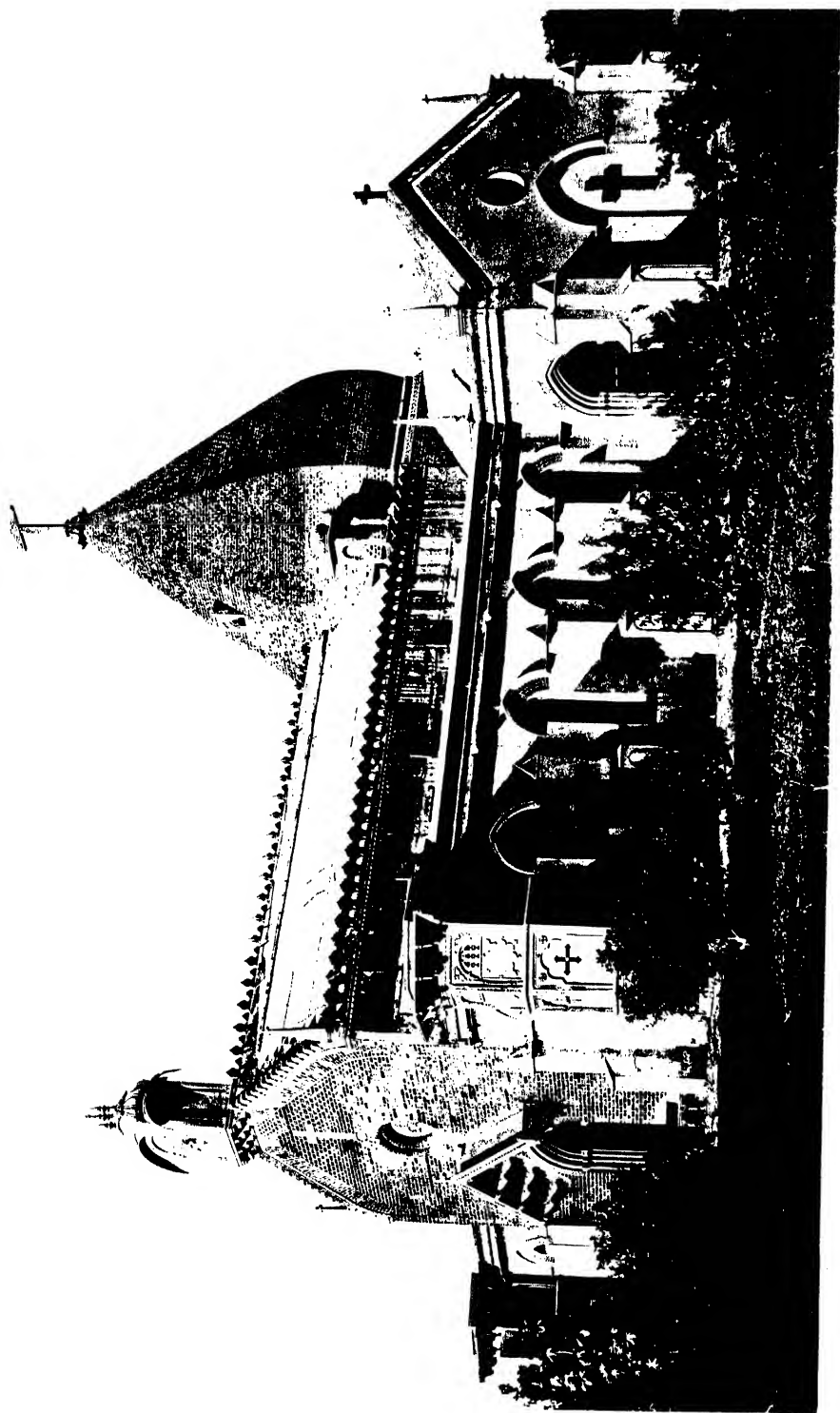
diem of 50 applicants for out-door relief, and it is in every respect a well managed and useful institution.

The Cantonments, which are of considerable extent, occupy some broken and undulating ground along the river-side between the city and the civil lines. In consequence of the facilities for obtaining an abundant supply of grass in the neighbourhood, they are always occupied by an English cavalry regiment, the present one being the 8th Hussars. The barracks are very widely scattered, an arrangement which doubtless is attended with some inconveniences, but is apparently conducive to the health of the troops, for there is no station in India where there is less sickness*—a happy result, which is also due in part to the dryness of the climate during the greater part of the year and the excellence of the natural drainage in the rains.

The English Church, consecrated by Bishop Dealtry in December, 1856, is in a nondescript style of architecture, but has a not inelegant Italian campanile, which is visible from a long distance. The interior has been lately enriched by a stained-glass window in memory of a young officer of the 10th Hussars, who met his death by an accident while out pig-sticking near Shergarh. The adjoining compound was for many years occupied by a miserably mean and dilapidated shed, which was most appropriately dedicated to St. Francis, the Apostle of Poverty, and served as a Catholic Chapel. This was taken down in January, 1874, and on the 18th of the same month, being the Feast of the Holy Name, the first stone was laid of the new building, which bears the title of the Sacred Heart. The ground-plan and general proportions are in accordance with ordinary Gothic precedent, but all the sculptured details, whether in wood or stone, are purely Oriental in design. The carving in the tympanum of the three doorways, the tracery in the windows, both of the aisles and the clerestory, and the highly decorated altar, in the Lady Chapel, may all be noted as favourable specimens of native art. The dome which surmounts the choir is the only feature which I hesitate to pronounce a success, as seen from the outside; its interior effect is very good. I originally intended it to be a copy of a Hindu *sikhara*, such as that of the temple of Madan Mohan at Brindāban; but fearing that this might prove an offence to clerical prejudices, I eventually altered it into a dome of the Russian type, which also is distinctly of Eastern origin and therefore so far in keeping with the rest of the building. As every compromise must, it fails of being entirely satisfactory.

The eastern half of the Church, consisting of the apse, choir, and two transepts, was roofed in and roughly fitted up for the celebration of Mass by

* Occasionally it has so happened that every single ward in the hospital has been empty.



CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART. MATHURA.

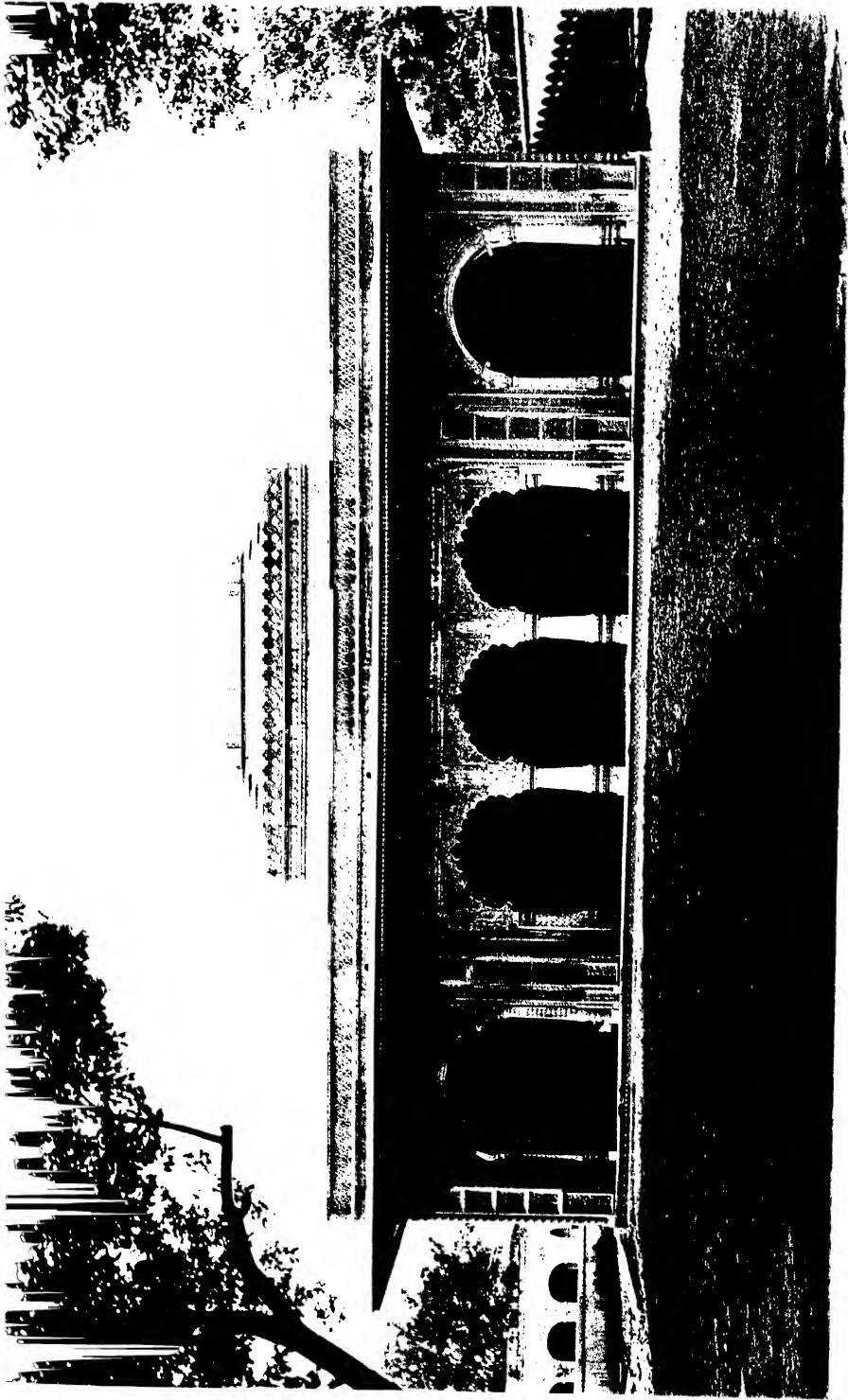
All Saints' Day, 1874, only nine months after the work had been commenced. The nave and aisles were then taken in hand, and on the recurrence of the same feast, two years later, in 1876, the entire edifice was solemnly blessed by the Bishop of Agra. On that occasion the interior presented a very striking appearance, the floor being spread with handsome Persian carpets, and a profusion of large crystal chandeliers suspended in all the inter-columniations; while the Bishop's throne of white marble was surmounted by a canopy of silk and cloth of gold; magnificent baldachinos, also of gold embroidery, were suspended above the three altars, and the entire sanctuary was draped from top to bottom with costly Indian tapestry. These beautiful accessories, several thousands of rupees in value, were kindly lent by the Seths, the Rájá of Háthras and other leading members of the Hindu community, many of whom had also assisted with handsome pecuniary donations. As a further indication of their liberal sentiments, they themselves attended the function in the evening—the first public act of Christian worship at which they had ever been present—and expressed themselves as being much impressed by the elaborate ceremonial and the Gregorian tones, which latter they identified with their own immemorial Védic chants. In consequence of my transfer from the district, the building though complete in essentials, will ever remain architecturally unfinished. The western façade is flanked by two stone stair-turrets (one built at the cost of Lálá Syám Sundar Dás) which have only been brought up to the level of the aisle roof, though it was intended to raise them much higher and put bells in them. There were also to have been four kiosques at the corners of the dome, for the reception of statues; but two only have been executed; the roof of the transepts was to have been raised to a level with that of the nave, and the plain parapet of the aisles would have been replaced by one of carved stone. The High Altar, moreover, is only a temporary erection of brick and plaster. I was at work upon the Tabernacle for it, when I received Sir George Couper's orders to go; and naturally enough they were a great blow to me. The total cost had been Rs. 13,100. The statues of the Sacred Heart, the Blessed Virgin and Child, and St. Joseph, and the life-size indulgenced Crucifix, were gifts from the Dowager Marchioness of Lothian, the Duchess of Buccleuch, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Ralph Kerr, Commanding the 10th Hussars. The Stations of the Cross were presented by the non-commissioned officers and men of the same regiment.

In the civil station most of the houses are large and commodious and, being the property of the Seth, the most liberal of landlords, are never allowed to offend the eye by falling out of repair. One built immediately after the mutiny for the use of the Collector of the district is an exceptionally hand-

some and substantial edifice. The Court-house, as already mentioned on page 98, was completed in the year 1861, and has a long and rather imposing façade; but though it stands at a distance of not more than 100 yards from the high road, the ground in front of it has been so carelessly planted that a person, who had no professional business to take him there, might live within a stone's throw for years and never be aware of its existence. In immediate proximity are the offices of the Tahsildar, a singularly mean and insignificant range of buildings, as if purposely made so to serve for a foil to another building, which stands in the same enclosure.

This is now used, or (as perhaps it would be more correct to say) at the time of my leaving the district was intended to be used, as a Museum. It was commenced by Mr. Thornhill, the Magistrate and Collector of the district, who raised the money for the purpose by public subscription, intending to make of it a rest-house for the reception of native gentlemen of rank, whenever they had occasion to visit head-quarters. Though close to the Courts, which would be a convenience, it is too far from the bazar to suit native tastes, and even if it had been completed according to the original design, it is not probable that it would ever have been occupied. After an expenditure of Rs. 30,000, the work was interrupted by the mutiny. When order had been restored, the new Collector, Mr. Best, with a perversity by no means uncommon in the records of Indian local administration, set himself at once, not to complete, but to mutilate, his predecessor's handiwork. It was intended that the building should stand in extensive grounds of its own, where it would certainly have had a very pleasing architectural effect; but instead of this the high road was brought immediately in front of it, so as to cut it off entirely from the new public garden; the offices of the Tahsildar were built on one side, and on the other was run up, at a most awkward angle, a high masonry wall; a rough thatched roof was thrown over its centre court; doors were introduced in different places, where they were not wanted and only served as disfigurements, and the unfortunate building was then nicknamed "Thornhill's Folly" and abandoned to utter neglect.

It remained thus till 1874, when the idea of converting it into a Museum received the support of Sir John Strachey, who sanctioned from provincial funds a grant-in-aid of Rs. 3,500. The first step taken was to raise the centre court by the addition of a clerestory, with windows of reticulated stone tracery, and to cover it with a stone vault, in which (so far as constructional peculiarities are concerned) I reproduced the roof of the now ruined temple of Harideva at Gobardhan. The cost amounted to Rs. 5,336. A porch was afterwards added at a further outlay of Rs. 8,494; but for this I am not



THE MUSEUM, MATHURA.

responsible. It is a beautiful design, well executed, and so far it reflects great credit on Yúsaf, the Municipal Architect ; but it is too delicate for an exterior façade on the side of a dusty road. Something plainer would have answered the purpose as well, besides having a more harmonious effect; and money would then have been available for the completion of the doors and windows, without which the building can scarcely be used, and for which there is now no provision, nor likely to be.

Though the cost of the building has been so very considerable, nearly Rs. 44,000, it is only of small dimensions; but the whole wall surface in the central court is a mass of geometric and flowered decorations of the most artistic character. The bands of natural foliage, a feature introduced by Mr. Thornhill's own fancy, are very boldly cut and in themselves decidedly handsome, but they are not altogether in accord with the conventional designs of native style by which they are surrounded.

The following inscription is worked into the cornice of the central hall :—

جو بس سرکار کو منظور آرام خلائق تھا * کہا * با صاحب کیلکٹر و میجسٹریٹ ایما
 انہوں نے تب رئیسوں کی مددگاری سے متہرامیں * منبت کام کا نادر مسافر خانہ بنوایا
 صفائی میں در و دیوار ہی مانند آئینہ * بلکاری ہر ایک درجہ نظر آتا ہی گلشن کا
 بسعد اعتدال اپ اسنے پائی رفعت و وسعت * بہت خوش قطع لور موزوں ہی یہ تعمیر سر تاپا
 روا ہی گر بتاویں گنبد افراسیاب اسکو * بجایا جو کہیں اسکو کہ ہی یہ قصر قصر کا
 جو دیکھا اسکو شوکت نے یہ تاریخ بنا لکھی * مسافر خانہ موزوں بھی بس رشک چمن زیبا
 سنہ ۱۲۹۳ فصلی سنہ ۱۸۵۶ عیسوی

"The State having thought good to promote the ease of its subjects, gave intimation to the Magistrate and Collector ; who then, by the co-operation of the chief men of Mathurá, had this house for travellers built, with the choicest carved work.* Its doors and walls are polished like a mirror ; in its sculpture every kind of flower-bed appears in view ; its width and height were assigned in harmonious proportion ; from top to bottom it is well shaped and well balanced. It may very properly be compared to the dome of Afrásyáb, or it may justly be styled the palace of an emperor. One who saw its magnificence (or the poet Shaukat on seeing it) composed this *tárikh*: so elegant a rest-house makes even the flower garden envious."

* Upon the word *munabbat*, which is used here to denote arabesque carving, the late Mr. Blochmann communicated the following note :—"The Arabic *nabata* means 'to plant,' and the intensive form of the verb has either the same signification or that of 'causing to appear like plants': hence *munabbat* comes to mean 'traced with flowers,' and may be compared with *mushaj-jar*, 'caused to appear like trees,' which is the word applied to silk with tree-patterns on it," like the more common '*buta-dar*.'

As the building afforded such very scant accomodation, I proposed to make it ~~not~~ a general, but simply an architectural and antiquarian museum, arranging in it, in chronological series, specimens of all the different styles that have prevailed in the neighbourhood, from the reign of the Indo-Scythian Kanishka, in the century immediately before Christ, down to the Victorian period, which would be illustrated in perfection by the building itself.

It cannot be denied that it is high time for some such institution to be established ; for in an ancient city like Mathurá interesting relics of the past, even when no definite search is being made for them, are constantly cropping up ; and unless there is some easily accessible place to which they can be consigned for custody, they run an imminent risk of being no sooner found than destroyed. Inscriptions in particular, despite their exceptional value in the eyes of the antiquary, are more likely to perish than any thing else, since they have no beauty to recommend them to the ordinary observer. Thus, as already mentioned, a pillar, the whole surface of which is said to have been covered with writing, was found in 1860, in making a road on the site of the old city wall. There was no one on the spot at the time, who took any interest in such matters, and the thrifty engineer, thinking such a fine large block of stone ought not to be wasted, had it neatly squared and made into a buttress for a bridge. Another inscribed fragment, which had formed the base of a large seated statue, had been set up by a subordinate in the Public Works Department to protect a culvert on the high road through cantonments, from which position I rescued it. It bears the words *Mahārājasya Deva-putrasya Huvishkasya rājya sam. 50 he 3 di 2*, and is of value as an unquestionably early example of the same symbol, which in the inscription of doubtful age given at page 128 is explained in words as denoting ‘fifty.’ A third illustration of official indifference to archæological interests, though here the culprit was not an engineer, but the Collector himself, is afforded by the base of a pillar, which, after it had been accidentally dug up, was plastered and whitewashed and imbedded in one of the side pillars of the Talsli gateway, where I re-discovered it, when the gateway was pulled down to improve the approach. The words are cut in bold clear letters, which for the most part admit of being deciphered with certainty, as follows : *Ayam kumbhaka dānam bhikṣhunam Suriyasya Buddha-rakṣitasya cha prahitakānam. Anantyaṃ (?) deya dharmma pa.....nam. Sarvasa prahitakānam aya dakṣhitaye bhavatu.* The purport of this would be : “This base is the gift of the mendicants Surya and Buddha-rakṣita, *prahitakas*. A religious donation in perpetuity. May it be in every way a blessing to the *prahitakas*.” A question has been raised by Professor Kern, with reference to another inscription, in which also a *bhikṣhu* was mentioned as a donor, on

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 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓

𑀩𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓
 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓

From the Manoharpur Mahalla: year 57. See page 128.

𑀩𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓
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Recovered from a culvert in Cantonments: King Huvishka, year 50. See page 154.

𑀩𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓
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𑀩𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓 𑀩𑀸𑀓
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From the base of a pillar found at the Jamālpur Sārā mound. See page 154.

the score that a mendicant was a very unlikely person to contribute towards the expenses of any building, since, as he says, 'monks have nothing to give away, all to receive.' But in this particular instance the reading and meaning are both unmistakeably clear, nor is the fact really at all inconsistent with Hindu usage. In this very district I can point to two large masonry tanks, costing each some thousands of rupees, which have been constructed by mendicants, *bairāgis*, out of alms that they had in a long course of years begged for the purpose. The word *prahitaka*, if I am right in so reading it, is of doubtful signification. It might mean either 'messenger' or 'committee-man;' a commissioner or a commissionaire.

The other inscriptions have for the most part been already noticed in the preceding chapters, when describing the places where they were found.

As a work of art, the most pleasing specimen of sculpture is the Yasa-ditta statue of Buddha, noticed at page 107 ; but archæologically the most curious object in the collection is certainly the large carved block, which I discovered at Pālikhera in the cold weather of 1873-74. On one side is represented a group of six persons, the principal figure being a man of much abdominal development, who is seated in complete nudity on a rock, or low stool, with a large cup in his hand. At his knee is a little child ; two attendants stand at the back ; and in the front two women are seen approaching, of whom the foremost bears a cup and the second a bunch of grapes. Their dress is a long skirt with a shorter jacket over it ; shoes on the feet and a turban on the head. The two cups are curiously made ; the lower end of the carved handle being attached to the bottom of the stem instead of the bowl. On the opposite side of the block the same male figure is seen in a state of helpless intoxication, supported on his seat from behind by two attendants, the one male, the other female. By his right knee stands the child, as before, and opposite him to the left was apparently another boy, of somewhat larger growth, but this figure has been much mutilated. The male attendant wears a mantle, fastened at the neck by a fibula and hanging from the shoulder in vandyked folds, which are very suggestive of late Greek design.

The stone on which these two groups are carved measures three feet ten inches in height, three feet in breadth and one foot four inches in thickness, and the top has been scooped out so as to form as it were a shallow circular basin. A block, of precisely the same dimensions and carved with two similar groups, was discovered somewhere near Mathurā, the precise locality not having been placed on record, by Colonel Stacy in the year 1836, who deposited it in the Calcutta museum, where it still is. His idea was that the principal figure represented Silenus, that the

sculptors were Bactrian Greeks, and that their work was meant to be a tazza, or rather a pedestal for the support of a tazza or large sacrificial vase. These opinions were endorsed by James Prinsep, and have prevailed to the present day, though I believe them to be erroneous.

Of the two groups on the Stacy stone one represents the drunkard, after he has drained the cup, and is almost identical with that above described. The other exhibits an entirely different scene in the story, though some of the characters appear to be the same. There are four figures—two male and two female—standing under the shade of a tree with long clusters of drooping flowers. The first figure to the right is a female dressed in a long skirt and upper jacket, with a narrow scarf thrown over her arms. Her right hand is grasped by her male companion, who has his left arm round her neck. He is entirely naked, save for a very short pair of drawers barely reaching to the middle of the thigh, and a shawl which may be supposed to hang loosely at his back but in front shows only the ends tied loosely in a knot under his chin. Behind him and with her back to his back is another female, dressed as the first but with elaborate bangles covering nearly half the fore-arm. Her male companion seems to be turning away as if on the point of taking his leave. He wears light drawers reaching to the ankles and a thin muslin tunic, fitting close to the body, and terminating a little below the knees. On the ground at the feet of each of the male figures is a covered cup.

As to the names of the personages concerned and the particular story which the sculptor intended to represent, I am not able to offer any suggestion. Probably, when Buddhist literature has been more largely studied, the legend thus illustrated will be brought to light. The general purport of the three scenes appear to me unmistakeable. In the first the two male conspirators are persuading their female companions to take part in the plot, the nature of the plot being indicated by the two cups at their feet. In the second the venerable ascetic has been seduced by their wives into tasting the dangerous draught; one of the two cups is in his hand, the other is ready to follow. In the third one, of which there are two representations, the cups have been quaffed, and he is reeling from their effects.

Obviously all this has nothing to do with Silenus; the discovery of the second block, which supplies the missing scene in the drama, makes it quite clear that some entirely different personage is intended. The tazza theory may also be dismissed; for the shallow bason at the top of the stone seems to be nothing more than the bed for the reception of a round pillar. A sacrificial vase was a not uncommon offering among the Greeks; and if the carving had

been shown to represent a Greek legend, there would have been no great improbability in supposing that the work had been executed for a foreigner who employed it in accordance with his own national usage. But in dedicating a cup to one of his own divinities, he would not decorate it with scenes from Hindu mythology; while, on the other hand, the offering of a cup of such dimensions to any monastery or shrine on the part of a Buddhist, is both unprecedented and intrinsically improbable.

Finally, as to the nationality of the artist. The foliage, it must be observed, is identical in character with what is seen on many Buddhist pillars found in the immediate neighbourhood and generally in connection with figures of Maya Devi; whence it may be presumed that it is intended to represent the sál tree, under which Buddha was born, though it is by no means a correct representation of that tree. The other minor accessories are also, with one exception, either clearly Indian, or at least not strikingly un-Indian: such as the earrings and bangles worn by the female figures and the feet either bare or certainly not shod with sandals; the one exception being the mantle of the male attendant in the drunken scene. Considering the local character of all the other accessories, I find it impossible to agree with General Cunningham in ascribing the work to a foreign artist, "one of a small body of Bactrian sculptors, who found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathurá, as in later days Europeans were employed under the Maghal emperors." The thoroughly Indian character of the details seems to me, as to Dr. Mitra, decisive proof that the sculptor was a native of the country; nor do I think it very strange that he should represent one of the less important characters as clothed in a modified Greek costume, since it is an established historical fact that Mathurá was included in the Bactrian Empire, and the Greek style of dress cannot have been altogether unfamiliar to him. The artificial folds of the drapery were probably borrowed from what he saw on coins.

In the Hindu Pantheon the only personage said to have been of wine-bibbing propensities is Balaráma himself, one of the tutelary divinities of Mathurá; and it is probably he who was intended to be represented by a second Bacchanalian figure included in the museum collection. This is a mutilated statue brought from the village of Kukargama, in the Sa'dábád pargana. He stands under the conventional canopy of serpents' heads, with a garland of wild-flowers (*ban-mála*) thrown across his body; his right hand is raised above his head in wild gesticulation and in his left hand he holds a cup very similar to the one shown in the Páli-kherá sculpture. His head-dress closely resembles Krishna's distinctive ornament, the *mukut*; but it may be only the spiral coil of hair observable in the Sanchi and Amaravati sculptures. In any case,

the inference must not be pressed too far ; for *first* the hooded snake is as constant an accompaniment of Sákya Muni as of Balaráma ; and, *secondly* a third sculpture of an equally Bacchanalian character is unmistakably Buddhist. This is a rudely executed figure of a fat little fellow, who has both his hands raised above his head, and holds in one a cup, in the other a bunch of grapes. The head with its close curling hair leaves no doubt that Buddha is the person intended ; though possibly in the days of his youth, when “ he dwelt still in his palace and indulged himself in all carnal pleasures.” Or it might be a caricature of Buddhism as regarded from the point of view of a Bráhmanical ascetic.

However, Buddhism itself, though originally a system of abstractions and negations, was not long before it assumed a concrete development. In one of its schools, which, from the indecency of many of the figures that have been discovered, would seem to have been very popular at Mathurá, debauchery of the most degrading description was positively inculcated as the surest means for attaining perfection. The authority for these abominable doctrines, which, in the absence of literary proof might have been considered an impossible outcome of such teaching as that of Sákya Muni, is a Sanskrit composition called *Tathágata Guhyaka*, or *Guhya samagha*, ‘the collection of secrets,’ of which the first published notice is that given by Dr. Rajendra Lála Mitra in the introduction to his edition of the *Lalita Vistara*. He describes it as having all the characteristics of the worst specimens of the Hindu Tantras. The professed object, in either case, is devotion of the highest kind—absolute and unconditional—at the sacrifice of all worldly attachments, wishes, and aspirations ; but in working it out theories are indulged in and practices enjoined, which are at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could imagine. A shroud of mystery alone seems to prevent their true character from being seen ; but, divested of it, works of this description would deserve to be burnt by the common hangman. Looking at them philosophically, the great wonder is that a system of religion, so pure and so lofty in its aspirations as Buddhism, could be made to ally itself with such pestilent dogmas and practices. Perfection is described as attainable not by austerity, privations, and painful rigorous observances, but by the enjoyment of all the pleasures of the world, some of which are described with a minuteness of detail which is simply revolting. The figures of nude dancing-girls in lascivious attitudes with other obscene representations, that occur on many of the Buddhist pillars in the museum, are clear indications of the popularity which this corrupt system had acquired in the neighbourhood. The two figures of female monsters, each with a child in

its lap, which it is preparing to tear in pieces and devour, are in all probability to be referred to the same school: though they appear also in the Hindu Tantras and under the same name, that of Dākini. In the oldest sculptures the figures are all decently draped, and it has been the custom to regard them only as Buddhist, and all the nude or otherwise objectionable representations as Jaini. But this is an error arising out of the popular Hindu prejudice against what they call in reproach 'the worship of the naked gods.' The outcry is simply an interested one and has no foundation in fact; for though many Hindu temples, especially in Bengal, are disfigured by horrible obscenities, I know of no Jaini temple in which there is anything to shock the most sensitive delicacy; while the length, to which some of the recognized followers of Buddha could go in the deification of lust, has been sufficiently shown by Dr. Mitra's description of the *Guhya samagha*. And this, it should be added, though hitherto almost unknown to European students, is no obscure treatise, but is one of the nine most important works, to which divine worship is constantly offered by the Buddhists of Nepál.

Of the different styles of architecture that have prevailed in the district, the memory of the earliest, the Indo-Greek, is preserved by a single small fragment, found in the Ambarisha hill, where a niche is supported by columns with Ionic capitals. Of the succeeding style, the Indo-Scythian, there are a few actual architectural remains and a considerable number of sculptured representations. No complete column has been recovered; but the plain square bases, cut into four steps, found at the Chauwára mounds, belong to this period, as also the bell-shaped capital, surmounted by an inscribed abacus with an elephant standing upon it, brought from a garden near the Kankáli tīla. It is dated the year 39, in the reign of Havishka. In the sculptures, where an arcade is shown, the abacus usually supports a pair of winged lions, crouching back to back; but in a fragment from the Kankali tīla, where the column is meant for an isolated one, it bears an elephant. In this last example the shaft appears to be round, but it is more commonly shown as octagonal. The round bases, of which such a large number were unearthed from the Jamálpur mounds, many of them inscribed with the names of the donors, would seem to have been used for the support of statues. The name by which they are designated in the inscriptions is *Kumbhaka*. The miniature pediments, carved as a diaper or wall decoration, show that the temple fronts presented the same appearance as in the Nésik caves. This was peculiarly the Buddhist style and died with the religion to whose service it had been dedicated. After it came the mediæval Bráhmānic style, which was prevalent all over Upper India in the time of Prithi Rúj and the Muhammadan conquest. In this the bell-

shaped capital appears as a vase with masses of deponent foliage at its four corners. These have not only a very graceful effect, but are also of much constructional significance, since they counteract the weakness which would otherwise have resulted from the attenuation of the vase at its base and neck. The shaft itself frequently springs from a similar vase set upon a moulded base. In early examples, as in a pair of columns from the Kankáli tīla and a fragment from Shergarh, the shaft has a central band of drooping lily-like flowers, with festoons dependent from them. Later on, instead of the band a grotesque face is introduced, with the moustaches prolonged into fanciful arabesque continuations, and strings of pearls substituted for the festoons, or a knotted scarf is grasped in the teeth and hangs half down to the base with a bell attached to its end. Occasionally the entire shaft or some one of its faces is enriched with bands of foliage. Probably for the sake of securing greater height, a second capital was added at the top, either in plain cushion shape, or carved into the semblance of two squat monsters supporting the architrave on their head and up-raised hands. For still loftier buildings it was the practice to set two columns of similar character one on the other, crowning the uppermost with the detached capital as above described; and afterwards it became the fashion to make even short columns with a notch in the middle, so as to give them the appearance of being in two pieces. Examples of this peculiarity may be seen in the Chhatthi Pālā at Mahā-ban and the Dargāh at Noh-jhīl. The custom, which prevailed to a very late period, of varying the shape of a shaft by making it square at bottom, then an octagon, and then polygonal, is probably of different origin and was only a device for securing an appearance of lightness.

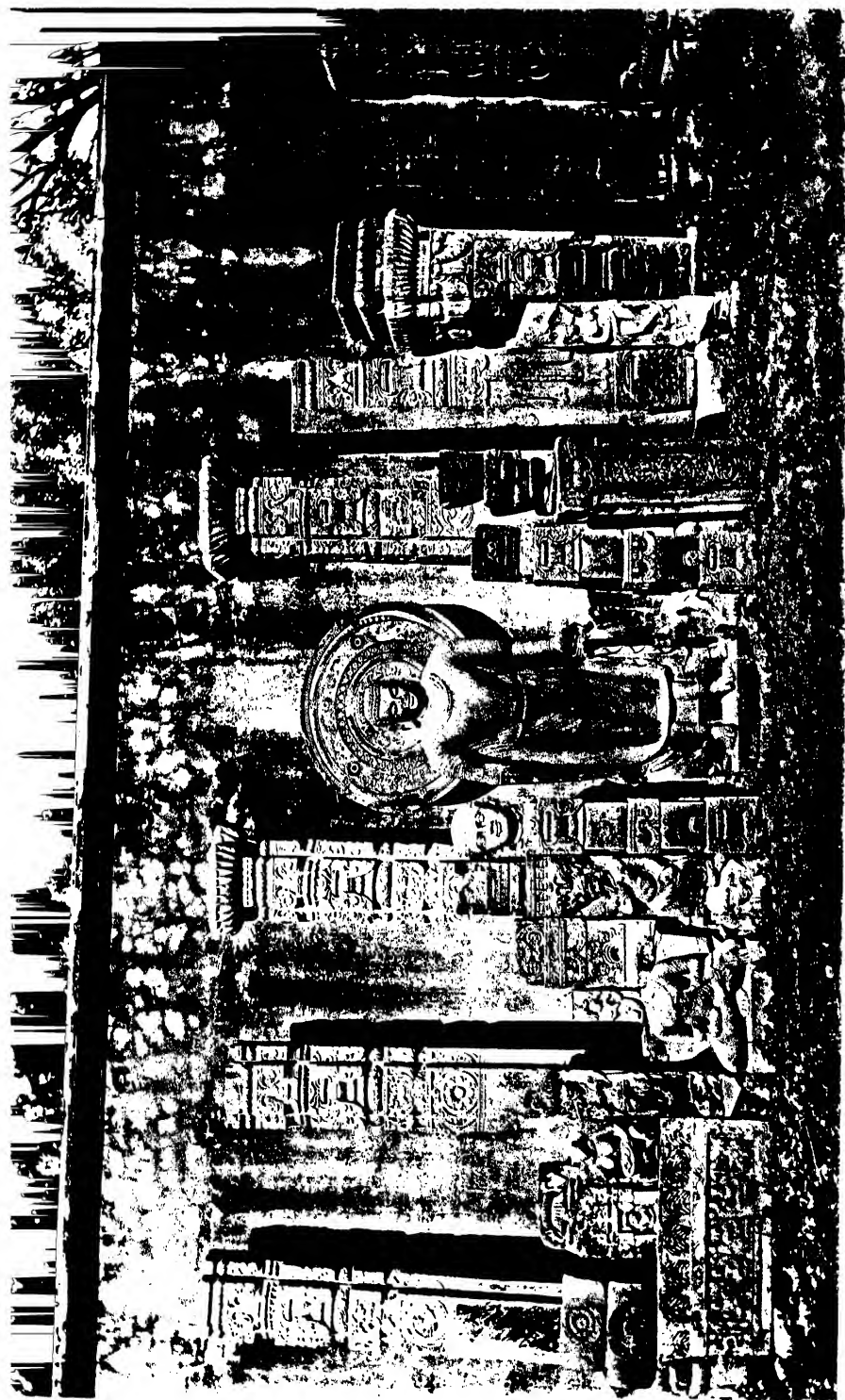
From about the year 1200 A.D. the architectural history of Mathurā is an absolute blank till the middle of the 16th century, when, under the beneficent sway of the Emperor Akbar, the eclectic style, so characteristic of his own religious views, produced the magnificent series of temples, which even in their ruin are still to be admired at Brindā-ban. The temple of Rādhā Ballabh, built in the next reign, that of Jahāngīr, is the last example of the style. Its characteristic note can scarcely be defined as the fusion, but rather as the parallel exhibition of the Hindu and Muhammadan method. Thus in a façade one story, or one compartment, shows a succession of multifoil saracenic arches, while above and below, or on either side, every opening is square-headed with the architrave supported on projecting brackets. The one is purely Muhammadan, the other is as distinctly Hindu; yet without any attempt made to disguise the fact beyond the judicious avoidance of all exaggerated peculiarities in either style, the juxta-position of the two causes no sentiment of incongruity.



1. BACCHANALIAN SCULPTURE FROM PALI-KHERA.



2. BACCHANAIAN SCULPTURE FROM PALI-KHERA



GROUP OF ANTIQUITIES. MATHURA MUSEUM.

If in any art it were possible to revive the dead, or if it were in human nature ever to return absolutely upon the past, this style would seem to be the one for our architects to copy. But simple retrogression is impossible. Every period has an environment of its own, which however studiously ignored in artificial imitations, must have its effect in any spontaneous development of the artistic faculty. The principle, however, is as applicable as ever, though it will deal with altered materials and be manifested in novel phenomena. Indian architecture, as now in vogue at Mathurá, is the result of Muhammadan influences working upon a Hindu basis. The extraordinary power that resulted from the first introduction of the new element is all but exhausted; the system requires once more to be invigorated from without. A single touch of genius might restore it to more than all its pristine activity by wedding it to the European Gothic, to which it has a strong natural affinity. The product would be a style that would satisfy all the practical requirements of modern civilization, and at the same time display the union of oriental and western idea, in a concrete form, which both nationalities could appreciate. The combination of dome and spire, the dream of our last great Gothic architect, but which he died without accomplishing, would follow spontaneously; and Anglo-Indian architecture, no longer a by-word for Philistinism and vulgarity, might spread through the length and breadth of the empire with as much success as Indo-Greek art in the days of Alexander, or Hindu-Saracenic art in the reign of Akbar.

The eclecticism of the last-named period, which has suggested the above remarks, was followed by the Ját style, of which the best examples are the tombs and palaces erected by Súraj Mall, the founder of the Bharatpur dynasty, and his immediate successors. In these the arch is thoroughly naturalized; the details are also in the main dictated by Muhammadan precedent, but they are carried out with much of the old Hindu solidity and exuberance of fanciful decoration. The arcade of the Ganga Mohan Kunj at Brindá-ban is a very fine specimen of this style at its best. In later buildings, as in those on the bank of the Mánasi Ganga at Gobardhan, the mouldings are shallower and the wall-ornamentation consists of nothing but an endless succession of niches and vases repeated with wearisome uniformity. The Bungalow, or oblong alcove, with a vaulted roof of curvilinear outline, is always a prominent feature in this style and is introduced into some part of every façade. From the name it may be inferred that it was borrowed from Bengal and was probably intended as a copy of the ordinary cottage roof made of bent bamboo. It does not appear in Upper India till the reign of Aurangzeb; the earliest example in Mathurá being the alcoves of the mosque built by Abd-un-Nabi in 1661 A.D.

The style in vogue at the present day is the legitimate descendant of the above, and differs from it in precisely the same way as Perpendicular differs from Decorated Gothic. It has greater lightness, but less freedom; more elaboration in details, but less vigour in conception. The panelling of the walls and piers is often filled in with extremely delicate arabesques of intricate design; but the effect is scarcely in proportion to the labour expended upon them; for the work is too slightly raised and too minute to catch the eye at any distance. Thus, the first impression is one of flatness and a want of accentuation; artistic defects for which no refinement of detail can adequately compensate. The pierced tracery, however, of the screens and balconies is as good in character as in execution. The geometrical patterns are old traditions and can be classified under a few well-defined heads, but they admit of almost infinite modifications under skilful treatment. They are cut with great mathematical nicety, the pattern being drawn on both sides of the slab, which is half chiselled through from one side and then turned over and completed from the other. The temples that line both sides of the High Street in the city, the monument to Seth Mani Rām in the Jamunā bāgh and the porch of the museum itself are fine specimens of the style, and are conclusive proofs that, in Mathurā at all events, architecture is, to this day, no mere galvanized revival of the past, but is still a living and progressive art. If a model of some one of the best and most typical buildings in each of the late styles were added to the museum collection of antiquities, as was my intention, the series would give a complete view of the architectural history of the district, from which a student would be able to gather much instruction. A specimen of modern official architecture (?), as conceived by our Engineers in the Public Works Department, should further be placed in juxtaposition with them, as a model also, but a model of everything to be avoided.

Immediately opposite the museum is the Public Garden, in which the museum itself ought to have been placed. It contains a considerable variety of choice trees and shrubs, but unfortunately it has not been laid out with much taste, and its area is too large to be kept in good order out of the funds that are allowed for its maintenance. It was extended a few years ago, so as to include the site of a large mound and tank. The former was levelled and the latter filled up. During the progress of the work a number of copper coins were discovered, which may very possibly have been of the same date as the adjoining Buddhist monastery; but being of no intrinsic value, there was no one on the spot who cared to preserve them. A little further on is the Jail, constructed on the approved radiating principle, and sufficiently strong under ordinary circumstances to ensure the safe-guard of native prisoners, though an European

would probably find its walls not very difficult either to scale or break through. This exhausts the list of public institutions and objects of interest; whence it may be rightly inferred that the English quarter of Mathurá is as dull and common-place as most other Indian stations. Still, in the rains it has a pleasant park-like appearance with its wide expanse of green sward, reserved for military uses from the encroachments of the plough; its well-kept roads with substantial bridges to span the frequent ravines; and the long avenues of trees that half conceal the thatched and verandahed bungalows that lie behind, each in its own enclosure of garden and pasture land; while in the distant background an occasional glimpse is caught of the broad stream of the Jamuná.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII.

I.—LIST OF GOVERNORS OF MATHURÁ IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

1629. Mirza Isa Tarkhán; who gave his name to the suburb of Isa-pur (now more commonly called Hans-ganj), on the opposite bank of the river.

1636. Murshid Kuli Khán, promoted, at the time of his appointment, to be commander of 2,000 horse, as an incentive to be zealous in stamping out idolatry and rebellion. From him the suburb of Murshid-pur derives its name.

1639. Allah Virdi Khán. After holding office for three years, some disloyal expressions to which he had given utterance were reported to the Emperor, who thereupon confiscated his estates and removed him to Delhi.

1642. Azam Khán Mír Muhammad Búkir, also called Irádat Khán. He is commemorated by the Azam-abad Sarác, which he founded (see page 30), and by the two villages of Azam-pur, and Búkir-pur. He came of a noble family seated at Sáwa in Persia, and having attached himself to the service of Asaf Khán Mirza Jafar, the distinguished poet and courtier, soon after became his son-in-law and was introduced to the notice of the Emperor Jahángír. He thus gained his first appointment under the Crown; but his subsequent promotion was due to the influence of Yamú-ud-daula, Asaf Khán IV., the father of Mumtáz Mahall, the favourite wife of Sháhjahán. On the accession of that monarch he was appointed commander of 5,000, and served with distinction in the Dakhin in the war against the rebel Khán Jahán Lodi and in the operations against the Nizám Sháhi's troops. In the fifth year of the reign, he was made Governor of Bengal in succession to Kásim Khán Juwaini. Three years later he was transferred to Allahabad, but did not remain there long, being moved in the very next year to Gujarát, as Subadar. In the twelfth year of Sháhjahán his daughter was married to Prince Shuja, who had by her a son

named Zain-ul-abidin. From 1642 to 1645 he was Governor of Mathurá, but in the latter year, as he did not act with sufficient vigour against the Hindu malcontents, his advanced age was made the pretext for transferring him to Bihar. Three years later he received orders for Kashmír; but as he objected to the cold climate of that country he was allowed to exchange it for Jaun-pur, where he died in 1648, at the age of 76. He is described in the Maasir-ul-Umará as a man of most estimable character, but very harsh in his mode of collecting the State revenue. Azamgarh, the capital of the district of that name in the Banáras Division, was also founded by him.

1645. Makramat Khán, formerly Governor of Delhi.

1658. Jafar, son of Allah Virdi Khán.

1659. Kásim Khán, transferred from Murádalád, but murdered on his way down.

1660. Abd-un-Nabi, founder of the Jama Masjid (see page 140).

1668. Saff-Shikan Khán. Fails in quelling the rebellion.

1669. Hasan Ali Khán. During his incumbency the great temple of Kesava Deva was destroyed.

1676. Sultán Kuli Khán.

II.—NAMES OF THE CITY QUARTERS, OR MAHALLAS.

1 Mandavi Ráni.	20 Brindában Darwázá.	40 Kil-math.
2 Bairág-pura.	21 Gher Gobindi.	41 Syám Ghát.
3 Khirki Bisáti.	22 Gali Gopa Sháh.	42 Rám Ghát.
4 Naya-bás.	23 Shah-ganj Darwázá.	43 Rámji-dwára.
5 Arjun-pura.	24 Hálan-ganj.	44 Bihári-pura.
6 Tek-narnaul.	25 Chakra Tíraph.	45 Ballabh Ghát.
7 Gali Seru Kasera.	26 Krishan Gangá.	46 Máru Gali.
8 Gali Ravalíya.	27 Gó-ghát.	47 Bengáli Ghát.
9 Gali Rám-pál.	28 Kans ká kila.	48 Kálá Mahal.
10 Tek Raná Kháti.	29 Hanumán tila.	49 Chúna kankar.
11 Gali Mathurá Me- gha.	30 Zer masjid.	50 Chamarháná.
12 Bózár Chauk.	31 Kushk.	51 Gopál-pura.
13 Gali Bhairon.	32 Sámi Ghát.	52 Sarái Rájá Bha- dauria.
14 Gali Thatherá.	33 Makhdum Sháh.	53 Sengal pura.
15 Lál Darwázá.	34 Asi-kunda Ghát.	54 Chhonkar-pári.
16 Gali Lohiya.	35 Visránt Ghát.	55 Mir-ganj.
17 Gali Nanda.	36 Kans-khár.	56 Holí Darwáza.
18 Teli-pará.	37 Gali Dasávatár.	57 Sítala Gali.
19 Tila Chaube.	38 Gor-pará.	58 Kampu Ghát.
	39 Gosáin Ghát.	

II.—NAMES OF THE CITY QUARTERS, OR MAHALLAS—(concluded).

59 Dharmśúlú Rájá	76 Gújarhána.	93 Mánik chauk.
Awa (built by Rájá	77 Roshan-ganj.	94 Gaja Paesa.
Pitambar Sinh).	78 Bhár-kí gali.	95 Gháti Biththal Rae.
60 Dhruva Ghát.	79 Khirki Dalpat Rae.	96 Sitalá Gháti.
61 Dhruva tīla.	80 Táj-pura.	97 Nakárechī tīla.
62 Bal tīla.	81 Chaubachcha.	98 Gújar Gháti.
63 Bára Jay Ram Dás.	82 Sat Ghará.	99 Gali Kalál.
64 General-ganj.	83 Chhatá Bazár.	00 Kaserat.
65 Anta-pará.	84 Gali Pá'hakán.	101 Gali Durgá Chand.
66 Gobind ganj.	85 Mandar Párikh Ji.	102 Bazázá
67 Chhagan-pura.	86 Kázi-pára.	103 Mandavi Ghīya.
68 Santokh-pura.	87 Naya Bazár (from	104 Gali Dháron ki.
69 Chháh kathauti.	Mr Thornton's time)	105 Manohar-pura.
70 Kotwáli.	88 Gháti chikno pat	106 Kasáí-pará.
71 Bharatpur Darwáza.	haron ki.	107 Keso-pura.
72 Lálá ganj.	89 Gali Gotawáli.	108 Mandavi Rám Dás.
73 Sitala Paesa.	90 Gata sram.	109 Matiya Darwáza.
74 Maholi Pol.	91 Ratn kund.	110 Dg Darwáza.
75 Nagara Paesa.	92 Chhonká-pára.	111 Mahalla khákrobán.

III.—PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS IN THE CITY OF MATHURÁ.

1. Hardinge Arch, or Holi Darwáza, forming the Agra gate of the city, erected by the municipality at a cost of Rs. 13,731.

2. Temple of Rádhá Kishan, founded by Deva Chand, bohra, of Tenda-Khera near Jabalpur, in 1870-71. Cost Rs. 40,000. In the Chhata Bazár.

3. Temple of Bijay Gobind, in the Satghara Mahalla, built in 1867 by Bijay Rám, bohra, of Dattia, at a cost of Rs. 65,000.

4. Temple of Bala Deva, in the Khans-khár Bazár, built in 1865 by Kush-áli Rám, bohra, of Sher-garh, at a cost of Rs. 25,000.

5. Temple of Bhairav Náth, in the Lohárs' quarter, built by Bishan Lál, Khattri, at a cost of Rs. 10,000. It is better known by the name of Sarvar Sultán, as it contains a chapel dedicated in honour of that famous Muhammadan saint; regarding whom it may be of interest to subjoin a few particulars. The parent shrine, situate in desert country at the mouth of a pass leading into Kandahár, is served by a company of some 1,650 priests besides women and children; who, with the exception of a small grant from Government yielding an annual income of only Rs. 350, are entirely dependent for subsistence on the charity of pilgrims. The shrine is equally revered by Hindus, Sikhs, and Muhammadans, and it is said to be visited in the course of a year by as many

as 200,000 people of all castes and denominations, who come chiefly from the Panjáb and Sindh. The saint in his lifetime was so eminent for his universal benevolence and liberality (whence his title of *sakhi*) that he is believed still to retain after death the power and will to grant every petition that is presented to him. At the large fair held in February, March and April, the shrine is crowded with applicants, many of whom beg for aid in money. As the shrine is poor and supported by charity, this cannot be given on the spot; but the petitioner is told to name some liberal-minded person, upon whom an order is then written and sealed with the great seal of the temple and handed to the applicant. When presented by him to the person, on whom it was drawn, it is not unfrequently honoured. Such a parwána, drawn on one Muhammad Khán Afghan, was found on the fakír Nawáb Sháh, who in 1871 made a murderous attack on the Secretary of the Lahor Municipality. A report on the peculiar circumstances of the case was submitted to Government, and it is from it that the above sketch has been extracted in explanation of the singular fact that a Muhammadan saint has been enthroned as a deity in a Hindu temple in the most exclusive of all Hindu cities.

6. Temple of Gata-sram, near the Visránt Ghát, built by Prán-náth Sástri, at a cost of Rs. 25,000, about the year 1800.

7. Temple of Dwarakádhís, commonly called the Seth's temple, in the Asikunda Bazar, built by Párikh Ji, in 1815, at a cost of Rs. 20,000.

8. House of the Bharat-pur Rájás with gateway added by the late Rájá Balavant Sinh.

9. House of Seth Lakhmi Chand, built in 1845 at a cost of Rs. 1,00,000.

10. Temple of Madan Mohan, by the Sámi Ghát, built by Seth Anant Rám of Chúri by Ram-gárh, in 1859, at a cost of Rs. 20,000.

11. Temple of Gobardhan Náth, built by Seth Kushál, commonly called Seth Bábú, kámdár of the Barodara Rájá, in 1830.

12. Temple of Bihári Ji, built by Ohhakki Lál and Kanhaiya Lál, bankers of Mhow near Nfmach, in 1850, at a cost of Rs. 25,000, by the Sámi Ghát : has a handsome court-yard as well as external façade.

13. Temple of Gobind Deva, near the Nakáichi tñā, built by Gaur Sahay Mall and Ghan-Syám Dás, his son, Seths of Chúri, in 1848, with their residences and that of Ghan-Syám's uncle, Rámchandra, adjoining.

14. Temple of Gopi-nath, by the Sámi Ghát, built by Gulráj and Jagán-nath, Seths of Chúri, in 1866, at a cost of Rs. 30,000.

15. Temple of Baladeva, near the Hardinge Arch, built by Balá, Ahír, a servant of Seth Lakhmi Chand, as a dwelling-house, about the year 1820, at a cost of Rs. 50,000, and sold to Ráe Búi, a baniya's wife, who converted it into a temple.

16. Temple of Mohan Jí, in the Satghara Mahalla, built about 70 years ago by Kripá Rám, Bohra; more commonly known as Daukala Kunj, after the Chaube who was the founder's purohit.

17. Temple of Madan Mohan, in the Asikunda Mahalla, built by Dhanráj, Bohra, of Aligarh.

18. Temple of Gobardhan Náth, in the Kans-khár, built by Devi Dás, Bohra, of Urai.

19. Temple of Dīrgha Víshnu, by the street leading to the Bharat-pur gate, built by Rájá Patni Mall of Banáras.

20. The Sati Burj, or 'faithful widow's tower,' built by Rájá Bhagaván Dás in 1570.

21. The mosque of Abd-un-Nabi Khán, built 1662.

22. The mosque of Aurangzeb, built 1669 on the site of the temple of Kesava Deva.

IV.—CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS OBSERVED IN THE CITY OF MATHURÁ.

Chait Sudi (April 1-15).

1. *Chait Sudi 8.*—Durgá Ashtami. Held at the temple of Mahávidya Devi.

2. *Chait Sudi 9.*—Rám Navami. Held at the Rám Jí Dwára.

Baisákh (April—May).

3. *Baisákh Sudi 14.*—Nar Sinh lilá. Held at Gor-pará, Mánik Chauk, and the temple of Dwáarakadhís.

4. *Baisákh full moon.*—Perambulation of Mathurá, called Ban-bihár, starting from the Visránt Ghát; the only one made in the night.

5. *Jeth Sudi 10.*—The Jeth Dasahara. In the middle of the day, bathing at the Dasasvamedh Ghát; in the evening kite-flying from the Gokarnes-var hill.

6. *Jeth full moon.*—Jal-játra. All the principal people bring the water for the ablution of the god into the temples on their own should ers in little silver urns.

*Āśārh (June—July).*7. *Āśārh Sudi 2.*—Rath-jātra.

8. *Āśārh Sudi 11.*—Principal perambulation of Mathurá and Brindá-ban before the god takes his four months' sleep; called *jugul jori ki parikramá*. The people start early in the morning either from the Visránt, or some other Ghát nearer their home, and after passing by the Sarasvati kund continue their way for about a mile along the Delhi road. The majority then make a straight cut across to Brindá-ban, while the others go on first to the Gurur Gobind shrine at Chhatikra. This is the longest perambulation made and is said to be of 20 kos. All return to Mathurá the same day; any one who fails to do so being thought to lose the whole benefit of his pilgrimage.

9. *Āśārh full moon.*—Byás-púno. In the morning the Guru is formally revered; in the evening there are wrestling matches, and the Pandits assemble on the hills or house-tops for the 'pavan pariksha,' or watching of the wind; from which they predict when the rains will commence and what sort of a season there will be. When the wind is from the north as it was in 1879, it is thought to be a good sign; and certainly the rain that year was superabundant.

Srávan (July—August).

10. *Srávan Sudi 3.*—Commonly called *Tij ka mela*. Wrestling matches near the temple of Bhútesvar Mahadeva.

11. *Srávan Sudi 5.*—The Páñch Tirath mela begins. A pilgrimage starts from the Visránt Ghát for Madhu-ban; proceeds on the next day to Santanu kund at Satoha and the Gyún-bauli near the Katra; on the third day to Gokarnesvar; on the fourth to the shrine of Gurur Gobind at Chhatikra and on the fifth to the Brahm kund at Brindá-ban.

12. *Srávan Sudi 11.*—Perambulation of Mathurá and Pavitra-dhāran, or offering of Bráhmanical threads to the Thákur.

13. *Srávan full moon.*—The Salúno or Raksha-bandhan. Wrestling matches in different orchards near the temple of Bhútesvar,

Bhádón (August—September).

14. *Bhádón Badi 8.*—Janm Ashtami; Krishna's birthday. A fast till midnight.

15. *Bhádón Sudi 11.*—A special pilgrimage to Madhu-ban, Tál-ban, and Kumud-ban. The general Ban-játra also commences and lasts for 15 days.

16. *Bhādon Sudi 14*.—The Anant Chaudas. The Patráki, or swimming festival, is held every Thursday in Srāwan and Bhādon, but the principal day is the last Thursday before the Anant Chaudas, when there is a very great concourse of people occupying the walls of the old fort and all the river-side ghāts. There is no racing: but the swimmers, almost all of whom have with them large hollow gourds, or inflated skins for occasional support, perform a variety of strange antics in the water; while some are mounted upon grotesque structures in the shape of horses, or peacocks, or different kinds of carriages. The scene, which is an amusing one, is best witnessed from a barge towed up the stream to the highest ghāt near Jaysinhapura, where the swimmers start, and allowed to drop down with the current to the pontoon bridge. About sunset there is a rude display of fireworks accompanied with much smoke and noise; but the swimmers remain in the water some two or three hours longer, when the proceedings terminate with music and dancing in the streets of the city.

Kuvār (September—October).

17. *Kuvār Badi 8*.—Perambulation of the city followed by five days' festivities during which it is customary to make a great number of little powder figures called *saujhi*, representing Krishna and the Gopis, in whose honour also there are performances, all through the night, of the Rās dance.

18. *Kuvār Sudi 8*.—Meghnād Līla, or representation of the death of Rāvan's son Megh-nād. This is the first of the three great days of the Rām Līla, which is held on the open plain near the temple of Mahāvidyā. The entire series of performances, which commences from the new moon, includes most of the leading events in the Rāmāyana, such as the tournament, the defeat of Tārakā, the departure into exile, Bharat's expedition to Chitra-kút, the mutilation of Surpa-nakhā, the rape of Sita, the meeting with Sugriv, and the building of the bridge. A separate day is assigned to each incident, but the first six or seven acts of the drama are not invariably the same, and it is only on the 8th, 9th, and 10th days that many people assemble to see the show.

19. *Kuvār Sudi 9*.—Kumbhakaran Līla, with representation of the death of Rāvan's brother, Kumbhakaran.

20. *Kuvār Sudi 10*.—Last day of the Dasahara, with representation of Rāma's final victory over Rāvan. Though this fête attracts a large concourse of people, the show is a very poor one and the display of fireworks much inferior to what may be seen in many second-rate Hindu cities.

21. *Kuvār Sudi 11*.—Bharat Miláp. A platform is erected in the street under the Jama Masjid, on which is enacted a representation of the meeting at Ajudhyā between Prince Bharat and Rāma, Sita and Lakshman, on their re-

turn from their wanderings. For the whole distance from that central spot to the Holi Gate not only the thoroughfare itself, but all the balconies and tops of the houses are crowded with people in gay holiday attire; and as the fronts of all the principal buildings are also draped with party-coloured hangings, and the shops dressed up to look their best, the result is a very picturesque spectacle, which is more pleasing to the European eye than any other feast in the Hindu calendar; the throng, however, is so dense that it is rather a hazardous matter to drive a carriage through it.

22. *Kuvár full moon*.—Sarad-púrno. Throughout the night visits are paid to the different temples.

Kártik (October—November).

23. *Kártik new moon*.—Diwáli, or Díp-dán—feast of lamps,

24. *Kártik Sudi 1*.—Anna-kút. The same observances as at Gobardhan, but on a smaller scale.

25. *Kártik Sudi 7*.—Dhobi-maran Lila. Held near the Brindá-ban gate to commemorate Krishna's spoliation of Kansa's washerman.

26. *Kártik Sudi 8*.—Gocháran, or pasturing the cattle. Held in the evening at the Gopál Bágh on the Agra Road.

27. *Kártik Sudi 9*.—Akhay Navami. The second great perambulation of the city, beginning immediately after midnight.

28. *Kártik Sudi 10*.—Kans badh ka mela, at the Rangesvar Mahadeva. Towards evening, a large wicker figure of Kans is brought out on to the road, when two boys, dressed to represent Krishna and Baladeva, and mounted either on horses or an elephant, give the signal, with the staves all wreathed with flowers that they have in their hands, for an assault upon the monster. In a few minutes it is torn to shreds and tatters by the Chaubes and a procession is then made to the Visránt Ghát.

29. *Kártik Sudi 11*.—Deothán. The awakening of the god from his four months' slumber. A similar perambulation as on Asárh Sudi 11.

Mágh (January—February).

30. *Mágh Sudi 5*.—Basant Panchami. The return of spring; corresponding to the English May-day.

Phálgun (February—March).

31. *Phálgun full moon*.—The Holi, or Indian saturnalia.

Chait badi (March 15—30).

32. *Chait Badi 1*.—Gathering at the temple of Kesava Deva.

33. *Chait Badi 5*.—Phúl-dol. Processions with flowers and music and dancing.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRINDÁ-BAN AND THE VAISHNAVA REFORMERS.

SOME six miles above Mathurá is a point wheré the right bank of the Jamuná assumes the appearance of a peninsula, owing to the eccentricity of the stream, which first makes an abrupt turn to the north and then as sudden a return upon its accustomed southern course. Here, washed on three of its sides by the sacred flood, stands the town of Brindá-ban, at the present day a rich and prosperous municipality, and for several centuries past one of the most holy places of the Hindus. A little higher up the stream a similar promontory occurs, and in both cases the curious formation is traditionally ascribed to the resentment of Baladeva. He, it is said, forgetful one day of his habitual reserve, and emulous of his younger brother's popular graces, led out the Gopís for a dance upon the sands. But he performed his part so badly, that the Jamuná could not forbear from taunting him with his failure and recommending him never again to exhibit so clumsy an imitation of Krishna's agile movements. The stalwart god was much vexed at this criticism and, taking up the heavy plough which he had but that moment laid aside, he drew with it so deep a furrow from the shore that the unfortunate river, perforce, fell into it, was drawn helplessly away and has never since been able to recover its original channel.

Such is the local rendering of the legend; but in the Puránas and other early Sanskrit authorities, the story is differently told, in this wise; that as Balaráma was roaming through the woods of Brindá-ban, he found concealed in the cleft of a *kadamb* tree some spirituous liquor, which he at once consumed with his usual avidity. Heated by intoxication he longed, above all things, for a bathe in the river, and seeing the Jamuná at some little distance, he shouted for it to come near. The stream, however, remained deaf to his summons; whereupon the infuriated god took up his ploughshare and breaking down the bank drew the water into a new channel and forced it to follow wherever he led. In the Bhágavata it is added that the Jamuná is still to be seen following the course along which she was thus dragged. Professor Wilson, in his edition of the Vishnu Purána, says, "The legend probably alludes to the construction of canals from the Jamuná for the purpose of irrigation; and the works of the Muhammadans in this way, which are well known, were no doubt preceded by similar canals dug by the order of Hindu princes." Upon this suggestion it may be remarked, first, that in Upper India, with the sole exception of the canal constructed by Firoz Sháh (1351-1388A. D.) for the supply of

the city of Hisár, no irrigation works of any extent are known ever to have been executed either by Hindus or Muhammadans; certainly there are no traces of any such operations in the neighbourhood of Brindá-ban; and secondly, both legends represent the Jamuná itself as diverted from its straight course into a single winding channel, not as divided into a multiplicity of streams. Hence it may more reasonably be inferred that the still existing involution of the river is the sole foundation for the myth.

The high road from Mathurá to Brindá-ban passes through two villages, Jay-sinh-pur and Ahalya-ganj and about half way crosses a deep ravine by a bridge that bears the following inscription:—*Sri. Pul banwadyá Maháráj Des mukh Bála-bái Síháb beti Maháráj Mádho Ji Saindhiya Buhádúr Ki ne marfat Khazanchi Mánik Chand ki, Jisukh karkun, gumashta Mahtáb Ráe ne sambat 1890, mahina asárh bádí 10 guruvásare.* Close by is a masonry tank, quite recently completed, which also has a commemorative inscription as follows: *Taldá banwadyá Lálá Kishan Lal beta Fakir Chand Sahukár ját Dhásar, Rahnewala Dilli ke ne, sambat 1929 mutabik san 1872 Isvi.* That the bridge should have been built by a daughter of the Mahárája of Gwáliar and the tank constructed by a banker of Delhi, both strangers to the locality, is an example of the benefits which the district enjoys from its reputation for sanctity. As the road between the two towns is always thronged with pilgrims, the number of these costly votive offerings is sure to be largely increased in course of time; but at present the country on either side has rather a waste and desolate appearance, with fewer gardens and houses than would be expected on a thoroughfare connecting two places of such popular resort. An explanation is afforded by the fact that the present road is of quite recent construction. Its predecessor kept much closer to the Jamuná, lying just along the *khadar* lands,—which in the rains form part of the river bed—and then among the ravines, where it was periodically destroyed by the rush of water from the land. This is now almost entirely disused; but for the first two miles out of Brindá-ban its course is marked by lines of trees and several works of considerable magnitude. The first is a large garden more than 40 bighas in extent, surrounded by a masonry wall and supplied with water from a distance by long aqueducts. In its centre is a stone temple of some size, and among the trees, with which the grounds are overcrowded, some venerable specimens of the *khirni* form an imposing avenue. The garden bears the name of Kushál, a wealthy Seth from Gujarát, at whose expense it was constructed, and who also founded one of the largest temples in the city of Mathurá. A little beyond, on the opposite side of the way, in a piece of waste ground, which was once an orchard, is a large and handsome *báuli* of red sand-stone, with a flight of 57 steps leading down to the level of the water. This was the gift of Ahalya Bái, the celebrated Mahratta Queen of

Indor, who died in 1795. It is still in perfect preservation, but quite unused. Further on, in the hamlet of Akrúr, on the verge of a cliff overlooking a wide expanse of alluvial land, is the temple of Bhat-rond, a solitary tower containing an image of Bibári Jī. In front of it is a forlorn little court-yard with walls and entrance gateway all crumbling into ruin. Opposite is a large garden of the Seth's, and on the roadway that runs between, a fair, called the Bhat-mela, is held on the full moon of Kārtik; when sweetmeats are scrambled among the crowd by the visitors of higher rank, seated on the top of the gate. The word Bhat-rond is always popularly connected with the incident in Krishna's life which the mela commemorates—how that he and his brother Balarām one day, having forgotten to supply themselves with provisions before leaving home, had to borrow a meal of rice (*bhāt*) from some Brāhmans' wives—but the true etymology (though an orthodox Hindu would regard the suggestion as heretical) refers, like most of the local names in the neighbourhood, merely to physical phenomena, and Bhat-rond may be translated 'tide-wall,' or 'break-water.'

Similarly, the word Brindā-ban is derived from an obvious physical feature, and when first attached to the spot signified no more than the 'tulsi grove;' *brindā* and *tulsi* being synonymous terms, used indifferently to denote the sacred aromatic herb known to botanists as *Ocimum sanctum*. But this explanation is far too simple to find favour with the more modern and extravagant school of Vaishnava sectaries; and in the Brahma Vaivarta Purāna, a mythical personage has been invented bearing the name of Vrindā. According to that spurious composition (Brah. Vai., v. iv. 2) the deified Rādhā, though inhabiting the Paradise of Goloka, was not exempt from human passions, and in a fit of jealousy condemned a Gopa by name Srilāma, to descend upon earth in the form of the demon Sankhāchura. He, in retaliation, sentenced her to become a nymph of Brindā-ban; and there accordingly she was born, being, as was supposed, the daughter of Kedāra, but in reality the divine mistress of Krishna; and it was simply his love for her which induced the god to leave his solitary throne in heaven and become incarnate. Hence in the following list of Rādhā's titles, as given by the same authority (Brah. Vai., v. iv. 17), there are three which refer to her predilection for Brindā-ban:—

Rādhā, Rāsesvari, Rāsavāsini, Rāsikesvari,
Krishna-pranādhikā, Krishna-priyā, Krishna-swarupini,
Krishnā, Vrindāvani, Vrindā, Vrindāvana-vinodini,
Chanddvati, Chāndra-kāntā, Sata-chandra-nibhānandā,
*Krishna-vāmānga-sambhūtā, Paramānanda-rūpini.**

* "Rādhā, queen of the dance, constant at the dance, queen of the dancer; dearer than Krishna's life, Krishna's delight, Krishna's counter-part; Krishna, Brindā, Brindā-ban born, sporting at Brindā-ban; moon-like spouse of the moon-like god, with face bright as a hundred moons; created as the left half of Krishna's body, incarnation of heavenly bliss."

In the Padma Purána, Rádhá's incarnation is explained in somewhat different fashion : that Vishnu, being enamoured of Vrindá, the wife of Jalandhara, the gods, in their desire to cure him of his guilty passion, begged of Lakshmi the gift of certain seeds. These, when sown, came up as the *tulsi*, *málati*, and *dhátri* plants, which assumed female forms of such beauty that Vishnu on seeing them lost all regard for the former object of his affections.

There is no reason to suppose that Brinlá-ban was ever the seat of any large Buddhist establishment; and though from the very earliest period of Brahmanical history it has enjoyed high repute as a sacred place of pilgrimage, it is probable that for many centuries it was merely a wild uninhabited jungle, a description still applicable to Bhándir-ban, on the opposite side of the river, a spot of equal celebrity in Sanskrit literature. Its most ancient temples, four in number, take us back only to the reign of our own Queen Elizabeth; the stately courts that adorn the river bank and attest the wealth and magnificence of the Bharat-pur Rájás, date only from the middle of last century; while the space now occupied by a series of the largest and most magnificent shrines ever erected in Upper India was, fifty years ago, an unclaimed belt of wood-land and pasture-ground for cattle. Now that communication has been established with the remotest parts of India, every year sees some splendid addition made to the artistic treasures of the town; as wealthy devotees recognize in the stability and tolerance of British rule an assurance that their pious donations will be completed in peace and remain undisturbed in perpetuity.

When Father Tieffenthaler visited Brindá-ban, in 1754, he noticed only one long street, but states that this was adorned with handsome, not to say magnificent, buildings of beautifully carved stone, which had been erected by different Hindu Rájás and nobles, either for mere display, or as occasional residences, or as embellishments that would be acceptable to the local divinity. The absurdity of people coming from long distances merely for the sake of dying on holy ground, all among the monkeys—which he describes as a most intolerable nuisance—together with the frantic idolatry that he saw rampant all around, and the grotesque resemblance of the Bairágis to the hermits and ascetics of the earlier ages of Christianity, seem to have given the worthy missionary such a shock that his remarks on the buildings are singularly vague and indiscriminating.

Mons. Victor Jacquemont, who passed through Brindá-ban in the cold weather of 1829-30, has left rather a fuller description. He says, "This is a very ancient city, and I should say of more importance even than Mathurá. It is considered one of the most sacred of all among the Hindus, an advantage which Mathurá also possesses, but in a less degree. Its temples are visited by

multitudes of pilgrims, who perform their ablutions in the river at the different gháts, which are very fine. All the buildings are constructed of red sandstone, of a closer grain and of a lighter and less disagreeable colour than that used at Agra : it comes from the neighbourhood of Jaypur, a distance of 200 miles. Two of these temples have the pyramidal form peculiar to the early Hindu style, but without the little turrets which in the similar buildings at Benares seem to spring out of the main tower that determines the shape of the edifice. They have a better effect, from being more simple, but are half in ruins." (The temples that he means are Madan Mohan and Jugal Kishor). "A larger and more ancient ruin is that of a temple of unusual form. The interior of the nave is like that of a Gothic church ; though a village church only, so far as size goes. A quantity of grotesque sculpture is pendent from the dome, and might be taken for pieces of turned wood.* An immense number of bells, large and small, are carved in relief on the supporting pillars and on the walls, worked in the same stiff and ungainly style. Many of the independent Rájás of the west, and some of their ministers (who have robbed them well no doubt) are now building at Brindá-ban in a different style, which, though less original, is in better taste, and are indulging in the costly ornamentation of pierced stone tracery. Next to Benares, Brindá-ban is the largest purely Hindu city that I have seen. I could not discover in it a single mosque. Its suburbs are thickly planted with fine trees, which appear from a distance like an island of verdure in the sandy plain." (These are the large gardens beyond the temple of Madan Mohan, on the old Delhi road.) "The Doáb, which can be seen from the top of the temples, stretching away on the opposite side of the Jamuná, is still barer than the country on the right bank."

At the present time there are within the limits of the municipality about a thousand temples, including, of course, many which, strictly speaking, are merely private chapels, and thirty-two gháts constructed by different princely benefactors. The tanks of reputed sanctity are only two in number. The first is the Brahm Kund at the back of the Seth's temple ; it is now in a very ruinous condition, and the stone Kiosques at its four corners have in part fallen, in part been occupied by vagrants, who have closed up the arches with mud walls and converted them into dwelling places. I had begun to effect a clearance and make arrangements for their complete repair when my transfer took place and put an immediate stop to this and all similar improvements. The other, called Gobind Kund is in an out-of-the-way spot near the Mathurá road. Hitherto it

* The description of the temple of Gobind Deva in Thornton's Gazetteer, contains the following sentence, which had often puzzled me. He says :—"From the vaulted roof depend numerous idols rudely carved in wood." He has evidently misunderstood Mons. Jacquemont's meaning, who refers not to any idols, but to the curious quasi-pendentives, like fir-cones, that ornament the dome.

has been little more than a natural pond, but has lately been enclosed on all four sides with masonry walls and flights of steps, at a cost of Rs. 30,000, by Chaudharáni Káli Sundari from Rájshahi in Bengal. To these may be added, as a third, a masonry tank in what is called the Kewár-ban. This is a grove of pípal, gúlar, and kadamb trees, which stands a little off the Mathurá road near the turn to the Madan Mohan temple. It is a halting-place in the Banjátra, and the name is popularly said to be a corruption of *kin vári*, 'who lit it?' with reference to the forest conflagration, or *davánal*, of which the traditional scene is more commonly laid at Bhudra-ban, on the opposite bank of the river. There is a small temple of Davánal Bihári, with a cloistered court-yard for the reception of pilgrims. The Gosáin is a Nimbáarak. A more likely derivation for the name would be the Sanskrit word *kaivalya*, meaning 'final beatitude.' Adjoining the ban is a large walled garden, belonging to the Tehri Rájá, which has long been abandoned on account of the badness of the water. The peacocks and monkeys, with which the town abounds, enjoy the benefit of special endowments bequeathed by deceased Rájás of Kotá and Bharat-pur. There are also some fifty *chhatras*, or dole houses, for the distribution of alms to indigent humanity, and extraordinary donations are not unfrequently made by royal and distinguished visitors. Thus the Rájá of Dátíá, a few years ago, made an offering to every single shrine and every single Bráhman that was found in the city. The whole population amounts to 21,000, of which the Bráhmans, Bairágis and Vaishnavas together make up about one half. In the time of the emperors, the Muhammadans made a futile attempt to abolish the ancient name, Brindá-ban, and in its stead substitute that of Múminábád; but now, more wisely, they leave the place to its own Hindu name and devices and keep themselves as clear of it as possible. Thus, besides an occasional official, there are in Brindá-ban no followers of the prophet beyond only some fifty families, who live close together in its outskirts and are all of the humblest order, such as oilmen, lime-burners and the like. They have not a single public mosque nor even a karbala in which to deposit the tombs of Hasan and Husain on the feast of the Muharram, but have to bring them into Mathurá to be interred.

It is still customary to consider the religion of the Hindus as a compact system, which has existed continuously and without any material change ever since the remote and almost pre-historic period when it finally abandoned the comparatively simple form of worship inculcated by the ritual of the Ved. The real facts, however, are far different. So far as it is possible to compare natural with revealed religion, the course of Hinduism and Christianity has been identical in character; both were subjected to a violent disruption, which occurred in the two quarters of the globe nearly simultaneously, and which is

still attested by the multitude of unceasing fragments into which the ancient edifice was disintegrated as it fell. In the west, the revival of ancient literature and the study of forgotten systems of philosophy stimulated enquiry into the validity of those theological conclusions which previously had been unhesitatingly accepted—from ignorance that any counter-theory could be honestly maintained by thinking men. Similarly, in the east, the Muhammadan invasion and the consequent contact with new races and new modes of thought brought home to the Indian moralist that his old basis of faith was too narrow ; that the division of the human species into the four Mánava castes and an outer world of barbarians was too much at variance with facts to be accepted as satisfactory, and that the ancient inspired oracles, if rightly interpreted, must disclose some means of salvation applicable to all men alike, without respect to colour or nationality. The professed object of the Reformers was the same in Asia as in Europe—to discover the real purpose for which the second Person of the Trinity became incarnate ; to disencumber the truth, as He had revealed it, from the accretions of later superstition ; to abolish the extravagant pretensions of a dominant class and to restore a simpler and more severely intellectual form of public worship.* In Upper India the tyranny of the Muhammadans was too tangible a fact to allow of the hope, or even the wish, that the conquerors and conquered could ever coalesce in one common faith ; but in the Dakkhin and the remote regions of Eastern Bengal, to which the sword of Islam had scarcely extended, and where no inveterate antipathy had been created, the contingency appeared less improbable. Accordingly, it was in those parts of India that the great teachers of the reformed Vaishnava creed first meditated and reduced to system those doctrines, which it was the one object of all their later life to promulgate throughout Hindustan. It was their ambition to elaborate a scheme so broad and yet so orthodox that it might satisfy the requirements of the Hindu and yet not exclude the Muhammadan, who was to be admitted on equal terms into the new fraternity : all mankind becoming one great family and every caste distinction being utterly abolished.

Hence it is by no means correct to assert of modern Hinduism that it is essentially a non-proselytizing religion ; accidentally it has become so, but only from concession to the prejudices of the outside world and in direct opposition to the tenets of its founders. Their initial success was necessarily due to their intense zeal in proselytizing, and was marvellously rapid. At the present day their followers constitute the more influential, and it may be even numerically the larger half of the Hindu population : but precisely as in Europe so in

* Thus, as it may be interesting to note, the Bráhma Samáj of the present day is no isolated movement, but only the most modern of a long series of similar reactions against current super-

India no two men of the reformed sects, however immaterial their doctrinal differences, can be induced to amalgamate; each forms a new caste more bigoted and exclusive than any of those which it was intended to supersede, while the founder has become a deified character, for whom it is necessary to erect a new niche in the very Pantheon he had laboured to destroy. The only point upon which all the Vaishnavas sects theoretically agree, is the reverence with which they profess to regard the Bhagavad Gita as the authoritative exposition of their creed. In practice their studies—if they study at all—are directed exclusively to much more modern compositions, couched in their own vernacular, the Braj Bháshá. Of these the work held in highest repute by all the Brindá-ban sects is the Bhakt-málá, or Legends of the Saints, written by Nábhá Jí in the reign of Akbar or Jahángír. Its very first couplet is a compendium of the theory upon which the whole Vaishnava reform was based :

Bhakt-bhakti-Bhagavant-guru, chaturánám, vapu ek :

which declares that there is a divinity in every true believer, whether learned or unlearned, and irrespective of all caste distinctions. Thus the religious teachers that it celebrates are represented, not as rival disputants—which their descendants have become—but as all animated by one faith, which varied only in expression; and as all fellow workers in a common cause, viz., the moral and spiritual elevation of their countrymen. Nor can it be denied that the writings of many of the actual leaders of the movement are instinct with a spirit of asceticism and detachment from the world and a sincere piety, which are very different from the ordinary outcome of Hinduism. But in no case did this catholic simplicity last for more than a single generation. The great teacher had no sooner passed away than his very first successor hedged round his little band of followers with new caste restrictions, formulated a series of narrow dogmas out of what had been intended as comprehensive exhortations to holiness and good works; and substituted for an interior devotion and mystical love—which were at least pure in intent, though perhaps scarcely attainable in practice by ordinary humanity—an extravagant system of outward worship with all the sensual accompaniments of gross and material passion.

The Bhakt-málá, though an infallible oracle, is an exceedingly obscure one, and requires a practised hierophant for its interpretation. It gives no legend at length, but consists throughout of a series of the briefest allusions to legends, which are supposed to be already well-known. Without some such previous knowledge the poem is absolutely unintelligible. Its concise notices have therefore been expanded into more complete lives by different modern writers, both in Hindí and Sanskrit. One of these paraphrases is entitled the Bhakt Sindhu, and the author, by name Lakshman, is said to have taken great pains

to verify his facts. But though his success may satisfy the Hindu mind, which is constitutionally tolerant of chronological inaccuracy, he falls very far below the requirements of European criticism. His work is however useful, since it gives a number of floating traditions, which could otherwise be gathered only from oral communications with the Gosáins of the different sects, who, as a rule, are very averse to speak on such matters with outsiders.

The four main divisions, or Sampradāyas, as they are called, of the reformed Vaishnavas are the Srí Vaishnava, the Nimbárak Vaishnava, the Madhva Vaishnava, and the Vishnu Swámi. The last sect is now virtually extinct; for though the name is occasionally retained, their doctrines were entirely remodelled in the sixteenth century by the famous Gokul Gosáin Vallabháchárya, after whom his adherents are ordinarily styled either Vallabhácháryas or Gokulastha Gosáins. Their history and tenets will find more appropriate place in connection with the town of Gokul, which is still their head-quarters.

The Srí Sampradāya was altogether unknown at Brindá-ban till quite recently, when the two brothers of Seth Lakhmi Chand, after abjuring the Jaini faith, were enlisted in its ranks, and by the advice of the Gurn, who had received their submission, founded at enormous cost the great temple of Rang Jí. It is the most ancient and the most respectable of the four reformed Vaishnava communities, and is based on the teaching of Rámánuja, who flourished in the 11th or 12th century of the Christian era. The whole of his life was spent in the Dakkhin; where he is said to have established no less than 700 monasteries, of which the chief were at Kánci and Srí Ranga. The standard authorities for his theological system are certain Sanskrit treatises of his own composition entitled the Srí Bháshya, Gítá Bháshya, Vedártha Sangraha, Vedánta Pradípa and Vedánta Sára. All the more popular works are composed in the dialects of the south, and the establishment at Brindá-ban is attended exclusively by foreigners, the rites and ceremonies there observed exciting little interest among the Hindus of the neighbourhood, who are quite ignorant of their meaning. The sectarian mark by which the Srí Vaishnavas may be distinguished consists of two white perpendicular streaks down the forehead, joined by a cross line at the root of the nose, with a streak of red between. Their chief dogma, called Visishtádwaita, is the assertion that Vishnu, the one Supreme God, though invisible, as cause, is, as effect, visible in a secondary form in material creation.

They differ in one marked respect from the mass of the people at Brindá-ban, in that they refuse to recognise Rádhá as an object of religious adoration. In this they are in complete accord with all the older authorities, which either totally ignore her existence, or regard her simply as Krishna's mistress and Rukmini as his wife. Their *mantra* or formula of initiation, corresponding to the

In nomine Patris, &c., of Christian Baptism, is said to be *Om Rāmdya namah*, that is, 'Om, reverence to Rāma.' This Sampradāya is divided into two sects, the Tenkalai and the Vadakalai. They differ on two points of doctrine, which however are considered of much less importance than what seems to outsiders a very trivial matter, viz., a slight variation in the mode of making the sectarial mark on the forehead. The followers of the Tenkalai extend its middle line a little way down the nose itself, while the Vadakalai terminate it exactly at the bridge. The doctrinal points of difference are as follows : the Tenkalai maintain that the female energy of the god-head, though divine, is still a finite creature that serves only as a mediator or minister (*purusha-kāra*) to introduce the soul into the presence of the Deity ; while the Vadakalai regard it as infinite and uncreated, and in itself a means (*upāya*) by which salvation can be secured. The second point of difference is a parallel to the controversy between the Calvinists and Armenians in the Christian Church. The Vadakalai, with the latter, insist on the concomitancy of the human will in the work of salvation, and represent the soul that lays hold of God as a young monkey which grasps its mother in order to be conveyed to a place of safety. The Tenkalai, on the contrary, maintain the irresistibility of divine grace and the utter helplessness of the soul, till it is seized and carried off like a kitten by its mother from the danger that threatens it. From these two curious but apt illustrations the one doctrine is known as the *markata kishora-nyāya*, the other as the *māṛjāla-kishora-nyāya* ; that is to say 'the young monkey theory' or 'the kitten theory.' The habitués of the Seth's temple are all of the Tenkalai persuasion.

The Nimbārak Vaishnavas, as mentioned in a previous chapter, have one of their oldest shrines on the Dhruva hill at Mathurā. Literally interpreted, the word Nimbārak means 'the sun in a *nīm* tree ;' a curious designation, which is explained as follows. The founder of the sect, an ascetic by name Bhāskārāchārya, had invited a Bairāgi to dine with him and had prepared everything for his reception, but unfortunately delayed to go and fetch his guest till after sunset. Now, the holy man was forbidden by the rules of his order to eat except in the day-time and was greatly afraid that he would be compelled to practise an unwilling abstinence : but at the solicitation of his host, the sun-god, Sūrya Nārāyan, descended upon the *nīm* tree, under which the repast was spread, and continued leaning upon them till the claims of hunger were fully satisfied. Thenceforth the saint was known by the name of Nimbārka or Nimbāditya. His special tenets are little known ; for, unlike the other Sampradāyas, his followers (so far as can be ascertained) have no special literature of their own, either in Sanskrit or Hindi ; a fact which they ordinarily explain by saying that all their books were burnt by Aurangzeb, the conventional *bête noire* of Indian

history, who is made responsible for every act of destruction. Most of the solitary ascetics who have their little hermitages in the different sacred groves, with which the district abounds, belong to the Nimbárák persuasion. Many of them are such pious, simple-minded men, leading such a chaste and studious life, that it may charitably be hoped of them that in the eye of God they are Christians by the baptism of desire, *i. e.*, according to S. Thomas Aquinas, by the grace of having the will to obtain salvation by fulfilling the commands of God, even though from invincible ignorance they know not the true Church. The one who has a cell in the Kokila-ban assured me that the distinctive doctrines of his sect were not absolutely unwritten (as is ordinarily supposed) but are comprised in ten Sanskrit couplets that form the basis of a commentary in as many thousands. One of his disciples, a very intelligent and argumentative theological student, gave me a sketch of his belief which may be here quoted as a proof that the esoteric doctrines of the Vaishnavas generally have little in common with the gross idolatry which the Christian Missionary is too often content to demolish as the equivalent of Hinduism. So far is this from being the case, that many of their dogmas are not only of an eminently philosophical character, but are also much less repugnant to Catholic truth than either the colourless abstractions of the Brahma Samáj, or the defiant materialism into which the greater part of Europe is rapidly lapsing.

Thus their doctrine of salvation by faith is thought by many scholars to have been directly borrowed from the Gospel ; while another article in their creed, which is less known, but is equally striking in its divergence from ordinary Hindu sentiment, is the continuance of conscious individual existence in a future world, when the highest reward of the good will be, not extinction, but the enjoyment of the visible presence of the divinity, whom they have faithfully served while on earth ; a state therefore absolutely identical with heaven, as our theologians define it. The one infinite and invisible God, who is the only real existence, is, they maintain, the only proper object of man's devout contemplation. But as the incomprehensible is utterly beyond the reach of human faculties, He is partially manifested for our behoof in the book of creation, in which natural objects are the letters of the universal alphabet and express the sentiments of the Divine Author. A printed page, however, conveys no meaning to anyone but a scholar, and is liable to be misunderstood even by him ; so, too, with the book of the world. Whether the traditional scenes of Krishna's adventures have been rightly determined is a matter of little consequence, if only a visit to them excites the believer's religious enthusiasm. The places are mere symbols of no value in themselves ; the idea they convey is the direct emanation from the spirit of the author. But it may be equally well expressed by different types ; in the same way as two copies of a book may be word for

word the same in sound and sense though entirely different in appearance, one being written in Nagari, the other in English characters. To enquire into the cause of the diversity between the religious symbols adopted by different nationalities may be an interesting study, but is not one that can affect the basis of faith. And thus it matters little whether Rádhá and Krishna were ever real personages; the mysteries of divine love, which they symbolize, remain, though the symbols disappear; in the same way as a poem may have existed long before it was committed to writing, and may be remembered long after the writing has been destroyed. The transcription is a relief to the mind; but though obviously advantageous on the whole, still in minor points it may rather have the effect of stereotyping error: for no material form, however perfect and semi-divine, can ever be created without containing in itself an element of deception; its appearance varies according to the point of view and the distance from which it is regarded. It is to convictions of this kind that must be attributed the utter indifference of the Hindu to chronological accuracy and historical research. The annals of Hindustan date only from its conquest by the Muhammadans — a people whose faith is based on the misconception of a fact, as the Hindus' is on the corrupt embodiment of a conception. Thus the literature of the former deals exclusively with events; of the latter with ideas.

At Báthi another Bairági of the same Sampradáya, by name Gobardhan Dás, who knew most of the Bhagavad Gíta by heart, told me that their chief seat was at Salimabad in Jodhpur territory, where the Gosáin had a complete library of the literature of the sect. He quoted some of the books by name, the Siddhánta Ratnanjali, the Girivajra, the Ratna-málá, the Setuká, the Jahnavi, and the Ratna-manjushá; but he could not specify the authors, or give any definite information as to their contents. Neither could he give a clear explanation of any difference of doctrine between his own sect and the Śrī Vaishnavas. Like Rám Dás, the Pandit at Kokila-ban, the great point on which he insisted was that all visible creation is a shadow of the Creator and is therefore true in a measure, though void of all substantial and independent existence. A view which is aptly represented by the lines:—

“The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains?
Are not these, O soul, the vision of him who reigns?
Is not the vision He? tho' He be not that which He seems?
Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in drea
All we have power to see is a straight staff bent in a pool:”

the illustration given in the last line being the very one which these Hindu dreamers most frequently bring forward.

The Madhva Vaishnavas form a scattered and not very numerous community, and none of their temples, either at Brindá-ban or elsewhere in the district, are of any note. Their founder, Madhváchárya, was a native of Southern India, born in the year 1199 A. D. The temple where he ordinarily resided is still in existence at a place called Udipi. Here he had set up a miraculous image of Krishna, made with the hero Arjun's own hands, which had been casually thrown as ballast into a ship from Dwaraká, which was wrecked on the Malabar coast. He is said to have been only nine years of age when he composed the Bhásha or commentary on the Gíta, which his disciples accept as of divine authority. Their distinctive doctrine is the assertion of an essential Duality (Dvaita) between the Jívatma, or principle of life, and the Paramátma, or Supreme Being. Their sectarial mark consists of two perpendicular white lines down the forehead, joined at the root of the nose and with a straight black streak between, terminating in a round mark made with turmeric.

In addition to these four original Sampradáyas, there are three schools of more modern origin, called respectively Bengali, or Gauriya Vaishnavas, Rádhá Vallabhis and the disciples of Swámi Hari Dás.

The first named community has had a more marked influence on Brindá-ban than any of the others, since it was Chaitanya, the founder of the sect, whose immediate disciples were its first temple builders. He was born at Nadiya in Bengal, in 1485 A.D., and in his youth is said to have married a daughter of Vallabháchárya. However that may be, when he had arrived at the age of 24 he formerly resigned all connection with secular and domestic affairs and commenced his career as a religious teacher. After spending six years in pilgrimages between Mathurá and Jagannáth, he finally settled down at the latter place, where, in 1527 A. D., being then only 42 years old, he disappeared from the world. There is reason to believe that he was drowned in the sea, into which he had walked in an ecstasy, mistaking it for the shallow waters of the Jamuná, where he saw, in a vision, Krishna sporting with the Gopís. His life and doctrines are recorded in a most voluminous Bengáli work entitled Chaitanya Charitámrita, composed in 1590 by one of his disciples, Krishna Dás. Two of his colleagues, Advaitanand and Nityánand, who, like himself, are styled Mahá Prabhus, presided over his establishments in Bengal; while other six Gosáins settled at Brindá-ban. Apart from metaphysical subtleties, which naturally have but little hold on the minds of the populace, the special tenet of the Bengáli Vaishnavas is the all sufficiency of faith in the divine Krishna; such faith being adequately expressed by the mere repetition of his name without any added prayer or concomitant feeling of genuine devotion. Thus roughly stated, the doctrine appears absurd; and possibly its true bearing is as little regarded by

many of the more ignorant among the Vaishnavas themselves, as it is by the majority of superficial outside observers. It is, however, a legitimate deduction from sound principles : for it may be presumed that the formal act of devotion would never have been commenced, had it not been prompted at the out-set by a devotional intention, which intention is virtually continued so long as the act is in performance. And to quote from a manual of a purer faith, "it is not necessary that the intention should be actual throughout; it is sufficient if we pray in a human manner; and for this only a virtual intention is required; that is to say, an intention which has been actual and is supposed to continue, although, through inadvertence or distraction, we may have lost sight of it." The sectarian mark consists of two white perpendicular streaks down the forehead, united at the root of the nose and continued to near the tip. Another characteristic is the use of a rosary of 108 beads made of the wood of the *tulsi*.

The recognized leaders of the Brindá-ban community were by name Rūpa and Sanātana, the authors of several doctrinal commentaries and also, as is said, of the Mathurá Māhātmya. With them were associated a nephew, named Jīva, who founded the temple of Rādhā Dāmodar and Gopál Bhatt, founder of the temple of Rādhā Raman, together with some others of less note, whose names vary in different lists.* In the Bhakta Málá they are enumerated as follows :—

श्रीरूपसनातन भक्तिजल श्रीजीवगुसाईं सर गंभीर ॥

बेला भजन सुपक्व कषायन कबहु न लागी ।

बृन्दावन दूढ़वास जुगल चरनन अनुरागी ।

पोथी लेखनि पाँनि अघट अक्षर चित दीनी ।

सद ग्रंथन की सार सबै हस्तामल † कनि ।

संदेह ग्रंथ केदन समर्थ रस राशि उपासिक परम धीर ।

श्रीरूपसनातन भक्तिजल श्रीजीवगुसाईं सर गंभीर ॥ १ ॥

२

श्रीबृन्दावन की माधुरी रनि मिलि आस्वादन कियौ ।

सरबस राधारमन भट्टगोपाल उवाच ॥

दूषीकेष भगवान विपुलबीठल रस सागर ।

* The Tuzák mentions another famous Gosáin of somewhat later date, 1619, by name Jadu-Bup, who came from Ujjáiyin to Mathurá, and who had been visited both by Akbar and Jahángir.

† *Hastamal* would be literally 'a plum in the palm of the hand,' that is to say, a little thing completely in one's grasp. A similar phrase occurs in the Rámáyana of Tulsi Dás, Book I., 36. *Kartá-ghat amálak samán*.

यानेश्वरी जगन्नाथ लोकनाथ महामुनि मधु श्रीरंग ।
 कृष्णदास पण्डित उभे अधिकारी हरि अंग ।
 घमण्डी जुगलकिशोर भृत्य भूगर्भ दृढ़ व्रत लियो ।
 सुन्दावन की माधुरी इनि मिलि आस्वादन कियो ॥ २ * ॥

TRANSLATION.

"Sri Rúpa and Sanátan and Sri Jíva Gosáin were as a deep lake filled with water of devotion. With them prayer was ever ripe and in season and never bitter to the taste. Firmly fixed at Brindá-ban, full of devotion to the feet of the dual god, with their hands writing books and with their soul fixed on the formless idea, they held in their grasp all the essence of divine love, able to resolve the mysteries of the scriptures, worshippers of the all-blissful, ever staunch in faith. Sri Rúpa and Sanátan and Sri Jíva Gosáin were as a deep lake filled with water of devotion.

"These are they who met together at Brindá-ban and tasted all its sweetness. Gopál Bhatt, who beautified the temple of Rádhá Raman with all that he possessed; Hrishikes and Bhagaván Dás and Bithal-vipul, that ocean of grace; Jagannáth of Thanesar; the great sage Loknáth; Madhu and Sri Rang; the two Paudits named Krishan Dás, who had mastered Hari in all his parts; Ghamandi, servant of Jugal Kishor and Bhúgarbha, the rigid ascetic. These are they who met together at Brindá-ban and tasted all its sweetness."

The founder of the Rádhá Vallabhis was by name Hari Vans. His father, Vyása, was a Gaur Bráhmaṇ of Deva-ban in the Saháranpur district, who had long been childless. He was in the service of the Emperor and on one occasion was attending him on the march from Agra, when at last his wife, Tára, gave birth to a son at the little village of Bád, near Mathurá, in the *Sambat* year 1559. In grateful recognition of their answered prayers, the parents named the child after the god they had invoked, and called him Hari Vans, i. e., Hari's issue. When he had grown up, he took to himself a wife, by name Rakmini, and had by her two sons and one daughter. Of the sons, the elder, Mohan Chand, died childless; the descendants of the younger, Gopináth, are still at Devaban. After settling his daughter in marriage, he determined to abandon the world and lead the life of an ascetic. With this resolution he set out alone on the road to Brindá-ban and had reached Charthával, near Hodal, when there met him a Bráhmaṇ, who presented him with his two daughters and insisted upon his marrying them, on the strength of a divine command, which he said he had received in a vision. He further gave him an image of Krishna

* In the above passage the words underlined are proper names.

with the title of Rádhá Vallabh, which on his arrival at Brindá-ban was set up by Hari Vans in a temple that he had founded between the Jugal and the Koliya gháts on the bank of the Jamuná. Originally he had belonged to the Madhváchárya Sampradáya and from them and the Nimbáraks, who also claim him, his doctrine and ritual were professedly derived. But in consequence of the mysterious incident, by which he had been induced to forego his intention of leading a celibate life and take to himself two new wives ; or rather in consequence of his strong natural passions, which he was unable to suppress and therefore invented a fiction to excuse, his devotion was all directed not to Krishna himself, except in a very secondary degree, but to his fabled mistress, Rádhá, whom he deified as the goddess of lust. So abominable a system was naturally viewed at first with no little amazement, as is clear from the language of the Bhakt Málá, which is as follows :—

॥ मूल ॥

श्रीहरिवंसगुप्तैर्भजनकी रीति सङ्गत कोऊ जानि है ॥
 श्रीराधाचरणप्रधान हृदै अति सट्टु उपासी ।
 कुंजकेलि दंपति बर्हाकी करत पवासी ॥
 सर्वसुमहाप्रसाद प्रसिधिता के अधिकारी ।
 विधि निषेध नहि दास अनन्य उत्कट व्रतधारी ॥
 आव्याससुवन पय अनुसरे सोई भलै पहिचानि है ।
 श्रीहरिवंसगुप्तैर्भजनकी रीति सङ्गत कोऊ जानि है ॥

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF NABHA JI.

“The Gosáin Sri Hari Vans : who can understand all at once his method of devotion ? with whom the feet of blessed Rádhá were the highest object of worship ; a most staunch-souled devotee ; who made himself the page in waiting on the divine pair in their bower of love ; who gloried in the enjoyment of the remnants of all that was offered at their shrine ; a servant who never pleaded obligation or dispensation ; a votary of incomparable zeal. Account him blessed who follows in the path of Vyása's great son, the Gosáin Sri Hari Vans : who can understand all at once his method of devotion ?”

In the gloss, or supplement of Priya Dás, composed in the year *Sambat* 1769, the same sentiment is expanded and a reference made to the legend of the Bráhmaṇ and his two daughters.

॥ टीका ॥

श्रीजुकी रीति कोऊ लापनिमें एक जानै
 राधाई प्रधान मानै पादें हृष्य ध्याये ।

निपट विकट भात होत न सुभाष चैसो
 उनहीकी कृपादृष्टि नैकु किहू पार्यै ॥
 विधि औ निषेध हेंड डारै प्रान्ध्यारै हियै
 जियै निज दास निस दिन बहै गार्हियै ।
 सुषद चरित्र सब रसिक विविचि नोकै
 जानत प्रसिद्ध कहा कहिकै सुनार्हियै ॥
 आयै यह त्यागि राग वट्यो प्रिया प्रीतम सेां
 विप्र बडभाग हरिआज्ञा दर्द जानियै ॥
 तेरी उभय सुता व्याह देवा लेखो नाम मेरो
 उनको जो बंस प्रसंस जग मानियै ॥
 ताही द्वार सेवा विस्तार निज भगतनि की
 भगतनिकी गति सेा प्रसिद्ध पहिचानियै ।
 मानि प्रिय बात यह गह्यो सुष लख्यो सब
 कह्यो कैसे जात यह मनमें न आनियै ॥
 राधिकावल्लभलाल आज्ञा सेा रसाल दर्द
 सेवा मेा प्रकास औ विलास कुंजधाम को ।
 सेाई विस्तार सुषसार दृगक्ष्य पियेो
 दियो रसिक जिन लियो पहि वाम को ।
 निसि दिन गांन रस माधुरीको पान उर
 अंतर सिद्धान एक काम स्यामास्यामको ।
 गुन सेा अनूप कहि कैलैकै सरूप कहै
 लहै मन मोद जैलै पौर नही नामको ॥

TRANSLATION.

"Would you know the one point in a thousand of Sri Hit Ji's ways? he adored Rádhá first and after her Krishna. A most strange and unnatural fashion, that none could even faintly comprehend save by his favour. He obliterated all distinction between obligation and dispensation; his beloved was in his heart; he lived only as her servant, singing the praises of the divinity night and day. All the faithful know his many edifying and holy actions; why tell and repeat them, since they are famous already.

"He left his home and came; his passion for Rádhá and Krishna had so grown: but you must know Hari had given an order to a wealthy Bráhman: 'Bestow your two daughters in marriage, taking my name, and know that their issue shall be famous throughout the world. By their means my worship shall spread among my faithful people, a path for the pathless, of high renown.'

Obedient to the loving order he went home ; the delight of all was past telling, for it was more than the mind could even conceive. Rādhā's dear spouse gave the gracious command : ' Publish abroad my worship and the delights of my sylvan abode.' He drank in with his very eyes the essence of bliss and gave it to every client who supported the cause of the female divinity. Night and day imbibing the honeyed draught of sweet song and cherishing it in his soul, with no thought but for Syāmā and Syām. How is it possible to declare such incomparable merit ? the soul is enraptured at the sound more than at that of any other name."

By his later wives he had two sons, Braj Chand and Krishan Chand, of whom the latter built a temple to Rādhā Mohan, which is still in the possession of his descendants. The former was the ancestor of the present Gosāins of the temple of Rādhā Vallabh, the chief shrine of the sect. This was built by one of his disciples, a Kāyath named Sundar Dās, who held the appointment of treasurer at Delhi. One of the pillars in the front gives the date as *Sambat* 1683. An earlier inscription, of 1641, was noticed by Professor Wilson, but this would seem to have been over the gateway leading into the outer court, which since then has fallen down and been removed. On the opposite side of the street is a monument to the founder, which however the present generation of Gosāins are too ungrateful to keep in repair. They are the descendants of Braj Chand's four sons, Sundar-Bar, Rādhā Ballabh Dās, Braj-Bhūkhan and Nagar Bar Ji ; and the heads of the four families so derived are now Daya Lāl, Manohar Ballabh, Sundar Lāl and the infant son of Kanhaiya Lāl.

Hari Vans was himself the author of two poems ; the one, the *Chaurāsi Pada*, or ' 84 Stanzas,' in Hindi ; the other, the *Rādhā Sudhā Nidhi*, or ' Treasury of Rādhā's Delights,' in 170 Sanskrit couplets. The latter, though not much read, is held in great esteem and, regarded solely as a piece of highly impassioned erotic verse, it is a spirited and poetic composition. There is a good Hindi commentary upon it by one Bansidhar, dated *Sambat* 1820. As MSS. are scarce and Sanskritists may like to see a specimen of the text, I subjoin the first 25 and the last couplet in the original, followed by a translation.

अथ राधासुधानिधिर्लिख्यते ॥

॥ श्लोकः ॥

यस्याः कदापि वसनाञ्जलखेलनोत्थधन्यातिधन्यपवनेन कृतार्थमानी ।

योगीन्द्रदुर्गमगतिर्मधुसूदनोऽपि तस्या नमोऽस्तु वृषभानुभुवो दिशेऽपि ॥ १ ॥

ब्रह्मेश्वरादिमुदरूहपदारविन्दश्रीमत्परागपरमदुतवैभवायाः ।

सर्वार्थसारसर्वांशकृपार्द्रदृष्टेस्तस्या नमोऽस्तु वृषभनुभुवो महिम्ने ॥ २ ॥

यो ब्रह्मरुद्रशुक्नारदभीष्ममुख्यैरालक्षितो न सहसा पुरुषस्य तस्य ।

सद्योवशीकरणचूर्णमनन्तशक्तिं तं राधिकाचरणरेणुमहं स्मरामि ॥ ३ ॥

आधाय मूर्ध्नि यदापुरुदारगोप्यः काम्यं पदं प्रियगुणैरपि पिच्छमौलेः ।

भावेत्सवेन भजतां रसकामधेनु तं राधिकाचरणरेणुमहं स्मरामि ॥ ४ ॥

दिव्यप्रमोदरससारनिजङ्गसङ्गपीयूषवीचिनिचयैरभिषेचयन्ती ।

कन्दर्पकोटिसरमूर्च्छितनन्दसूनुसज्जीविनी जयति कापि निकुञ्जदेवी ॥ ५ ॥

तन्नः प्रतिक्षणचमत्कृतचारुलीलालावण्यमोहनमहामधुराङ्गभङ्गि ।

राधाननं हि मधुराङ्गकलानिधानमाविर्भविष्यति कदा रससिन्धुसरम् ॥ ६ ॥

यत्किङ्करीषु बहुशः खलु काकुवाणी नित्यं परस्य पुरुषस्य शिखण्डमौलेः ।

तस्याः कदा रसनिधेर्वृषभानुजायास्तत्केलिकुञ्जभवनाङ्गनमार्जनी स्याम् ॥ ७ ॥

वृन्दानि सर्वमहतामपहाय दूराद्वृन्दाटवीमनुसर प्रणयेन चेतः ।

सन्तारणाकृतसुभावमुधारसौधं राधाभिधानमिह दिव्यनिधानमस्ति ॥ ८ ॥

केनापि नागरवरेण पदे निपत्य सम्प्रार्थितेरुपरिरम्भरसोत्सवायाः ।

सभूविभङ्गमतिरङ्गनिधेः कदा ते श्रीराधिके नहि नहीति गिरः शृणोमि ॥ ९ ॥

यत्पादपद्मानखचन्द्रमणिच्छटाया बिस्फूर्जितं किमपि गोपवधूष्वदर्शि ।

पूर्णानुरागरससागरसारमूर्तिः सा राधिका मयि कदापि कृपां करोतु ॥ १० ॥

उज्जृम्भमानरसवारिनिधेस्तरङ्गैरङ्गैरिव प्रणयलोलबिलोचनायाः ।

तस्याः कदानु भविता मयि पुण्यदृष्टिवृन्दाटवीनवनिकुञ्जगृहाधिदेव्याः ॥ ११ ॥

वृन्दावनेश्वरि तवैव पदारविन्दं प्रेमामृतैकमक्रन्दरसौघपूर्णं ।

हृदार्पितं मधुपतेः स्मरतापमुग्रं निर्वाप्रयत्परमशीतलमाश्रयामि ॥ १२ ॥

राधाकरावचितपल्लववल्लरीके राधापंटाङ्गविलसन्मधुरस्थलीके ।

राधायशोमुखरमन्त्रखगावलीके राधाविहारविषिने रमतां मनो मे ॥ १३ ॥

कृष्णामृतं चल विगाढुमितीरिताहं तावत्सहस्र रजनी सखि यावदेति ।

इत्थं विहस्य वृषभानुसुते हि लप्यमानं कदा रसदकेलिकदम्बजातं ॥ १४ ॥

पादङ्गलीनिहितदृष्टिमपत्रपिण्डं दूरादुदीच्य रसिकेन्द्रमुखेन्दुविम्बं ।

वीक्षे चलत्पदगतिं चरिताभिरामां भङ्गारनूपुरवतीं वत कर्हि राधाम् ॥ १५ ॥

उज्जागरं रसिकनागरसङ्गरङ्गैः कुञ्जीदरे कृतवती नु मुदारजन्याम् ।

सुस्नामिताहि मधुनैव सुभोजिता त्वं राधे कदा स्वापिषि मत्करलालिताङ्घ्रिः ॥ १६ ॥
 वैदग्ध्यसिन्धुरनुरागरसैकसिन्धुर्वात्सल्यसिन्धुरतिसान्द्रकृपैकसिन्धुः ।
 लावण्यसिन्धुर्मृच्छविरूपसिन्धुः श्रीराधिका स्फुरतु मे हृदि केलिसिन्धुः ॥ १७ ॥
 दृष्ट्वैव चम्पकलतेव चमत्कृताङ्गी वेणुध्वनिं क्व च निशम्य च विह्वलाङ्गी ।
 सा श्यामसुन्दरगुणैरनुगीयमानैः प्रीता परिष्वजतु मां वृषभानुपुत्री ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीराधिके सुरतरङ्गिनितम्बभङ्गे कार्ध्वीकलापकलहंसकलानुलापैः ।
 मञ्जीरसिञ्चितमधुव्रतगुञ्जिताङ्घ्रिः पङ्क्तिरुहैः शिशिरयस्वरसच्छटाभिः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीराधिके सुरतरङ्गिणिदिव्यकेलिकल्लोलमालिनि लसद्ददनारविन्दे ।
 श्यामामृताम्बुनिधिसङ्गमतीव्रवेगिन्यावर्तनाभिरुचिरे मम सन्निधेहि ॥ २० ॥
 सत्प्रेमसिन्धुमकरन्दरसौधधारासारानजस्रमभितः स्रवटाश्रितेषु ।
 श्रीराधिके तव कदा चरणारविन्दगोविन्दजीवनधनं शिरसा वहामि ॥ २१ ॥
 सङ्केतकुञ्जमनु कुञ्जरमन्दगामिन्यादाय दिव्यमृदुचन्दनगन्धमाल्यम् ।
 त्वां कामकेलिरभसेन कदा चलन्तीं राधे नु यामि पदवामुपदर्शयन्ती ॥ २२ ॥
 गत्वा कलिन्दतनयाविजनावतारमुद्वर्तयन्त्यमृतमङ्गमनङ्गजीवम् ।
 श्रीराधिके तव कदा नवनागरेन्द्रं पश्यामि मग्ननयनं स्थितमुच्चनीपे ॥ २३ ॥
 सत्प्रेमराशिसरसो विकसत्सरोजं स्वानन्दसिन्धुरससिन्धुविवर्द्धनेन्दुम् ।
 तच्छ्रीमुखं कुटिलकुन्तलभृङ्गजुष्ट श्रीराधिके तव कदा नु विलोकयिष्ये ॥ २४ ॥
 लावण्यसाररससारसुखैकसारे कारुण्यसारमधुरच्छविरूपसारे ।
 वैदग्ध्यसाररतिकेलिविलाससारे राधाभिधे मम मनोऽखिलसारसारे ॥ २५ ॥
 अमुं तानन्दलोभश्चेन्नाम्ना रससुधानिधिः ।
 स्तवोऽयं कर्णकलशैर्गृहीत्वा पीयतां बुधाः ॥ १ ७ ० ॥
 इति श्रीवृन्दवनेश्वरीचरणकृपामार्चविवृतमिश्रीहितहरिवंशगोस्वामिना
 विरचिता श्रीराधारससुधानिधिः संपूर्णम् ॥ ० ॥

TRANSLATION.

1. "Hail to the home of Vrisha-bhānu's daughter, by whom once and again even Madhu-Sūdan—whose ways are scarce intelligible to the greatest sages—was made happy, as she playfully raised the border of her robe and fanned him with its delicious breeze.

2. "Hail to the majesty of Vrisha-bhānu's daughter, the holy dust of whose lotus feet, beyond the conception of Brahma, Siva and the other gods, is alto-

gether supernaturally glorious, and whose glance moistened with compassion is like a shower of the refined essence of all good things.

3. "I call to mind the dust of the feet of Rádhiká, a powder of infinite virtue, that incontinently and at once reduces to subjection the great power, that was beyond the ken even of Brahma, Rudra, Sukadeva, Nárada, Bhíṣma and the other divine personages.

4. "I call to mind the dust of the feet of Rádhiká, which the noble milkmaids placed upon their head and so attained an honour much desired by the votaries of the god with the peacock crest, dust that like the cow of heaven yields the fullness of enjoyment to all who worship with rapturous emotion.

5. "Glory to the goddess of the bower, who with an embrace the quintessence of heavenly bliss, like a bountiful wave of ambrosia, sprinkled and restored to life the son of Nanda, swooning under the stroke of Love's thousand arrows.

6. "When will there visit us that essence of the ocean of delight, the face of Rádhá, with sweet coy glances, bewildering us with the brilliancy of ever twinkling sportive play, a store-house of every element of embodied sweetness?

7. "When shall I become the handmaid to sweep the court-yard of the bower of love for the all-blissful daughter of Vrishabhánu, among whose servants oft and again every day are heard the soft tones of the peacock-crested god?

8. "O my soul, leave at a distance all the host of the great, and affectionately hie to the woods of Brindá-ban; here Rádhá's name is as a flood of nectar on the soul for the beatification of the pious, a store-house of all that is divine.

9. "When shall I hear the voice of blessed Rádhá, that fountain of delights, crying 'Nay, nay,' with knitted brows, as some gallant suitor, fallen at her feet, begs for the rapturous joy of her embrace?

10. "When, oh when will Rádhiká show me favour, that incarnation of the fullness of the ocean of perfect love, the marvellous glory of the glistening splendour of whose lotus feet was seen among the herdsmen's wives?

11. "When shall I attain to the blissful vision of the goddess of the blooming bowers of the woods of Brindá-ban, her eyes all tremulous with love, and the different members of her body like the waves of an overflowing ocean of delight?

12. "O queen of Brindá-ban, I betake me to thy lotus feet, fraught with the honeyed flood of love's ambrosia, which, planted in Madhu-pati's heart, assuaged by their grateful coolness the fierce fever of desire.

13. "Fain would my soul loiter in the woods sacred to Rádhá's loves, where the sprays of the creepers have been plucked by Rádhá's hands, where the fragrant soil blossoms with Rádhá's footprints, and where the frequent birds are madly garrulous with Rádhá's praises.

14. "When, O daughter of Vrisha-bhānu, shall I experience the conceit induced by excess of voluptuous dalliance, I your handmaid, charged with the message, 'Come and enjoy Krishna's dainties,' and answered with the smile, 'Only stay, friend, till night comes.'

15. "Ah! when shall I behold Rádhá, with downcast eyes, bashfully stealing a distant glance at the moon-like orb of the face of the lord of lovers, as she trips with twinkling feet, all graceful in her movements, to the music of her own bangles?

16. "When, O Rádhá, will you fall asleep, while my hands caress your feet, after I have tenderly bathed you and fed you with sweet things, wearied with your vigil through a night of dalliance in the inmost bower, in the delicious embrace of your paragon of lovers?

17. "O that the ocean of wit, the singular ocean of love's delights, the ocean of tenderness, the ocean of exuberant pitifulness, the ocean of loveliness, the ocean of ambrosial beauty and grace, the ocean of wantonness, blessed Rádhiká, would manifest herself in my soul!

18. "O that the daughter of Vrisha-bhānu, looking up all tremulous and glistening in every limb like the flowering *champa*, would clasp me in her arms, charmed by my chanted praises of Śyām-sundar, as she listens for the sound of his pipe!

19. "Blessed Rádhiká, cool me with the multiplicity of love, that breathes in the swan-like melody of the girdle that binds your loins reddened with dalliance, and in the tinkling of the bangles, like the buzzing of bees, clustered round your sweet lotus feet.

20. "Blessed Rádhiká, wreathed with the surge of a Ganges wave of heavenly dalliance, with lovely lotus face and navel as a whirl in the stream, hastening on to the confluence with Krishna, that ocean of sweetness, draw near to me.

21. "When, O blessed Rádhiká, shall I rest upon my head your lotus feet, Govinda's life and all, that ever run down upon the faithful abundant torrents of the honeyed flood of the ocean of perfect love?

22. "When, O Rádhá, stately as an elephant in gait, shall I accompany you to the bower of assignation to show the way, bearing divinely sweet sandal wood, and perfumes and spices, as you march in the excitement of love's rapture?

23. "When, O blessed Rádhá, having gone to some secluded slope of the Jamuná and there rubbing with fragrant unguents your ambrosial limbs, the very life of Love, when shall I see your prince of lusty swains, with longing eyes, mounted on some high *kadam* tree?

24. "When, O blessed Itādhikā, shall I behold your heavenly face, clustered—as if with bees—with wanton curls, like some lotus blossoming in a lake of purest love, or a moon swelling an ocean of enjoyment, an ocean of delight.

25. "Ah ! the name of Rādhā, perfection of loveliness, perfection of delight, sole perfection of happiness, perfection of pity, perfection of honeyed beauty and grace, perfection of wit, perfection of the rapturous joys of love, perfection of all the most perfect that my soul can conceive !

170. "O ye wise, if there be any one desirous of marvellous happiness, let him fill the pitcher of his ears and drink in this pānegyric, called the *Rasa-sudhā-nidhi*, or 'Treasury of Love's delights.'

The Hindi poem, the *Chaurāsi Pada*, is much more popular, and most of the Gosāins know at least some of its stanzas by heart. There is a commentary upon it by Lok-nāth, dated *Sambat* 1855, and another in verse, called the *Rahasya artha-nirūpana* by Rasik Lāl, written in *Sambat* 1734. Neither of the two, however, is of much assistance to the student ; all the simple passages being paraphrased with wearisome prolixity, while real difficulties are generally skipped. I subjoin the text and a translation of the first 12 stanzas.

अथ श्रीहितहरिवंशकृतवाणी लिख्यते ॥

राग विभास ॥

॥ १ ॥

जोई जोई प्यारौ करै सोई मोहि भावै
भावै मोहि जोई सोई सोई करै प्यारे ।
मोकौं तो भावती ठौर प्यारैके नैननि में
प्यारौ भयो चाहै मेरे नैननिके तारे ॥
मेरै तो तन मन प्राणहूँ तैं प्रीतम प्रिय
अपने कोटिक प्राण प्रीतम मोसौं हारे ।
जै श्रीहित हरिवंश हंसहंसिनी सांवल गौर
कहौ कौन करै जलतरंगनि न्यारे ॥

॥ २ ॥

प्यारे बोली भामिनी आजु नीकी जामिनी भेट नवी मेघमौं दामिनी ॥
मोहन रसिकराइ री माई तासौं जु मानु करै औसौ कौन कामिनी ॥
जै श्रीहितहरिवंश श्रवन सुनत प्यारी राधिका रवनसौं मिली गजगामिनी ॥

॥ ३ ॥

प्रातःसमै दोऊ रस लंपट सुरत जुद्ध जैजुत अतिफूल ।
 अमवारिज घन बिंदु वदनपर भूषण अंगहि अंग विकूल ॥
 कछु रच्यो तिलक सिथल अलकावलि वदनकमल मानों अलिभूल ।
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश मदनरंग रंगि रहे नैन वैन कटि सिथल दुकूल ॥

॥ ४ ॥

आजु तो जुवती तेरौ वटम आनंद भर्यो पियके संगमके सूचत सुषचैन ।
 आलस वलित बोल सुरंगरंगे कपोल विथकित अरुण उनीदे दोऊ नैन ॥
 रुचिर तिलक लेस किरत कुसुम केस सिर सीमंत भूषित मानों तैं न ।
 करुणा करि उटार रापत कछु न सार दमन वसन लागत जब दें ॥
 काहेकों दुरति भीर पलटे प्रीतम चीर वसकिये स्याम सिषै सत मैन ।
 गलित उरसि माल सिथल किंकिनीजाल जैश्रीहितहरिवंश लतागृह सैन ॥

॥ ५ ॥

आजु प्रभात लतामंदिर मैं सुप वरषत अति हरष जुगल वर ।
 गैरस्याम अभिराम रंगरंगभरे लटकि लटकि पग धरत अवन पर ॥
 कुच कुमकुम रंजित मालावलि सुरतनाथ श्रीस्याम धामधर ।
 प्रिया प्रेम के अंक अलंकृत चितृत चतुरसिरोमणि निजु कर ।
 टंपति अति अनुराग मुदित कल गान करत मन हरत परस्पर ॥
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश प्रसंस परायन गाइन अलि सुर देत मधुरतर ॥

॥ ६ ॥

कौन चतुर जुवती प्रिया जाहि मिलत लाल चोरहू रैन ।
 दुरवति क्याच ठुरै सुनि प्यारे रंगमै गहलै चैनमै नैन ॥
 उर नपचंड विराने पट अटपटेसे वैन ।
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश रसिक राधापति प्रमथित मैन ॥

॥ ७ ॥

राग विलावन ॥

आजु निकुंजमंजुमैं खेलत नवलकिशोर नवीन किशोरी ।
 आंत अनुपम अनुराग परस्पर सुनि अभूत भूतल पर जोरी ॥
 बिंदुम फटिक विविध निर्मित धर नवकर्पूरपराग न थोरी ।

कोमल किशलय सैन सुपेसल तापर स्याम निवेसित गोरी ।
 मिथुन हासि परिहासि परायन पीक कपोल कमल पर भोरी ।
 गौर स्याम भुज कलह मनोहर नीवी बंधन मोचत डोरी ॥
 हरिउर मुकर विलोकि अपुनपो विभ्रम विकल मानजुत भोरी ।
 चिवुक सुचारु प्रलोइ प्रबोधित पिय प्रतिविंव जनाइ निहोरी ॥
 नेति नेति वचनामृत मुनि मुनि ललितादिक देपत दुरिचोरी ।
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश करत करधूनन प्रनय कोष मालावलि तोरी ॥

॥ ८ ॥

अतिहीं अरुण तेरे नैन नलिन री ।
 अलसजुत इतरात रगमगे भए निसिजागर मषिन मलिन री ॥
 सिथल पलकमै उठत गोलकगति विधयौ मोहन मृग सकत चलि न री ।
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश हंसकलगामिन संभ्रम देत भंवरिनी अलीन री ॥

॥ ९ ॥

वनी राधा मोहनकी जोरी ।
 इंद्रनीलमणि स्याम मनोहर सातकुंभ तन गोरी ॥
 भाल बिसाल तिलक हरि कामिनि चिकुरचंद विचरोरी ।
 गज नाइक प्रभु चाल गयंदनि गति वृषभानु किसोरी ॥
 नील निचाल जुवति मोहन पटपेती अरुण सिर पोरी ।
 जै श्रीहितहरिवंश रासक राधापति सु रत रग में वोरी ॥

॥ १० ॥

आजु नागरीकिशोर भांवती विचित्र जोर
 कहा कहाँ अंग अंग परममाधुरी ।
 करत केलि कंठ मेलि बाहुदंड गंड गंड
 परस सरस रासलास मंडली जुरी ॥
 स्यामसुंदरी विहार बांसुरी मृदंग तार
 मधुर घोष नूपुरादि किंकिनी चुरी ।
 जै श्री देषति हरिवंश आलि निर्वनी सुगंध चालि
 वारि फेरिदेति प्राण देह सौ दूरी ॥

॥ ११ ॥

मंजुल कल कुंजदेस राधाहरि विशदवेश
 राकानभ कुमटबंधु शरद जामिनी ।
 स्यामलदुति कनकअंग विहरत मिलि एकसंग
 नीरद मनी नील मध्य लसत दामिनी ॥
 अरुन पीत नव दुकूल अनुरागमूल
 सौरभजुत सीत अनिल मंदगामिनी ।
 किशलयदलरचित सैन बोलत प्रिय चाटु वैन
 मान सहित प्रतिपद प्रतिकूल कामिनी ॥
 मोहनमन मथत मार परसत कुच नीवी हार
 वेपथजुत नेति नेति बढत भामिनी ।
 नरवाहन प्रभुमुकेल बहु विधि भर भरत भेलि
 सौरतरसरूपनदी जगतपावनी ॥

॥ १२ ॥

चलहि राधिके सुजान तेरे हित सुषनिधान
 रासु रच्यो स्याम तट कलंदनंदिनी ।
 निर्वत जुगवतीसमूह रागरंग अतिकतूह
 वाजत रसमूल मुरलिका अनंदिनी ॥
 बंसीवट निकट जंहां परमरमणभूमि तंहां
 सकलसुषद मलय बहै वायु मंदिनी ।
 जाति ईषदविकास कानन अतिसय सुवास
 राकानिस सरदमास विमल चांदिनी ॥
 नरवाहन प्रभु निहार लोचन भरि घोषनारि
 नषसिष सौंदर्य काम दुषनिकंदनी ।
 विलसहु भुज ग्रीव मेल भामिनि सुषसिंधु भेलि
 नव निकुंज स्याम केलि जगतषंदनी ॥

TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST TWELVE STANZAS OF THE CHAURÁSI PÁDA.

I. "Whatever my Beloved doeth is pleasing to me; and whatever is pleasing to me, that my Beloved doeth. The place where I would be is in my Beloved's eyes; and my Beloved would fain be the apple of my eyes. My Love is dearer to me than body, soul, or life; and my Love would lose a thousand lives

for me. Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans ! the loving pair, one dark, one fair, are like two cygnets ; tell me who can separate wave from water ?*

II. “O my Beloved, has the fair spoken ? this is surely a beautiful night ; the lightning is folded in the lusty cloud’s embrace. O friend, where is the woman who could quarrel with so exquisite a prince of gallants ? Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans ! dear Rādhikā hoarkened with her ears and with voluptuous emotion joined in love’s delights.†

III. “At day-break the wanton pair, crowned with victory in love’s conflict, were all exuberant. On her face are frequent beads of labour’s dew, and all the adornments of her person are in disarray, the paint-spot on her brow is all but effaced by heat, and the straggling curls upon her lotus face resemble roaming bees. (Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans !) her eyes are red with love’s colours and her voice and loins feeble and relaxed.

IV. “Your face, fair dame, to-day is full of joy, betokening your happiness and delight in the intercourse with your Beloved. Your voice is languid and tremulous, your cheeks aflame, and both your weary eyes are red with sleeplessness ; your pretty *tilak* half effaced, the flowers on your head faded, and the parting of your hair as if you had never made it at all. The Bountiful one of his grace refused you no boon, as you coyly took the hem of your robe between your teeth. Why shrink away so demurely ? you have changed clothes with your Beloved, and the dark-hued swain has subdued you as completely as though he had been tutored by a hundred Loves. The garland on his breast is faded, the clasp of his waist-belt loose (Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans !) as he comes from his couch in the bower.

V. “To-day at dawn there was a shower of rapture in the bower, where the happy pair were delighting themselves, one dark, one fair, bright with all gay colours, as she tripped with dainty foot upon the floor. Great Śyām, the glorious lord of love, had his flower wreath stained with the saffron dye of her breasts, and was embellished with the scratches of his darling’s nails ; she too was marked by the hands of her jewel of lovers. The happy pair in an ecstasy of affection make sweet song, stealing each other’s heart (Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans !) the bard is fain to praise, but the drone of a bee is as good as his ineffectual rhyme.

* That is to say : it is nothing strange that Rādhā and Krishna should take such mutual delight in one another, since they are in fact one and are as inseparable as a wave and the water of which the wave is composed.

† The first line is a question put to Krishna by one of Rādhā’s maids, asking him if her mistress had promised him an interview. The second line is a remark which she turns and makes to one of her own companions.

VI. "Who so clever, pretty damsel, whom her lover comes to meet, stealing through the night? Why shrink so coyly at my words? Your eyes are suffused and red with love's excitement, your bosom is marked with his nails, you are dressed in his clothes, and your voice is tremulous. (Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans!) Rādhā's amorous lord has been mad with love.

VII. "To day the lusty swain and blooming dame are sporting in their pleasant bower. O list! great and incomparable is the mutual affection of the happy pair, on the heavenly* plain of Brindā-ban. The ground gleams bright with coral and crystal and there is a strong odour of camphor. A dainty couch of soft leaves is spread, on which the dark groom and his fair bride recline, intent upon the joys and delights of dalliance, their lotus cheeks stained with red streaks of betal juice. There is a charming struggle between dark hands and fair to loose the string that binds her skirt. Beholding herself as in a mirror in the necklace on Hari's breast, the silly girl is troubled by delusion and begins to fret, till her lover wagging his pretty chin shows her that she has been looking only at her own shadow. Listening to her honeyed voice, as again and again she cries 'Nay, nay,' Lalitā and the others take a furtive peep (Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans!) till tossing her hands in affected passion she snaps his jewelled necklet.

VIII. "Ah, red indeed are your lotus eyes, lazily languishing and inflamed by night-long watch, and their collyrium all faded. From your drooping eyelids shoots a glance like a bolt, that strikes your swain as it were a deer and he cannot stir. (Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans!) O damsel, voluptuous in motion as the swan, your eyes deceive even the wasps and bees.

IX. "Rādhā and Mohan are such a dainty pair, he dark and beautiful as the sapphire, she with body of golden lustre : Hari with a *tilak* on his broad forehead and the Fair with a *colli* streak amidst the tresses of her hair : the lord like a stately elephant in gait and the daughter of Vrishabhānu like an elephant queen : the damsel in a blue vesture and Mohan in yellow with a red *khaur* on his forehead (Rejoice, Śrī Hit Hari Vans!) Rādhā's amorous lord is dyed deep with love's colours.

X. "To-day the damsel and her swain take delight in novel ways. What can I say? they are altogether exquisite in every limb ; sporting together with arms about each other's neck and cheek to cheek, by such delicious contact making a circle of wanton delight. As they dance, the dark swain and the fair damsel, pipe and drum and cymbal blend in sweet concert with the tinkling of the bangles on her wrists and ankles and the

* *Abhūt*, not created, self-produced, divine.

girdle round her waist. Śrī Hit Hari Vans, rejoicing at the sight of the damsels' dancing and their measured paces, tears his soul from his body and lays them both at their feet.

XI. "The pavilion is a bright and charming spot ; Rādhā and Hari are in glistening attire and the full-orbed autumnal moon is resplendent in the heaven. The dark-hued swain and nymph of golden sheen, as they toy together, show like the lightning's flash and sombre cloud. In saffron vesture he and she in scarlet ; their affection deep beyond compare ; and the air, cool, soft and laden with perfumes. Their couch is made of leaves and blossoms and he woos her in dulcet tones, while coyly the fair one repulses his every advance. Love, tortures Mohan's soul, as he touches her bosom, or waist-band, or wreath, and timorously she cries 'off, off.' Pleasant is the sporting of the glorious lord, close-locked in oft-repeated embrace, and like an earth-reviving river is the flood of his passion.

XII. "Come Rādhā, you knowing one, your paragon of lovers has started a dance on the bank of the Jamunā's stream. Beves of damsels are dancing in all the abandonment of delight ; the joyous pipe gives forth a stirring sound. Near the Bansi-bat, a sweetly pretty spot, where the spicy air breathes with delicious softness, where the half-opened jasmine fills the world with overpowering fragrance, beneath the clear radiance of the autumnal full moon, the milkmaids with raptured eyes are gazing on your glorious lord, all beautiful from head to foot, quick to remove love's every pain. Put your arms about his neck, fair dame, pride of the world, and lapped in the bosom of the Ocean of delight, disport yourself with Śyām in his blooming bower."

If ever the language of the brothel was borrowed for temple use, it has been so here. But, strange to say, the Gosāins, who accept as their Gospel these nauseous ravings of a morbid imagination, are for the most part highly respectable married men, who contrast rather favourably, both in sobriety of life and intellectual acquirements, with the professors of rival sects that are based on more reputable authorities. Several of them have a good knowledge of literary Hindi ; but their proficiency in Sānskrit is not very high : the best informed among them being unable to resolve into its constituent elements and explain the not very recondite compound *sudurūha*, which will be found in the second stanza of the Rādhā-sudhā.

To indicate the fervour of his passionate love for his divine mistress, Hari Vans assumed the title of Hit Ji and is popularly better known by this name than by the one which he received from his parents. His most

famous disciple was Vyās Ji of Orchha, of whom various legends are reported. On his first visit to the Swāmi he found him busy cooking, but at once propounded some knotty theological problem. The sage without any hesitation solved the difficulty, but first threw away the whole of the food he had prepared, with the remark that no man could attend properly to two things at once. Vyās was so struck by this procedure that he then and there enrolled himself as his disciple, and in a short space of time conceived such an affection for Brindā-ban that he was most reluctant to leave it, even to return to his wife and children. At last, however, he forced himself to go, but had not been with them long before he determined that they should themselves disown him, and accordingly he one day in their presence took and ate some food from a Bhangi's hand. After this act of social excommunication he was allowed to return to Brindā-ban, where he spent the remainder of his life and where his *samādhi*, or tomb, is still to be seen.

Another disciple, Dhruva Dās, was a voluminous writer and composed as many as 42 poems, of which the following is a list : 1, Jīv-dasā ; 2, Baid-gyān ; 3, Man-siksha ; 4, Brindāban-sat ; 5, Bhakt-nāmāvali ; 6, Brihad-bāman Purān ; 7, Khyāl Hulās ; 8, Siddhānt Bihār ; 9, Prīti-chovani ; 10, Anandashtak ; 11, Bhajanāshtak ; 12, Bhajan-kundaliya ; 13, Bhajan-sat ; 14, Sringār-sat ; 15, Man-sringār ; 16, Hīt-sringār ; 17, Sabha-mandal ; 18, Ras-muktāvali ; 19, Ras-hirāvali ; 20, Ras-ratnāvali ; 21, Premāvali ; 22, Sri Priya Jī kī nāmāvali ; 23, Rahasya-manjari ; 24, Sukhmanjari ; 25, Rati-manjari ; 26, Neh-manjari ; 27, Ban-bihār ; 28, Ras-bihār ; 29, Rang-hulās ; 30, Rang-bihār ; 31, Rang-binod ; 32, Ānand-dasa ; 33, Rahasya latā ; 34, Ānand-latā ; 35, Anurāg-latā ; 36, Prem-latā ; 37, Ras-anand ; 38, Jugāl-dhyān ; 39, Nirtya-bilās ; 40, Dān-līla ; 41, Mān-līla ; 42, Braj-līla.

Other poems by different members of the same sect are the Sevak-bāni, the Ballabh-rasik kī bāni and the Guru-pratāp, by Dāmodar Dās ; the Hari-nām-mahinā by Dāmodar Swāmi ; the Sri Rūp Lāl Ji ka ashtaka, by Hīt Ballabh ; and the Hari-nām-beli, the Sri Lāl Ji badhai and the Sri Lāvili Jū kī badhai by Brindā-ban Dās.

The only one of the three more important modern schools which yet remains to be mentioned is that founded by Swāmi Hari Dās. The Gosāins, his descendants, who now, with their wives and children, number some 500 persons, own one of the most conspicuous of the modern temples which is dedicated to Krishna under his title of Bihāri Jī, or in more popular phrase Bānke Bihārī. This is not only their head-quarters, but appears to be the only temple in all India of which they have exclusive possession. It has lately been rebuilt at a cost of Rs. 70,000 ; a sum which has been raised in the course of 13 years by the

contributions of their clients from far and near. It is a large square red sand-stone block of plain, but exceedingly substantial, character, with a very effective central gateway of white stone. This has yet to be completed by the addition of an upper story ; but even as it stands, the delicacy of its surface carving, and the extremely bold projection of its eaves, render it a pleasing specimen of the style of architecture now in vogue at Brindā-ban—one of the few places in the civilized world where architecture is not a laboriously studied reproduction of a dead past, but a still living art, which is constantly developing by a process of spontaneous growth. The estate is divided into two shares or *bats*, according to the descent of the Gosāins. Their founder was himself a celibate ; but his brother Jagannāth had three sons, Megh Syām, Murāri Dās, and Gopināth Dās, of whom the third died childless, the other two being the ancestors of the present generation. As is usual in such cases, the two families are at war with one another, and have more than once been obliged to invoke the assistance of the law to prevent a serious breach of the peace. Beyond the saintliness of their ancestor, but few of them have any claim to respect, either on account of their learning—for the majority of them cannot even read—or for the correctness of their morals. There are, however, two exceptions to the general rule—one for each *bat*—in the person of the Gosāins Jagadīs and Kishor Chand ; both of whom are fairly well read, within the narrow limits of their own sectarian literature, beyond which they have never dreamed of venturing.

In the original Bhakt-mālā of Nābhā Jī, the stanza referring to Hari Dās stands as follows :

मूल ।

आशधीर उद्योत कर रसिक कृप हरिदास की ॥
 जुगलनामसें नैम जपत नित कुंजबिहारी ॥
 अविलोकत रहैं केलि सखी सुखको अधिकारी ॥
 गानकला गंधर्व श्यामश्यामाकां तोषे ॥
 उत्तम भोग लगाय मोर मरकट तिमि पोषे ॥
 नृपति द्वार ठाढे रहैं दरशन आशा जास की ॥
 आशधीर उद्योत कर रसिक कृप हरिदास की ॥

which may be thus translated :

“Tell we now of Hari Dās, the pride of Āsadhīr, who sealed the list of the saints ; who, bound by a vow to the perpetual repetition of the two names of Kunj-bihārī, was ever beholding the sportive actions of the god, the lord of the Gopīs’ delights ; who was a very Gandharv in melodious song and propitiated Syām and Syāmā, presenting them with the daintiest food in daily sacrifice and feeding the peacocks and monkeys and fish ; at whose door a king stood waiting

in hope of an interview ; Hari Dás, the pride of Ās-dhír, who sealed the list of the saints."

This is followed by the Gloss, or Supplement of Priya Dás :

टीका ।

श्री स्वामी हरिदास रसराशि को बषांन सकै
 रसिकताकी छाप जोई जाप मधि पाई है ॥
 ल्यायै कोऊ चोवा वाकौ अति मन भोवा वामै
 डार्यौ लै पुलनि यह घोवा हिय आदयै ॥
 जानिकै मुजान कही लै दिपावौ लालप्यारे
 नैशिकु उचारे पट सुगंध बुडादयै ॥
 पारशपषांन करि जल उखाड दियै
 कियौ तब शिष्य अैसे नाना विधि गादयै ॥

which may be thus rendered :

"Who can tell all the perfections of Śrī Swāmī Hari Dás, who by ever muttering in prayer the sacred name, came to be the very seal of devotion. Some one brought him perfume that he valued very highly ; he took and threw it down on the bank ; the other thought it wasted. Said the sage knowing his thoughts : 'Take and show him the god' : he slightly raised the curtain ; all was drenched with perfume. The philosopher's stone he cast into the water, then gave instruction : many are the legends of the kind."

Probably few will deny that at least in this particular passage the disciple is more obscure than his master ; and the obscurity, which is a sufficiently prominent feature in the English translation, is far greater in the Hindi text, where no indication is given of a change of person and a single form answers indifferently for every tense of a verb and every case of a noun. The Bhakt-Sindhu expands the two stanzas into a poem of 211 couplets and supplies a key to all the allusions in the following detailed narrative :

Brahm-dhír, a Sanāth Brāhman of a village now called Haridāspur, near Kol, had a son, Gyāndhír, who entertained a special devotion for Krishna under his form of Giridhārī — 'the mountain-supporter' — and thus made frequent pilgrimages to the holy hill of Gobardhan. On one such occasion he took to himself a wife at Mathurā, and she in due time bore him a son, whom he named Ās-dhír. The latter eventually married a daughter of Gangā-dhar, a Brāhman of Rājpur — a small village adjoining Brindā-ban — who on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādon in the *Sambat* year 1441 gave birth to Hari Dás. From his earliest childhood he gave indications of his future sanctity, and instead of

joining in play with other children was always engaged in prayer and religious meditation. In spite of his parents' entreaties he made a vow of celibacy, and at the age of 25 retired to a solitary hermitage by the Mán Sarovar, a natural lake on the left bank of the Jamuná, opposite Brindá-ban. He afterwards removed to the Nidh-ban in that town, and there formally received his first disciple, Bithal-Bípul, who was his own maternal uncle. His fame soon spread far and wide, and among his many visitors was one day a Khattri from Delhi, by name Dayál Dás, who had by accident discovered the philosopher's stone, which transmuted into gold everything with which it was brought in contact. This he presented as a great treasure to the Swámí, who however tossed it away into the Jamuná; but then seeing the giver's vexation, he took him to the margin of the stream and bade him take up a handful of sand out of the water. When he had done so, each single grain seemed to be a facsimile of the stone that had been thrown away and when tested was found to possess precisely the same virtue. Thus the Khattri was made to understand that the saints stand in no need of earthly riches, but are complete in themselves; and he forthwith joined the number of Hari Dás's disciples.

Some thieves, however, hearing that the sage had been presented with the philosopher's stone, one day when he was bathing, took the opportunity of stealing his *śilagrām*, which they thought might be it. On discovering it to be useless for their purpose, they threw it away under a bush, and as the saint in his search for it happened to pass by the spot, the stone itself found voice to tell him where it lay. From that time forth he received every morning by miraculous agency a gold *mukh*, out of which he was to provide the temple-offerings (*bhog*) and to spend whatever remained over in the purchase of grain wherewith to feed the fish in the Jamuná and the peacocks and monkeys on its banks.

One day a Káyath made him an offering of a bottle of *atar* worth Rs. 1,000, and was greatly mortified to see the Swámí drop it carelessly on the ground, so that the bottle was broken and the precious essence all wasted. But on being taken to the temple he found that his gift had been accepted by the god, for the whole building was fragrant with its perfume.

Again, a minstrel at the court of the Delhi Emperor had an incorrigibly stupid son, who was thereupon expelled in disgrace. In his wanderings he happened to come to Brindá-ban, and there threw himself down on the road to sleep. In the early morning the Swámí, going from the Nidh-ban to bathe, stumbled over him, and after hearing his story gave him the name of Tán-sen, and by the mere exercise of his will converted him at once into a most accomplished musician. On his return to Delhi, the Emperor was astonished at the brilliancy of his performance, and determined himself to pay a visit to Brindá-ban

and see the master under whom he had studied. Accordingly, when he was next at Agra, he came over to Mathurá, and rode out as far as Bhat-rond—half-way—whence he proceeded on foot to the Nidh-ban. The saint received his old pupil very graciously, but took no notice of his royal companion, though he knew perfectly well who he was. At last, as the Emperor continued begging that he might be of some service, he took him to the Bihári ghát close by, which for the nonce appeared as if each one of its steps was a single precious stone set in a border of gold; and there showing him one step with a slight flaw in it, asked him to replace it by another. This was a work beyond the capacity even of the great Emperor; who thereupon contented himself with making a small endowment for the support of the sacred monkeys and peacocks and then went his way after receiving a most wearisome amount of good advice.

No further incident is recorded in the life of Hari Dás, the date of whose death is given as *Sambat* 1537. He was succeeded as Mahant by his uncle Bithal-Bipul; and he by Bihári Dás. The latter was so absorbed in enthusiasm that a Sárvasvat Bráhmaṇ, of Panjábí extraction, by name Jagannáth, was brought over from Kol to administer the affairs of the temple; and after his death the succession was continued through several other names, which it seems unnecessary to transcribe.

Thus far the narrative of the *Bhakt-Sindhu*; which, it will be seen, affords an explanation of the obscure allusions in the *Bhakt-Málá* to the two presentations of the *atar* and the philosopher's stone, the daily feeding of the monkeys and peacocks and the Emperor's visit. In other matters, however, it is not at all in accord with the traditions accepted by the Swámí's descendants; for they say that he was not a Sanádh by caste, but a Sárvasvat; that his family came not from Kol or Jalesar, but from Uchch near Multán, and that he lived not four centuries ago, but at the most only three. It would seem that the author of the *Bhakt-Sindhu* was the partisan of a schism in the community, which occurred about 50 years or so ago, and that he has moulded his facts accordingly; for the Jagannáth whom he brings over from Kol is not named in a genuine list of the Mahants, which will be given hereafter. That he is utterly at fault in his dates, *Sambat* 1441—1537, is obvious at a glance; for the Emperor who visited Brindá-ban was certainly Akbar, and he did not ascend the throne till *Sambat* 1612. It is true that Professor Wilson, in his *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, where he mentions Hari Dás, describes him as a disciple and faithful companion of Chaitanya, who was born in 1485 and died in 1527 A. D. But although Hari Dás had imbibed the spirit of Chaitanya's teaching, I know of no ground for maintaining that there was any personal intercourse between the two; had it been so, the fact would scarcely have escaped record in the *Bhakt-Málá* or some one of its modern paraphrases. Moreover, I have by me a small

pothi of 680 *patras*, which gives a complete list of all the Mahants and their writings from the founder down to the date of the MS., which is *Sambat* 1825. The list is as follows : Swámí Hari Dás, Bithal Bipul, Biháriní Dás, Nágari Dás, Saras Dás, Naval Dás, Narhar Dás, Rasik Dás, and Lalit-Kishori, otherwise called Lalit-mohani Dás. Allowing 20 years for each incumbency, which is rather a high average, since only an elderly man would be elected for the post, the date of Hari Dás's death is thrown back only as far as *Sambat* 1665. His writings, moreover, are not more archaic in style than the poems of Tulsi Dás, who died in *Sambat* 1680 ; and therefore on all grounds we may fairly conclude as an established fact that he flourished at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century A. D., in the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jahángir.

Each of the Mahants named in the above list is described as being the disciple of his immediate predecessor, and each composed some devotional poems, which are known as *sákhis*, *chanbolas*, or *padas*. The most voluminous writer is Biháriní Dás, whose *padas* occupy 684 pages. In many of them he expresses the intensity of his mystical devotion in terms of exaggerated warmth, which are more suggestive of an earthly than a divine passion. But the short extract that follows is of a different character, and is of special interest as confirming the conclusion already stated as to the date of Hari Dás ; since it mentions by name both the Emperor Akbar and also the death of his famous friend Birbar, which occurred in 1590 A. D.

॥ राग गोरी ॥

कहा गर्व रे मृतक नर ॥

स्वांन स्यार को खांन पान तन अँठि चलत रे निलज निडर ॥

यहै अवधि बहु विदित जग वांभन वडे भये वीरवर ॥

मरत दूष्यौ ह्यौ न जियौ कियो न सहाइ साहि अकवर ॥

* स्वासन निकसत सुर असुर राषे रौंघि काल करतर ॥

इतहि न उतहि बीचही भूल्यौ है फिरत कानके घर ॥

सुखद सरन हरिचरनकमल भजि वादि फिरत भटकन घरघर ॥

श्रीविहारीदास हरिदास विपुलवल लटकि लग्यो संग सर्वोपर ॥

TRANSLATION.

"Why boastest thou thyself, O mortal man? thy body shall be the prey of dogs and jackals, though without shame or fear thou now goest delicately. This is known throughout the world to be the end of all : a great man was the Bráhma-man Birbar, yet he died, and at his death the Emperor Akbar was sad of heart, nor himself longer lived nor aught availed. When gods or demons breathe out

(One MS. for *svāsan nikasat* reads *trās nikasi na sakat*.)

- their life, Death holds them in his maw, suspended,* neither here nor there, but in an intermediate state. All astray and swelling with pride, on whom is thy trust? Adore Hari's blessed lotus feet; to roam and wander about from house to house is all vanity. By the strong aid of Hari Dás, Biháriní Dás has found and laid hold of the Almighty."

The founder of the sect has himself left only two short poems, filling 41 *patras*, entitled *Sádhāran Siddhānt* and *Ras ke pada*. The former is here given both in the original text and in a translation. Most of the habitués of the temple know the greater part of it by heart, though I have ascertained that very few of them have more than the vaguest general idea of the meaning. Even the best-informed of the Pujáris—Kishorí Chand—who went over it carefully with me, supplied an interpretation of some passages which after consultation with other Pandits I could see was quite untenable and was obliged to reject. The connection of ideas and the grammatical construction are often so involved, that it is highly probable my version may still be not altogether free of errors, though I have done my best to eliminate them. The doctrine inculcated does not appear to differ in any essential point from the ordinary teaching of the other Vaishnava sects: the great duties of man, by the practice of which he may have an assured hope of attaining to ultimate salvation, being defined as submission to the divine will, detachment from the world, and an unquestioning faith in the mystery of the incarnation.

॥ ० ॥ अथ श्रीस्वामीहरिदासजीकृत साधारणसिद्धान्त लिख्यते ॥ ० ॥

॥ रागविभास ॥

ज्यौं दी वींही तुम राखतही त्योंही त्योंही रहियतहै हो हरि ॥

और तौ अवरचे पाय धरौं सुतै कहौ कौन के पेंड भरि ॥

जद्यप हौं अपनी भायौ कियौ चाहौ कैसे करि सकौं जो तुम राखौं पकरि ॥

श्रीहरिदासके स्वामी श्यामाकुंजविहारी

पिन्नारके जनावर लौं तरफराय रहै उडिबेकौं कितोक करि ॥ १ ॥

काहूको वस नाहि तुम्हारी रूपतैं सब हे य श्रीविहारीविहारनि ॥

और मिथ्या प्रपंच कहैकौं भाषिये सो तौ है हारनि ॥

जाहि तुमसौं हिन तसौं तुम हिन करौ सबगुणकारनि ॥

श्रीहरिदासके स्वामी श्यामाकुंजविहारी प्रान्तिके आधारनि ॥ २ ॥

कचहूँ बबहूँ मन इत उत जातैं यातैं अब कौन है अधक सुष ॥

बहुत राति नयत जानि राखौं नाहि तौ पाव तौ दुष ॥

काटिकामलावन्य विहारी तातैं मुहांबुहौं सब सुष लियें रहत रूप ॥

* *Ronthna* has the same meaning as the more common term *jugali karned*, 'to ruminate,' like a cow.

श्रीहरिदासके स्वांमी श्यामांकुजविहारी दिन देखत रहौ बिचित्र मुष ॥ ३ ॥
हरि भजि हरि भज क्वाडि न मान नरतनको ॥
जिन वंझैरे जिन वंझैरे तिलतिल धनकौं ॥
अनमार्गे आगे आवैगौ ज्यों पल लागै पलकौं ॥
कहि हरिदास मीच ज्यों आवै त्यों धन है आपुनको ॥ ४ ॥

॥ राग बिलावल ॥

ए हरि मोसौ न विगारनकौं तोसौं न संहारनकौं मोहि तोहि परो होड ॥
कौनधौं जीतै कौनधौं हारै परिवदी न कोड ॥
तुम्हारी मायावाजी पसारी बिचित्र मोहे मुनि काके भूले कोड ॥
कहि हरिदास हम जीते हारे तुम तहु न तोड ॥ ५ ॥
बंदे अपत्यार भला ॥
रित न डुलाव आव समाधि भीतर न हेअगला ॥
न फिर दरदर पदरदर न हेहु अधला ॥ ६ ॥
कहि हरिदास करता किया सो हुआ सुमेर अवल चला ॥ ६ ॥ कै
हित तो कीजै कमलनैनसों जा हितके आगे और हित लागै फी ॥
कै हित कीजै सधुसंगतसों ज्यों कलिमषि जाय जीको ॥
हरिको हित असौ जैसौ रंग मजीठ ॥
संसारहित असौ जैसौ रंगकसूम दिनदुतीको ॥
कहि हरिदास हित कीजै विहारोसों और निषाहू जीको ॥ ७ ॥
तिनका वयारके वस ॥
ज्यों भावै त्यों उडाय लेजाय आपनै रस ॥
ब्रह्मलोक शिखलोक और लोक अस ॥
कहे श्रीहरिदास विचार देखै जिन विहारी नाहि जस ॥ ८ ॥
संसार समुद्र मनुष्य मीन नक्र मगर और जिव बहुषंदसि ॥
मन वयार प्रेरे सनेहफंद फंदसि ॥
लोभ पिजरा लोभी मरजिया पदारथचारि षंदसि ॥
कहि हरिदास तेई जं व पारभये जे गहि रहे चरन आनंदनंदसि ॥ ९ ॥
हरिके नामको आलस कित करतहै रे काल फिरत सर सांधे ॥
बेर कुबेर ककू निह जानत चढ्यौ फिरतहै कांधे ॥
हीरा बद्धत जवाहरसंचे कहु भयो हस्ती दरवांधे ॥
कहि श्रीहरिदास महलमें वनिता बनठाढीभई ॥
तब ककू न चलत जब आवत अंतकी आंधे ॥ १० ॥

देखो इनि लोगनिकी लावनि ॥

धूम्रत नहि हरिचरनकमलकों मिथ्या जन्म गवावनि ॥

जब जमदूत आय घेरतहै करत आप मनभावनि ॥

कहै श्रीहरिदास तबही चरजीवै कुंजबिहारी चितावनि ॥ ११ ॥

मन लगाय प्रीति कीजै कर करवा सो ब्रजवीथिन दीजे सोहनी ॥

बुंदावनसो वनउपवनसो गुंजमाल हाथ पोहनी ॥

गो गोसुतनसों मृगी मृगसुतनसों और तन नैक न जोहनी ॥

श्रीहरिदासके स्वांमी श्यामां कुंजबिहारी सो चित ज्यौ सिरपर दोहनी ॥ १२ ॥

॥ राग कल्यान ॥

हरिको असौई सब पेल ॥

मृगतृष्णा जग व्यापि रह्यौ है कहुं विजौरौ न बेलि ॥

धनमद जोषनमद राजमद ज्यों पंक्तिन में डेल ॥

कहै श्रीहरिदास यहै जिय जानौ तारथकैसौ मेल ॥ १३ ॥

माई धनि वे मृगी जे कमलनेनकों पूजित अपनै अपनै भरतारन सहित ॥

धनि वे गाइवद्ध वेई जे वंशरस पीवत अवन दोना ज्यों जाइ न बहत ॥

पंक्तिन होहि मुनिजन जेते केते सेवहि दिन कामक्रोधलोभरहित ॥

मुनि श्रीहरिदास हमारे पतिते कठिन न जान दें ह्ये राषत गहत ॥ १४ ॥

॥ राग वरारी ॥

लाल मेरे दूधकी दोहनी ॥

मारग जात गाहिरह्यो री अंचरा मेरो, नाहिन देतहों बिना वोहना ॥

नागरि गूजरि ठगिलीने मेरा लाल गोरोचनको तिलक माथे मोहना ॥

श्रीहरिदासके स्वांमी इहां असौई न्याव है या नगरी जिन वसो रा सोहनी ॥ १५ ॥

॥ राग कान्हरो ॥

भूठी बात सांची करि दिषावतहै हरि नागर ॥

निमि दिन वुनत उधेरतहै जाय प्रपंचको सागर ॥

ठाठ वनाय धर्यौ मिहरीको है पुरुषते आगर ॥

मुनि हरिदास यहै जिय जानौ सुपनैकोसौ जागर ॥ १६ ॥

जगतप्रीति करि देखी नाहिन गटोकै कोऊ ॥

कृत्रपति रंकलौ देखै प्रकृतिविरोध न वन्यो कोऊ ॥

दिन जु गये बहुत जन्मनके असौ जावौ जिन कोऊ ॥

मुनि हरिदास मीत भलौ पावौ बिहारी असै पावौ सब कोऊ ॥ १७ ॥

लोग तौ भूल्यौ भलै भूल्यौ तुम मति भूलौ मालाधारी ॥
 आपनै पति द्वाँडि औरनिसैं रति ल्यौ दारनिमैं दारी ॥
 स्याम कहत जे जीव मोतैं विमुष जोकैं न जिन दूसरी करडारी ॥
 कहि हरिदास जज्ञ देवता पितरनकैं शरधा भारी ॥ १८ ॥
 जौलौ जीवै तौलौहरि भजि रे मन और वात सब वादि ॥
 द्यौस चारके हलाभला मैतू कहा लेगै लादि ॥
 धनमद जोवनमद राजमद भूल्यौ नगर विवादि ॥
 कहि श्रीहरिदास लेभ चरपटभयौ काहेकी लगै फिरादि ॥ १९ ॥
 प्रेमसमूद्ररूपरस गह्वरे कैसे लागै घाट ॥
 वेकारप्यौदै जानि कहावत जानिपन्यौ की कहा परी वाट ॥
 काहूँकौ सरसूधौ न परै मारत गाल गलीगली हाट ॥
 कहि श्रीहरिदास जानि ठाकुर विहारी तक्रत न ओटपाट ॥ २० ॥
 इति श्रीस्वामीहरिदासजीकृत साधारणसिद्धांतकेषट्संपूर्ण ॥

TRANSLATION OF THE SIDDHĀNTA OF SWĀMY HARI DĀS.

Rāg Bihāris.

1. "O Hari, as thou disposest, so all things abide. If I would shape my course in any different fashion, tell me whose tracks could I follow. If I would do my own will, how can I do it, if thou holdest me back? (The lords of Śrī Hari Dās are Syāmā and Kuñj-bihāri). Put a bird in a cage, and for all its fluttering it cannot get away.

2. "O Bihāri, Bihārini, none else has any power; all depends on your grace. Why babble of vain systems? they are all pernicious. To him who loves you, you show love, bestowers of happiness (the lords of Śrī Hari Dās are Syāmā and Kuñj-bihāri), the supporters of all living creatures.

3. "At times the soul takes a flight hither or thither; but it finds no greater joy. Discipline it in every way and keep it under, or you will suffer. Beautiful as a myriad Loves is Bihāri; and Pleasure and all delights dwell in his presence (the lords of Śrī Hari Dās are Syāmā and Kuñj-bihāri) be ever contemplating his manifold aspects.

4. "Worship Hari, worship Hari, nor desert him out of regard for thy mortal body. Covet not, covet not the least particle of wealth. It will come to you unsought, as naturally as one eyelid droops upon the other. Says Śrī Hari Dās, as comes death, so comes wealth, of itself: or like death, so is wealth—an evil.

Rdg Bilāvali

5. "O Hari, there is no such destroyer as I am, and no such restorer as thou art : * betwixt me and thee there is a contest. Which wins or loses, there is no breaking of the condition. Thy game of illusion is wide-spread in diverse ways ; saints are bewildered by it and myriads are led astray. Says Hari Dās, I win, thou locest, but there is no change in thy love.

6. "O ye faithful, this is a good election : waver not in mind ; enter into yourselves in contemplation and be not stragglers. Wander not from house to house, nor be in doubt as to your own father's door. Says Srī Hari Dās, what is God's doing, is fixed as Mount Sumeru has become.

7. "Set your affection on the lotus-eyed, in comparison with whose love all love is worthless ; or on the conversation of the saints : that so the sin of your soul may be effaced. The love of Hari is like the durable dye of the madder ; but the love of the world is like a stain of saffron that lasts only for two days. Says Hari Dās, set your affection on Bilāri, and he knowing your heart will remain with you for ever.

8. "A straw is at the mercy of the wind, that blows it about as it will and carries it whither it pleases. So is the realm of Brahma, or of Siva, or this present world. Says Srī Hari Dās : this is my conclusion, I have seen none such as Bilāri.

9. "Man is like a fish in the ocean of the world, and other living creatures of various species are as the crocodiles and alligators, while the soul like the wind spreads the entangling net of desire. Again, avarice is as a cage, and the avaricious as divers, and the four objects of life as four compartments of the cage. Says Hari Dās, those creatures only can escape who ever embrace the feet of the son of bliss.

10. "Fool, why are you slothful in Hari's praises ? Death goeth about with his arrows ready. He heedeth not whether it be in season or out of season, but has ever his bow on his shoulder. What avail heaps of pearls and other jewels and elephants tied up at your gate ? Says Srī Hari Dās, though your queen in rich attire await you in her chamber, all goes for nothing when the darkness of your last day draweth nigh.

11. "See the cleverness of these people : having no regard for Hari's lotus feet, their life is spent to no purpose ; when the angel of death comes and

* For a similar expression of the same sentiment compare the following lines of Śrī Dās : *Mere pāpūn so, Hari, hari hau—Main garua, tūn men bal thora, nābhak hī pichī nari hau.* 'O Hari you are vanquished by my sinfulness ; I am so heavy and you so slight, that you get badly thrown.'

encompasses them he does what seemeth him good. Says Śrī Hari Dās : then is he only found long-lived, who has taken Kunj-bihāri to his soul.

12. "Set your heart upon securing his love. With water-pot in hand perambulate the ways of Braj and, stringing the beads of your rosary, wander through Brindā-ban and the lesser groves. As a cow watches her own calf and a doe its own fawns and has an eye for none other (the lords of Śrī Hari Dās are Syámā and Kunj-bihāri) be your meditation on them as well balanced as a milk-pail on the head.

Rāg Kalyān.

13. "All is Hari's mere sport, a mirage pervading the universe without either germ or plant. The pride of wealth, the pride of youth, the pride of power, are all like the crow among birds. Says Śrī Hari Dās : know this of a surety, all is but as a gathering on a feast-day, that is quickly dispersed.

14. "O sister, how happy are the does who worship the lotus-eyed, each with her own lord. Happy too the calves that drink in the melody of his pipe in their ears as in a cup from which no drop can be spilt. The birds too are like holy men, who daily do him service, free from lust, passion, and avarice. Hearken, Śrī Hari Dās, my husband is a difficulty ; he will not let me go but holds me fast.

Rāg Bārdī.

15. "O friend, as I was going along the road, he laid hold of my milk-pail and my dress : I would not yield to him unless he paid me for luck. 'O clever milk-maid, you have bewitched my boy with the lustre of the *go-rochan* patch on your forehead' (O lord of Śrī Hari Dās) this is the justice we get here ; do not stay in this town, pretty one.*

Rāg Kāñhara.

16. "O clever Hari, thou makest the false appear true ; night and day thou art weaving and unweaving ; thou art an ocean of deceit. Though thou affectest the woman† in form and name, thou art more than man. Hearken ye all to Hari Dās and know of a truth it is but as when one wakes out of sleep.

17. "The love of the world has been tested ; there is no real accord. See, from the king to the beggar, natures differ and no match can be found. The days of many births are past for ever ; so pass not thou. Hearken to Hari Dās, who has found a good friend in Bihāri ; may all find the like.

* In two of the three MSS. of the poem that I have consulted, stanzas 14 and 15 are omitted and they appear clearly to be an interpolation by some later hand, being quite out of keeping with the context. They must be regarded as a dialogue between two of the Gopīs and Jasoda.

† In this stanza it is the god's illusive power, or Māyā, that is addressed, rather than the god himself.

18. "People have gone astray; well they have gone, but take thy rosary and stray not thou. To leave thy own lord for another is to be like a strumpet among women. Sy'úná declares: those men rebel against me who prefer another, and those too (says Hari Dás) who make great sacrifice to the gods and perform laboured funeral rites for departed ancestors.*

19. "Worship Hari from the heart as long as you live; all things else are vain. It is only a matter of four † days, what need of much baggage. From pride of wealth, from pride of youth, from pride of power, you have lost yourself in mere village squabbles. Says Hari Dás, it is greed that has destroyed you: where will a complaint lie.

20. "In the depth of the delights of an ocean of love how can men reach a landing-place? Admitting his helplessness‡ he cries, What way of escape is open? No one's arrows fly straight, for all his boasting in street and market-place. Says Srí Hari Dás: know Bihári to be a god who overlooks all defects in his votaries"

The Malúk Dásis, another modern sect of limited importance, have one of their religious houses at Brindá-ban, with a temple dedicated to Rám Jí, near the Kesi ghát. Their founder, according to the most probable tradition, lived in the reign of Aurangzeb, and was a trader by occupation. He is said to have written a Hindi poem called the *Dasratna*, together with a few short *Sákhis* and *Padas* in the same language; but no specimen of his composition has ever been published, nor is it known what, if any, are the distinctive tenets of the sect. Probably, they will be found to differ in no material respect from the doctrines of faith and quietism as inculcated by Hari Dás; though, an important practical difference consists in the recognition of Ráma, rather than Krishna, as the incarnation to be specially worshipped. I had intended to visit their Gurn and collect from him the materials for a brief sketch of their history and literature, in order to complete this chapter; but unfortunately I neglected to do so while at Mathurá, and have now lost the opportunity of supplying the omission.

Another small and obscure sect, that of the Prán-náthis, is again one of the few, of whose literature Professor Wilson, in his essays on the religion of the Hindus, was unable to furnish a specimen. The sect has a single representative at Mathurá, and from him, before I left, I obtained a copy of one of the poems of Prán-náth himself.

* Thus the Vaishnavas, when they perform a Sráddh, do not repeat the names of their own ancestors, but substitute the names of Krishna, Pradyumna, and Aniruddh.

† The number 'four' seems to be an allusion to the four stages of life: childhood, youth, manhood, and old age.

‡ The word *bekáryau* is doubtful and probably corrupt, though given in all three MSS.

It is very curious, both from the advanced liberalism of its theological ideas and also from the uncouthness of the language, in which the construction of the sentences is purely Hindi, while the vocabulary is mainly supplied from Persian and Arabic sources. The writer, a Kshatriya by caste, lived at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was under the special patronage of Chhatrasál, the famous Rájá of Panna in Bundelkhand, who is commonly said by the Muhammadans to have been converted to Islám, though, in reality he only went as far as Prán-náth, who endeavoured to make a compromise between the two religions. His followers are sometimes called Dhámis, from *Dhám*, a name of the supreme spirit, or Paramátmá, and like the Sikhs and several of the later Hindu sects are not idolators, so far that they do not make or reverence any image of the divinity, but if they have any temple at all, the only object of religious veneration which it contains is a copy of the works of the founder. His treatises, which, as usual, are all in verse, are fourteen in number, none of them of very great length, and bear the following titles :—1, The book of Rás ; 2, of Prakás ; 3, of Shat-rit ; 4, of Kalas ; 5, of Sanandh ; 6, of Kirantan ; 7, of Khulása ; 8, of Khel-bat ; 9, of Prakrama Iláhi Dulhan (an allegory in which the Church, or 'Bride of God' is represented as a holy city) ; 10, of Ságar Singár ; 11, of Bare Singár ; 12, of Sidhi Bhása ; 13, of Márafat Ságar ; 14, of Kiyámat-náma. The shortest is the last, of which I now proceed to give the text, followed by an attempt at a translation, which I am afraid is not altogether free from error, as I am not much versed in Kuranic literature and may have misunderstood some of the allusions. The owner of the MS., Karak Dás by name, though professing so liberal a creed, was not a particularly enlightened follower of his master, for I found it impossible to convince him that the Ísa of the Kurán, so repeatedly mentioned by Prán-náth, was really the same as the incarnate God worshipped by the English. Like most of the Bairágis and Gosáins with whom I have talked, his idea was that the fiery and impetuous foreign rulers of the country were Súraj-bansis, or descendants of the sun, and that the sun was the only God they recognized, as was evidenced by their keeping the Sunday holy in his honour.

But, without further preface, to proceed to the text of the poem. It stands as follows :—

॥ श्रीहरि ॥

पास उमत सु कहियो जाई	उठो मोमिनो क्यामत आई ॥
केहेतीहु माफक कुरांन	तुमारे आगे कहू बयांन ॥ १ ॥
जो कोइ पास उमत सिरदार	पड़े रहो हो हुसियार ॥
वसियतना मे देवे सांघ	अग्यारैं सदी होसी बेबाक ॥ २ ॥

बरकत दुनियां और कुरान
 ए दरगाहसे आये बयांन
 तिन दिन होसी अंधा धुंध
 कहा होसी और रेवेस
 अब कहो जीवा की क्या रह्या
 पातसाइ इसा बरस चालीस
 क्या हिंदु क्या मुसलमान
 सो क्या होसी उठे कुरांन
 नवसे नवे हुए बितीत
 सो लिप्यां ग्यारे सिपारे मांहे
 रूहअलां पेहेने जामे दोये
 ए लिप्यां छठे सिपारे मांहे
 ए जो बरंस इसाकी काही
 दस अग्यारै बारैके तीस
 सातर बरस और जो रहें
 मोमिन चले बिजली की न्यांत
 और जाहेरी उमन जो रही
 पुलसरात कही पांडेकी धार
 अरमियतसलूनमें कहा ये
 ये जाहेर कहा बयान
 दसइ इसां अग्यारै इमांम
 ये लिप्या बीच सिपारे आंम
 आये इसा महंमद और इमांम
 पर ना देषों आंषों जाहेरी
 अजाजीले देष्या वजूद
 सेजदे की ये तिन बेहद
 जो उनने देष्यां आकार
 तब अजाजीले माग्यां वचन
 उनकी आलादकी मारों राह
 आदम अजाजीलसु ऐसी भई

और फकीरोंकी मेहेरवांन ॥
 जबराइल लेजासी मकांन ॥ ३ ॥
 द्वार तोवाके हीसी बंध ॥
 तब कोइ किसी का नाही पेस ॥ ४ ॥
 निसान क्यांमतका जाहेर कहा ॥
 लिषा सिपारे अठाईस ॥ ५ ॥
 सब ऐकठोर ल्यावे इमांन ॥
 ये बिचार देषों चित आंन ॥ ६ ॥
 तब हजरत इसा आएइत ॥
 मे पिलाफ बात कहुगा नाहे ॥ ७ ॥
 लिप्यां कुरांने सोइ होये ॥
 घोषे वाला जाये देषो ताहे ॥ ८ ॥
 तिनकी तपसीर करदेउ सही ॥
 इसा पातसाइ बरस चालीस ॥ ९ ॥
 सो तो पुल सरातके कहे ॥
 मुतकइ भी घोड़ेकी भांत ॥ १० ॥
 इस बिध तिनकों दोजक कही ॥
 गिरे कटे नहीं पावे पार ॥ ११ ॥
 ये जाये दोषो दिल दे ॥
 हिरदे अंधे न सके पेहेचांन ॥ १२ ॥
 वारैसदीमे फजर तमांम ॥
 तीसमां सिपारा कों नांम ॥ १३ ॥
 सबकोइ आए करो सलाम ॥
 दिल दिदो देषो चित धरी ॥ १४ ॥
 तो आदमकों नकि सजूद ॥
 सो सारही हुए रद ॥ १५ ॥
 तोलागी लानत हुआ पुआर ॥
 के आदम मेरा हुआ दुसमन ॥ १६ ॥
 सबोंके दिलपर होंउ पातसाह ॥
 आंठमे सिपारे जाहेर कही ॥ १७ ॥

फेर तुम लेत वार्हीकी अकल
 तुम दजाल वाहेर ठूठत
 उपर मांयेने ना होये पेहेचांन
 हमेसा आवतहे जूं
 सब पेगंवर जहूद पिलके
 ओतो आया हिंदुओ दरम्यांन
 तुम ठूँढे अपने पिलके मांहे
 जिनकां केहेते कांफर जात
 रव ना रषे किसीका गुमांन
 परदा लिप्या हजरतके रोये पर
 परदा लिप्या वास्ते हिंदुओ मांहे
 जो देषतहे जेर जवर
 ऐसी हिंदुओ की कही सिफत
 ओर आप हजरत सालतपनाह
 पांचमे सिपारे ऐह वयांन
 ओर हिंदुवी किताबो मे यौ कही
 ओयेके करसी ऐकरस
 कोई कहेसी दोउक्या होसी ऐकवेर
 सो इसारत पोलि निज बुध
 घोड़े कां लिप्या कलंकीकर
 जातक कहें विजया अभेनंद
 अंजीर कहें इसा बुजरक
 जहूद कहे मुसा वड़ा होये
 सारोने रसम जुदी कर रही
 पुं उरभे जुदे नाम धर
 अपनी अपनी समभे सब
 सब किताबो दइ साष
 सत असत दोउ जुदे कीये
 दोनो जहांनमे थी उरभंन
 करी हकीकत मारफत रोसन

परक्यां करो तुम जो वाहीकी नसल॥
 वह दीलपर वेँठा लें लानत ॥ १८ ॥
 ऐ तुम सुनियो दिलके कांन ॥
 अब भी फेर आयेहे त्यों ॥ १९ ॥
 बीच देषो दीदे दिलके ॥
 जिनकु तुम केहेते कुफरांन ॥ २० ॥
 तामे तो साहेब आयां नाहे ॥
 सो सबकी करसी सिफात ॥ २१ ॥
 ओतो गरीबोपर मेहेरवांन ॥
 तिनकी क्यां तुमकां नाही पवर ॥ २२ ॥
 पढ़े इसारत पावे नाहे ॥
 सो हकीकत पावें क्यांकर ॥ २३ ॥
 आषर हिंदुओ में मुलकनबुवत ॥
 सोतो जहूदफकीरो मेपातसाह ॥ २४ ॥
 न मानां सो जाये देषां कुरांन ॥
 बुधकलंकी आवेगा सही ॥ २५ ॥
 मसरक मगरव होसी वस ॥
 तिनका भी करदेउ नवेर ॥ २६ ॥
 विना हादी ना पाईये सुध ॥
 ताकी किनकां नहीं पवर ॥ २७ ॥
 सब कलजुगको करसी निकंद ॥
 सो आयेके सीक हक ॥ २८ ॥
 ताके हाथ छुटे सब कोये ॥
 सब बुजरकी धनी की कही ॥ २९ ॥
 रव आलंमकी आया आषर ॥
 जुदा न रह्यां कोई अब ॥ ३० ॥
 जुदे नाम जुदी लिपी भाष ॥
 माया ब्रह्म चीन्हा ऐके दीये ॥ ३१ ॥
 करम काउ सरियत चलंन ॥
 साफ कीये आसमांन धरंन ॥ ३२ ॥

ब्रह्माउकों भानों षेलाय सब जहानकों कियो मिलाय ॥
 गुहाइ पुदाकी पुदाइ देवे करे वयान हुकंम सिर लेवे ॥ ३३ ॥
 सब पूजसी साहेब सरत कलामअलां यु केहे वत ॥
 ये लिपा तीसरे सिपारे षेले अरस अजीमके द्वारे ॥ ३४ ॥
 ललतकदरके तीन तकरार तीसरी फजरमे कारगुजार ॥
 रूहे फिस्ते वजूद धरे लेलत कदरके माहे उतरे ॥ ३५ ॥
 पर उतरी महीने हजार गिरो दोउ भइ सिरदार ॥
 हुकंम दिया साहेब इन के हाथ भइ सलामती इनके साथ ॥ ३६ ॥
 केती गुहाई देउ कुरांन इनाइजूलनामेरोह वयान ॥
 तीसरी तकरार की भइ फजर ग्यारै सदी मे देषगे नजर ॥ ३७ ॥
 आर पेहेले सिपारे मे जो लिप्यां सो तुमो क्या नाही देप्यां ॥
 साहेदी कुंनकी देवे जोये पास उमतका कहीये सोये ॥ ३८ ॥
 अब जोकोइ होवे पास उमत देउ गुहाइ हो सावत ॥
 उडाये गफलतहीये सावधान छेडो पढे का गुमान ॥ ३९ ॥
 हकलआकीन आर मुनी जोये पेहले इमांन लयेवेगा सोये ॥
 पाँछे जाहेर होसी साहेब तब तो इमांन ल्यावेगे सब ॥ ४० ॥
 भिस्त दोजक जाहेर भई नफा किसी का न देवे कोई ॥
 ले हिरदे हादीके पाये छवसाल यु कहे वजाये ॥ ४१ ॥

TRANSLATION.

The Day of Judgment.

"Go tell the chosen people; arise ye faithful, the day of judgment is at hand. I speak according to the Kurán and make my declaration before you. All ye heads of the chosen people, stand up and attend. The Testament (*Wasiyat-náma*)* gives evidence: Eleven centuries shall be completed after the blessing of the world by the Kurán and by him who was merciful to the poor. A voice shall come from the tabernacle and Gabriel† shall take them to the appointed place. For three days, there shall be gloom and confusion, and the door of repentance shall be closed. And what? shall there be any other way‡? Nay, no one shall be able to befriend his neighbour.§

* *Wasiyat-náma* is, I believe, a general name, including both the Kurán and the Hadís, which together make up the Muhammadan rule of faith; but I have not been able to trace the particular tradition, to which reference is here made, as specifying the exact number of years that are to elapse before Christ's second coming.

† Gabriel is accounted God's ordinary messenger, but here, I should rather have looked for Israfil, whose duty it will be to sound the trumpet at the last day.

‡ *Rives* may possibly stand for *ravish*.

§ *Khes* is for *khvesh*, 'a kinsman.'

"Say now what shall be the duration of this life, and what the clear signs of the coming of the last day. Christ shall reign for forty years, as is written in the 28th Sīpāra. Hindus and Musalmans shall both alike bring their creed to the same point. And what shall come about, when the Kurūn has thus been taken away? this is a matter, which I would have you now attentively consider.

"When 991 years are past, then the Lord Christ will come. This is written in the 11th Sīpāra: I will not quote a word wrongly.* The spirit of God (i.e., Christ) shall be clothed in vesture of two different kinds; so it is stated in the Kurūn. This is in the 6th Sīpāra; whoever doubts me may see it there for himself. These now are the years of Christ, as I am going to state in detail. Take ten, eleven, and twelve thirty times (that is to say $10 + 11 + 12 \times 30 = 990$). Then Christ shall reign 40 years. The other, 70 years that remain, (after $990 + 40$, to make up 1,100) are for the bridge Sīrāt. The saints will cross it like a flash of lightning; the pious with the speed of a horse; but as for the merely nominal believers who remain, for them, there are 10 kinds of hell;† the bridge Sīrāt is like the edge of a sword, they fall or they get cut in pieces—none cross over. This is stated in the *Āmīyat Salām*; go and look at it carefully. The statement is clear, but your heart is too blind to see it. Christ stands for 10,‡ the Imām for 11, and in the 12th century, then shall be the perfect day-break. This is written in the Ām Sīpāra, which is the 30th.

"When Christ, Muhammad, and the Imām are come, every one will come and bow before them. But you should see not with the eyes of the body, but, after reflection, with the eyes of the soul. Azázil saw in person, but would not bow to Adam. Though he had done homage times without number, it all went for nothing. When they saw his pride,§ the curse was pronounced and he became an outcast. Then Azázil asked a boon: 'Adam has become my enemy. I will pervert the ways of his descendants and reign in the hearts of them all.' Thus it was between Adam and Azázil, as is clearly stated in the 8th Sīpāra. You take after him in sense, but what can you do, since you are his offspring. You look for Dajjāl|| outside, but he sits at your heart, according to the curse.

"You have not understood the meaning of the above; listen to me now with the ears of the spirit. In like manner as He has always come, so will He come again. All the Prophets have been of Jewish race—look through them with

* In spite of this emphatic assertion, the quotation would appear to be incorrect, for the 11th Sīpāra contains no such prophecy.

† This is the Hindu computation; the Muhammadans reckon only seven hells.

‡ This is intended to explain the curious calculation given above, 'ten, eleven, and twelve multiplied by thirty.'

§ *Āhār* here would seem to stand for *Ahankār*.

|| *Dajjāl* here the spirit of evil generally, is properly the name of anti-Christ.

the eyes of the soul—that is, they have sprung from the midst of Hindus, whom you call Káfirs. Search now among your own people; the Lord has never been born among them. The races, whom you call heathen will all be sanctified through him. The Lord thinks scorn of no man, but is compassionate to all who are humble. A veil is said to be over the Lord's face. What? do you not know this? By the veil is meant 'among Hindus;' mere reading does not convey the hidden intention; if you look only to the letter, how can you grasp the spirit? Thus is declared the glory of the Hindus, that the last of the Prophets shall be of them. And the Lord Christ, that great Prophet, was the king of the poor Jews. This is stated in the 5th Sípára; if you do not believe me, go and examine the Kurán yourself. It is also stated in the Hindu books that Budh Kalanki will assuredly come. When he has come, he will make all alike; east and west will both be under him. Some one will say, 'will both be at once?' this, too, I will clear up, explaining the intention to the best of my ability; without a guide you would not get at the truth. Kalanki it is said, will be on a horse—this every one knows—and astrologers say that Vijayáblinand will make an end of the Kalijug. Now, the Gospel says that Christ is the head of all and that he will come and do justice. The Jews say that Moses is the greatest and that all will be saved through him. All follow different customs and proclaim the greatness of their own master. Thus idly quarrelling they fix upon different names; but the end of all is the same, the Supreme God. Each understands only his own language, but there is no real difference at bottom. All the scriptures bear witness that there are different names in different languages; but truth and untruth are the two incompatibles, and Maya and Brahm have to be distinguished from one another. In both worlds there was confusion; some walking by the law of Hindu, others by the law of Muhammadan ceremonial. But knowledge has revealed the truth and made clear both heaven and earth: as the sun has made manifest* all creation and harmonized the whole world, so the power of God bears witness to God; he speaks and all obey. All who perform acts of religious worship, do them to the Lord; the word of the Most High has declared it so. It is written in the third Sípára that he opened the gates of the highest heaven.

"The Lailat-ul-kadr (or night of power) has three contentions: on the third dawn the judgment will commence. The spirits and angels will appear in person, for it was on that night that they descended: † the blessings of a

* For *Khetchiya* I propose to read *Khulaya*; but even so the meaning elicited is not very satisfactory.

† The allusions are to the chapter of the Kurán called the Súrat-ul-kadr, which is as follows. "Verily we have caused the Kurán to descend on the night of power. And who shall teach thee what the night of power is? The night of power exceedeth a thousand months; therein descend the angels and the spirit by permission of their Lord in every matter; and all is peace till the breaking of the morn."

thousand months descended also. The chiefs will be formed into two companies ; God will give them his orders and through them there shall be salvation. This is abundantly attested by the Kurán ; the statement is in the *Iná anzul ná* chapter. After the third contention will be the dawn ; in the eleventh century it will be seen.

And what is written in the first Sípára ? You must have seen that. They who accept the text *kun** are to be called true believers. Now, if any one is a true believer, let him bear witness and prove the fact. Put off sloth ; be vigilant ; discard all pride of learning. He who hears with perfect faith † will be the first to believe. Afterwards, when the Lord has been revealed, all will believe. Heaven and hell will be disclosed, and none will be able to profit another. Lay your soul at your master's feet ; this is what Chhatrasál tells you."

From the doctrine as laid down by Prán-Náth, that any one religion is as true as another, it is easy to advance to the conclusion that all religions are equally false. This is the view taken in the ' Byom Sár ' and ' Suni Sár, ' two short poems written in the time of Thákur Daya Rám of Hálhras, by one of his retainers, named Bakhtáwar. Their purport is to show that all is vanity and that nothing, either in earth or in heaven, either visible or invisible, natural or supernatural, has any real existence. Several of the lines are almost literally translated from the Sanskrit Vedánta Sára of Sadánanda Parivrajakáchárya, from which it would seem that the author, for all his atheism, did not contemplate any pronounced rupture with Hindu orthodoxy. He can scarcely be said to have founded a sect, though Professor Wilson speaks of his followers under the name of Sunya-vádís ; but in every age of Hinduism there have been a few isolated individuals, such as Jábáli and Chárváka, to whom such notions have recommended themselves. The following extracts are taken from a manuscript in the possession of Rájá Hari Náráyan Singh, the present representative of the chief, under whose patronage the poems were composed.

Commencement of the Byom Sár.

व्योमसार यह ग्रंथ है लयो वेद को सार	श्रीठाकुर दयाराम यह कीनो व्योम बिचार ॥ १ ॥
इत जमुना इत सुरसरी मध्य दायरसजानि	अंतरवेद सु भूमि है करै अघन की हानि ॥ २ ॥
श्रीठाकुर दयाराम तहं नृपता करै अखंड	ताको जसु परनाप पुनि दायरह्यौ नय खंड ॥ ३ ॥
वैरिनि के उर सालु है मित्रन को सुखकंद	बड़े सदां परनापु पुनि जिमि द्वितीया को चंद ॥ ४ ॥

*The text *kun* is the parallel of the Mosaic phrase, "and God said 'let there be light,' and there was light."

† *Hakk-ul-Yakín*, 'perfect faith' is faith without seeing, which alone is meritorious ; for all who see must preface believe.

ब्रह्मतावर जन आनि कै कर्यौ तहां पुनि वास
 तिन की कृपा कटाक्ष तैं उपज्यो हियेंहुलास
 व्योम रूप सब जानियो है व्योम हि के मांहि
 श्रीठाकुर यह आपुही भयि मयिकाटुयो सार
 यही ज्ञान की सैन तुम सज्जन है मुनि लेउ
 आदि सबनि की पोलितैं अंत पोलि ठहराद
 सब त ऊंचा पोलि हं सब तैं नीचा पोलि
 पोलहि में उपजै सबै पोलहि में बिनसंत
 आदि न जाकौ है कहु अंत न कबहू होइ

श्रीठाकुर किरपा करी जानि आपनौ दास ॥ ५ ॥
 व्योम ज्ञान घरनन कह्यो अनुभव के परगास ॥ ६ ॥
 ज्यौ आपु हि में देखिये आपु आपना दांहि ॥ ७ ॥
 तिनही के उपदेश सुनि में यह कह्यौ बिचार ॥ ८ ॥
 पहलैं याकौं समझिके पावैं उत्तर देउ ॥ ९ ॥
 मध्यहु में पुनि पोलि है सत गुरु दर्द बताइ ॥ १० ॥
 मध्यहु में पुनि पोलि है सत गुरु कहि दर्द खोलि ॥ ११ ॥
 पोलि कहत आकाश सों ताकौ आदि न अंत ॥ १२ ॥
 सदां एक रस रहत है पोलि कहावै सोइ ॥ १३ ॥

"This book is called the Byom Sár and contains the essence of the Vedas, excogitated by Sri Thákur Dayá Rám. Between the Jamuná and the Sursari, (i. e., the Ganges) stands Háthras in the midst, in the holy land of Antarbéd, where nought ill can thrive. There Thákur Dayá Rám holds undisturbed sway, the fame of whose glory has spread through the whole universe—a thorn in the breast of his enemies, a root of joy to his friends, ever growing in splendour like the crescent moon. One Bakhtáwar came and settled there and was favoured by the Thákur, who recognized his fidelity. Under the light of his gracious countenance, joy sprung up in his soul and he wrote the Science of Vanity for the enlightenment of the understanding. Be assured that all things are like the void of heaven, contained in a void, as when you look into yourself and see your own shadow. After long ruminating, the noble Thákur has elicited the cream of the matter. In accordance with his teaching, I publish these thoughts. Listen, ye men of sense, to my array of arguments; first understand, then reply. The beginning of all things is in hollowness, hollow is also the end and hollow the middle; so says the preacher. The highest, the lowest, and the mean are all hollow; so the wise man has expounded. From nothing all things are born; in nothing all things perish; even the illimitable expanse of sky is all hollowness. What alone has no beginning, nor will ever have an end, and is still of one character, that is vacuum."

Specimens of the Suni Sár,

जितदेखे तित मुन्नहि दीसै	मुन्नहि है सब ईश अनीसै ॥
मुन्नहि माया मुन्नहि ब्रह्म	मुन्नहि में सब झूठा भर्म ॥ १ ॥
मुन्नहि पिण्ड शून्य ब्रह्मंडा	मुन्नहि सात दीप नव खंडा ॥
मुन्नहि धरती शून्य अकाशा	मुन्नहि चंद सूर परकाशा ॥ २ ॥
मुन्नहि ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेशा	मुन्नहि कूर्म शून्य ही गेषा ॥
मुन्नहि गुरु शून्य ही चेला	शून्य ही दूजा शून्य अकेला ॥ ३ ॥

शून्यहि देवल शून्यहि देवा सुन्नहि करै शून्य की सेवा ॥
सुन्नहि करै शून्य को जाप समझि करै गुरु के परताप ॥ ४ ॥

“All that is seen is nothing and is not really seen ; lord or no lord, it is all one. Mayá is nothing ; Brahm is nothing ; all is false and delusive. The world is all emptiness ; the egg of Brahma, the seven *dvīpas*, the nine *klandas*, the earth, the heaven, the moon, the glorious sun, all, all are emptiness ; so are Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahádeva ; so are Kurma and Śeshnág. The teacher is nothing, the disciple nothing ; the *ego* and the *non ego* are alike nothing. The temple and the god are nought ; nought is the worship of nought, and nought the prayer addressed to nought ; so know they who are enlightened by the influence of the Guru.”

सकल जगत सेां भयो उदासी शून्य ज्ञान रत सदा बिलासी ॥
आनंद मगन सहज दिन राता सदा रहै अवर्गति मद माता ॥ १ ॥
सांचो बाद करौ नहिं संका समझो नहिं राव अरु रंका ॥
चाहैं नहिं मानता पूजा हितकर संग न राखों दूजा ॥ २ ॥
जो ककु सहज मिलै सुख मानों यह उद्यान एक सम जानों ॥
मेरी तेरी मिट गई भूल ना ककु दुख ना ककु फूल ॥ ३ ॥
जब ऐसे सत गुरु को पावै कोटि जन्म के भर्म नसावै ॥
ऐसे गुरु परगट है भू पै श्रीठाकुर दयाराम अनूपै ॥ ४ ॥

“The whole world was disconsolate, but is now gladdened for ever by the doctrine of Vacuity : it is plunged in joy and ecstatic delight, drunk with the wine of perfect knowledge. I enunciate the truth and doubt not ; I know neither prince nor beggar ; I court neither honour nor reverence ; I take a friend by the hand and seek none other ; what comes easily I accept and am contented ; a palace and a thicket to me are all the same ; the error of *mine* and *thine* is obliterated ; nothing is loss, nothing is gain. To get such a teacher of the truth puts an end to the errors of a million of births. Such a teacher as has now been revealed—the incomparable Thákur Dayá Rám.”

CHAPTER IX.

BRINDĀ-BAN AND ITS TEMPLES.

ON their arrival at Brindā-ban, the first shrine which the Gosáins erected was one in honour of the eponymous goddess Brindá Devi. Of this no traces now remain, if (as some say) it stood in the Seva Kunj, which is now a large walled garden with a masonry tank near the Rás Mandal. Their fame spread so rapidly that in 1570 the Emperor Akbar was induced to pay them a visit, and was taken blindfold into the sacred enclosure of the Nidhban,* where such a marvellous vision was revealed to him, that he was fain to acknowledge the place as indeed holy ground. Hence the cordial support which he gave to the attendant Rájás, when they expressed their wish to erect a series of buildings more worthy of the local divinity.

The four temples, commenced in honour of this event, still remain, though in a ruinous and hitherto sadly neglected condition. They bear the titles of Gobind Deva, Gopí-náth, Jugal-Kishor and Madan Mohan. The first named is not only the finest of this particular series, but is the most impressive religious edifice that Hindu art has ever produced, at least in Upper India. The body of the building is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being a hundred feet in length and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a waggon vault of pointed form, not, as is usual in Hindu architecture, composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of true radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals. The walls have an average thickness of ten feet and are pierced in two stages, the upper stage being a regular triforium, to which access is obtained by an internal staircase, as in the somewhat later temple of Rádhá Ballabh, which will be described further on. This triforium is a reproduction of Muhammadan design, while the work both above and below it is purely Hindu.† It should be noted, however, that the

* This is the local name of the actual Brindá grove, to which the town owes its origin. The spot so designated is now of very limited area, hemmed in on all sides by streets, but protected from further encroachment by a high masonry wall. The name refers to the nine nidhis, or treasures, of Kúvera, the god of wealth. They are enumerated as follows: the Padma, Mahá-padma, Sankha, Makara, Kuchhapa, Mukunda, Nanda, Nila, and Kharva; but it is not known in what precise sense each separate term is to be taken. For example, Padma may mean simply 'a lotus,' or again, as a number, '10,000 millions,' or possibly, 'a ruby.'

† Thus eclecticism, which after all is only natural growth directed by local circumstances, has for centuries past been the predominant characteristic of Mathurá architecture. In most of the new works that I have taken in hand, and notably in the Catholic Church, which I had com-

arches are decorative only, not structural: the spandrels in the head might be—and, as a fact, for the most part had been—struck out, leaving only the lintel supported on the straight jambs, without any injury to the stability of the building. They have been re-inserted in the course of the recent restoration. At the east entrance of the nave there is a small narthex fifteen feet deep; and at the west end, between two niches and incased in a rich canopy of sculpture, a square-headed doorway leads into the choir, a chamber some twenty feet by twenty. Beyond this was the sacrum, ^{*} flanked on either side by a lateral chapel; each of these three cells being of the same dimensions as the choir, and like it vaulted by a lofty dome. The general effect of the interior is not unlike that produced by Saint Paul's Cathedral in London. The latter building has greatly the advantage in size, but in the other, the central dome is more elegant, while the richer decoration of the wall surface and the natural glow of the red sandstone supply that relief and warmth of colouring which are so lamentably deficient in its western rival.

The ground-plan is so similar to that of many European churches as to suggest the idea that the architect was assisted by the Jesuit missionaries, who were people of considerable influence at Akbar's court: were this really the case, the temple would be one of the most eclectic buildings in the world, having a Christian ground-plan, a Hindu elevation, and a roof of modified Saracenic character. But the surmise, though a curious one, must not be too closely pressed; for some of the temples at Khajuráo, by Mahoba, are of similar design and of much earlier date; nor is it very likely that the Jesuits would have interested themselves in the construction of a heathen fane. Such action on their part, supposing them to have taken it, would find a parallel in the persistency with which the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) stood out for the provision of two side chapels in Wren's design for the Protestant cathedral of St. Paul's,—a building which he hoped in the course of his reign to recover for the Catholics.

It would seem that, according to the original design, there were to have been five towers; one over the central dome, and the other four covering

menced and now have to leave unfinished, I have conformed to the *genius loci*, and have shown my recognition of its principles, not by a servile imitation of older examples, but rather by boldly modifying them in accordance with later requirements, and so developing novel combinations.

* The Sanskrit terms for the component parts of a temple are—the nave, *mandapa*; the choir, *antarála*, and the sacrum *garbha griha*. The more ordinary Hindi substitutes are—for the nave, *sabhá*, and for the choir, *jag-mohan*; while *mandir*, the temple, specially denotes the sacrum, and any side chapel is styled a *mahall*.

respectively the choir, sacrarium, and two chapels.* The sacrarium has been utterly razed to the ground,† the chapel towers were never completed, and that over the choir, though the most perfect, has still lost several of its upper stages. This last was of slighter elevation than the others, occupying the same relative position as the spirelet over the sanctus bell in western ecclesiology. The loss of the towers and of the lofty arcaded parapet that surmounted the walls, has terribly marred the effect of the exterior and given it a heavy stunted appearance ; while, as a further disfigurement, a plain masonry wall had been run along the top of the centre dome. It is generally believed that this was built by Aurangzeb for the purpose of desecrating the temple, though it is also said to have been put up by the Hindus themselves to assist in some grand illumination. In either case it was an ugly modern exerescence, and its removal was the very first step taken at the commencement of the recent repairs.‡

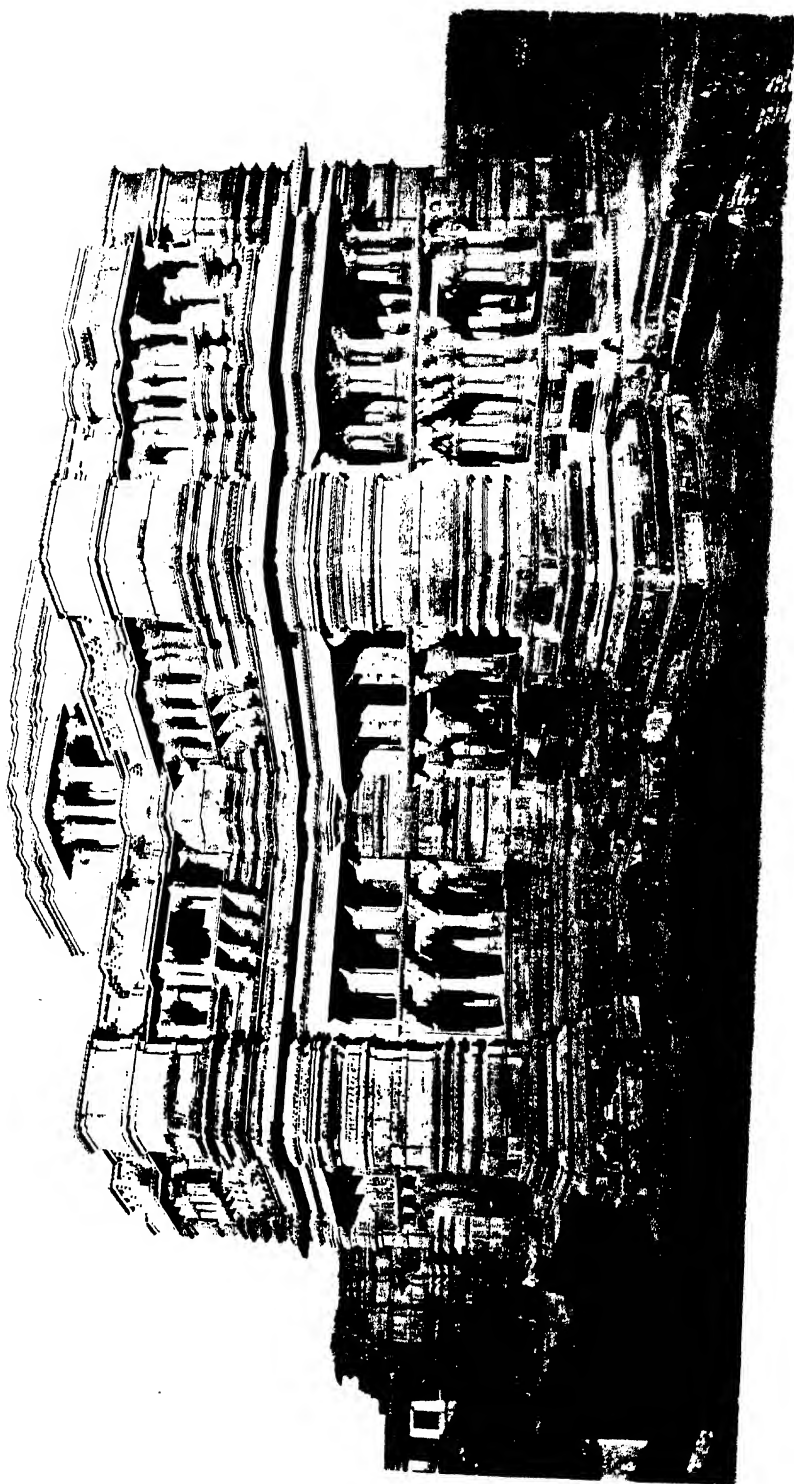
Under one of the niches at the west end of the nave is a tablet with a long Sanskrit inscription. This has unfortunately been too much mutilated to allow of transcription, but so much of it as can be deciphered records the fact that the temple was built in *sambat* 1647, *i.e.*, A. D. 1590, under the direction of the two Gurus, Rūpa and Sanātana. As it was in verse, it probably combined a minimum of information with an excess of verbosity, and its loss is not greatly to be regretted. The following is taken from the exterior of the north-west chapel, where it is cut into the wall some ten feet from the ground, and is of considerable interest:—

संवत् ३४ श्री शक्रवंध अक्रवर शाह राज श्री कर्मकुल श्री
पृथ्विराजाधिराज वश महाराज श्रीभग तदासमुत श्री
महाराजाधिराज श्रीमानसिंहदेव श्री बृंदावन जोग पाठस्यान
मंदिर कराजौ श्री गोविन्ददेव को कामउपरि श्रीकल्याण दास
आज्ञाकारी माणिकचंद चौपाड शिल्पकारि गोविन्ददास दील-
वलि कारिगुरुः दः । गोरपटसुर्वोभवतृ ॥

* The south-west chapel encloses a subterranean cell, called Pātāl Devī, which is said by some to be the Gosāins' original shrine in honour of the goddess Brindā.

† The sacrarium was roughly rebuilt in brick about the year 1854, and contains an image of Krishna in his character of Giridhāri (the mountain-supporter), with two subordinate figures representing, the one Mahā Prabhū, *i.e.*, Chaitanya, the other Nityānand.

‡ One section of this work originally appeared in the "Calcutta Review," and a correspondent, who saw it there, favoured me with the following note of a tradition as to the cause of the wall being built. He writes,—"Aurangzeb had often of an evening remarked a very bright light shining in the far distant south-east horizon, and, in reply to his enquiries regarding it, was told that it was a light burning in a temple of great wealth and magnificence at Brindā-ban.



"In the 34th year of the era inaugurated by the reign of the Emperor Akbar, Srí Mahārāj Mán Sinh Deva, son of Mahārāj Bhagaván Dās, of the family of Mahārāj Prithirāj, founded, at the holy station of Brindā-ban, this temple of Gobind Deva. The head of the works, Kalyán Dās, the Assistant Superintendent, Mánik Chand Chopár (?), the architect, Gobind Dās of Delhi, the mason, Gorakh Dās." There is some mistake in the engraving of the last words, which seem to be intended for *Subham bhavatu*, like the Latin 'Felix, faustumque sit.'

The Ráo Prithi Sinh mentioned in the above was one of the ancestors of the present Mahārāja of Jaypur. He had seventeen sons, of whom twelve came to man's estate, and to each of them he assigned a separate appanage, which, collectively, are known as the twelve *kothris* of Amber. Rájá Mán Sinh, the founder of the temple, was his great grandson.

He was appointed by Akbar successively Governor of the districts along the Indus, of Kábul, and of Bihár. By his exertions, the whole of Orísá and Eastern Bengal were re-annexed; and so highly were his merits appreciated at court, that though a Hindu, he was raised to a higher rank than any other officer in the realm. He married a sister of Lakshmi Náráyan, Rájá of Koch Bihár, and at the time of his decease, which was in the ninth year of the reign of Jahángír, he had living one son, Bháo Sinh, who succeeded him upon the throne of Amber, and died in 1621, A. D.* There is a tradition to the effect that Akbar, at the last, jealous of his powerful vassal and desirous to rid himself of him, had a confection prepared, part of which contained poison; but, caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the Rájá and ate that drugged with death himself. The unworthy deed is explained by Mán Sinh's design, which apparently had reached the Emperor's ears, to alter the succession in favour of Khusrau, his nephew, instead of Salím.†

In anticipation of a visit from Aurangzeb, the image of the god was transferred to Jaypur, and the Gosáin of the temple there has ever since been regarded as the head of the endowment. The name of the present incumbent

He accordingly resolved that it should be effectually put out, and soon after sent some troops to the place, who plundered and threw down as much of the temple as they could, and then erected on the top of the ruins a mosque wall, where, in order to complete the desecration, the Emperor is said to have offered up his prayers."

* *Vide* Professor Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 341.

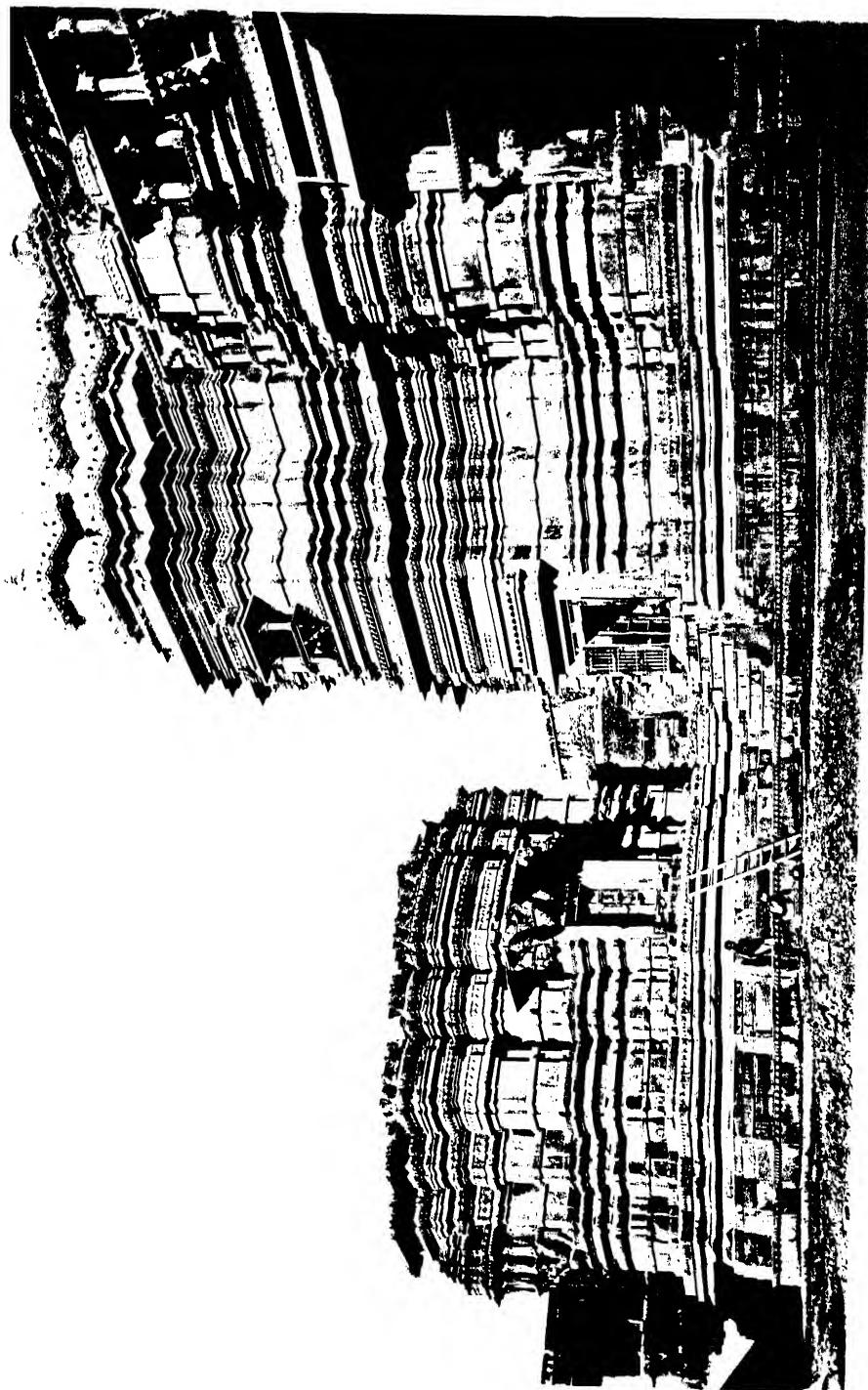
† The above tradition is quoted from Tod's *Rájasthán*. De Laet, as translated by Mr. Lethbridge, for Mán Sinh substitutes the name of Mirza Gházi Beg.

is Syám Sundar, who has two agents, resident at Brindá-ban.* There was said to be still in existence at Jaypur the original plan of the temple, showing its five towers, but on inspection I found that the painting, which is on the wall of one of the rooms in the old palace at Amber, was not a plan of the temple at all, but an imaginary view of the town of Brindá-ban, in which all the temples are represented as exactly alike, distinguishable only by their names, which are written above them. However, local tradition is fully agreed as to the number and position of the towers, while their architectural character can be determined beyond a doubt by comparison with the smaller temples of the same age and style, the ruins of which still remain. It is therefore not a little strange that of all the architects who have described this famous building, not one has noticed its most characteristic feature—the harmonious combination of dome and spire—which is still quoted as the greater crux of modern art, though nearly 300 years ago the difficulty was solved by the Hindus with characteristic grace and ingenuity.

From the reign of Aurangzeb to the present time not a single step had ever been taken to ensure the preservation from further decay of this most interesting architectural monument. It was looked upon by the people in the neighbourhood as a convenient quarry, where every house-builder was at liberty to excavate for materials; while large trees had been allowed to grow up in the fissures of the walls, and in the course of a few more summers their spreading roots would have caused irreparable damage. Accordingly, after an ineffectual attempt to enlist the sympathies of the Archæological Department, the writer took the opportunity of Sir William Muir's presence in the district, on tour, to solicit the adoption on the part of the Government of some means for averting a catastrophe that every student of architecture throughout the world would have regarded as a national disgrace. Though His Honor declined to sanction any grant from Provincial Funds, he allowed a representation of the ruinous condition of the temple and its special archæological interest to be made to the Government of India, who communicated it to the Mahārāja of Jaypur, as the representative of the founder. His Highness immediately recognized the claim that the building had upon him and made no difficulty about supplying the small sum of Rs. 5,000, which had been estimated by the Superintending Engineer as sufficient to defray the cost of all absolutely essential repairs.† The work was taken in hand at the beginning of August, 1873. The obtrusive wall erected by the Muhammadans on the top of the dome was demolished; the interior cleared

* They are by name Bábús Kailás Chandra and Bholá-Náth.

† A revised estimate was afterwards prepared by the District Engineer, who put it at Rs. 75,000 for the exterior, and Rs. 57,857 for the interior, making a total of Rs. 1,32,857.



TEMPLE OF GOBIND DEVA, BRINDA-BAN
(WITH SIDE CHAPEL)

of several unsightly party-walls and other modern excrescences; and outside all the debris was removed, which had accumulated round the base of the building to the astonishing height of eight feet and in some places even more, entirely concealing the handsomely moulded plinth; a considerable increase was thus made to the elevation of the building—the one point in which, since the loss of the original parapet and towers, the design had appeared defective. Many of the houses which had been allowed to crowd the court-yard close up to the very walls of the temple were taken down, and two broad approaches opened out from the great eastern portal and the south transept. Previously, the only access was by a narrow winding lane; and there was not a single point from which it was possible to obtain a complete view of the fabric.

The next thing undertaken was the removal of a huge masonry pillar that had been inserted under the north bay of the nave to support a broken lintel. This was effected by pinning up the fractured stone with three strong iron bolts; a simple and economical contrivance, suggested by Mr. Inglis, Executive Engineer on the Agra Canal, in lieu of the costly and tedious process of inserting a new lintel and meanwhile supporting the wall by a masonry arch, which, though temporary, would have required most careful and substantial construction, on account of the enormous mass resting upon it.

On the south side of the choir stood a large domed and pillared *chhattri* of very handsome and harmonious design, though erected 40 years later than the temple. The following inscription is rudely cut on one of its four pillars:—

संवत् १६६३ वरषे क्रांतिक वदि ५ शुभदिने हजरत श्री
श्री श्री शहजहां राज्ये राणा श्रीअमरसिंहजी के बेटो राजा
श्री भीमजी री राणी श्री रंभावती चौघंडी सौराई छैजी ॥

"In the year *Sambat* 1693 (*i.e.*, 1636 A.D.), on an auspicious day, Kártik Badi 5, in the reign of the Emperor Sháhjahán, this *chhattri* was erected by Ráni Rambhavati, widow of Rájá Bhím, the son of Ráná Amar Sinh."

This Ráná Amar Sinh, though one of the most gallant princes of his line, was the first sovereign of Mewár who had to stoop to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Delhi Emperor: not without a manful struggle, in which it is said that he fought against Jalángir's forces in as many as seventeen pitched battles. He was succeeded on the throne, in 1621 A. D., by his eldest son, Karan Sinh; while the younger, the Bhím of the inscription, being high in the favour of Prince Khuram, received also the title of Rájá with a grant of

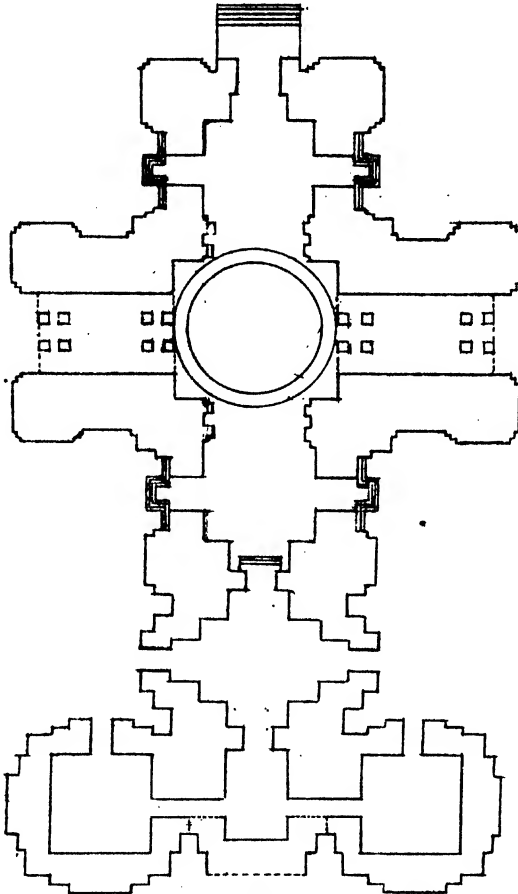
territory on the Banás, where he built himself a capital, called Rájmahal. He did not, however, long enjoy his honours; in his friendship for the young prince he induced him to conspire against his elder brother, Parviz, the rightful heir to the throne, and, in the disturbances that ensued, he was slain; while Prince Khuram took refuge at the court of Udaypur till his father's death, in 1628 A. D., summoned him to ascend the throne of Delhi with the title of Sháhjahán.

As the chhattri was in a very ruinous condition and had been rendered still more insecure by reducing the level of the ground round its foundations, it was taken down and re-erected on the platform that marks the site of the old sacrarium, where it serves to conceal the bare rubble wall that rises behind it.

These works had more than exhausted the petty sum of Rs. 5,000, which (as remarked at the time) was barely enough to pay for the scaffolding required for a complete restoration; but in the meantime Sir John Strachey had succeeded to the Government of these Provinces, and he speedily showed his interest in the matter by making a liberal grant from public funds. With this the roof of the entire building was thoroughly repaired; the whole of the upper part of the east front, which was in a most perilous state, was taken down and rebuilt; and the pillars, brackets, and eaves of the external arcades on the north and south sides, together with the porches at the four corners of the central dome, were all renewed. A complete restoration was also effected of the Jag-mohan (or choir) tower, excepting only that the finial and a few stages of stone-work immediately under it were not added; for they had entirely perished and, in the absence of the original design, Sir John Strachey would not allow me to replace them. As a general principle the introduction of any new work under such circumstances is much to be deprecated, but in this particular case there could not be any doubt as to the exact character and dimensions of the missing portions, since the stages of the tower diminish from the bottom upwards in regular proportion and all bear the same ornamentation. Certainly, the picturesque effect would have been immensely enhanced by giving the tower the pyramidal finish intended for it, instead of leaving it with its present stunted appearance.

The work was conducted under my own personal supervision without any professional assistance, except Mr. Inglis's suggestion, which I have duly chronicled, up to March, 1877, when Sir George Couper, who had two months previously been confirmed as Sir John Strachey's successor, suddenly ordered my transfer from the district. The restoration would most assuredly never

TEMPLE OF GOBIND-DEVA
at
BRINDA-BAN



Scale 40 feet = 1 inch

40 20 0 40 f^t

have been undertaken but for my exertions, and as I had been engaged upon it so long and by general consent had succeeded so well, it was naturally a disappointment to me not to be allowed to complete it. However, all that was absolutely essential had been accomplished and for the comparatively modest outlay of Rs. 38,365, nearly a lakh less than the Public Works estimate.

Mr. Fergusson, in his *Indian Architecture*, speaks of this temple as "one of the most interesting and elegant in India, and the only one, perhaps, from which a European architect might borrow a few hints." I should myself have thought that 'solemn' or 'imposing' was a more appropriate term than 'elegant' for so massive a building, and that the suggestions that might be derived from its study were 'many' rather than 'few'; but the criticism is at all events in intention a complimentary one. It is, however, unfortunate that the author of a book, which will long and deservedly be accepted as an authority, was not able to obtain more satisfactory information regarding so notable a *chef d'oeuvre*. The ground-plan that he supplies is extremely incorrect; for it gives in faint lines, as if destroyed, the choir, or *jag-mohan*, which happens to be in more perfect preservation than any other part of the fabric, and it entirely omits the two chapels that flank the *cella* on either side and are integral portions of the design. The *cella* itself is also omitted; though for this there was more excuse, since it was razed to the ground by Aurangzob and not a vestige of it now remains; though the rough rubble wall of the choir shows where it had been attached.

These two parts of the building, the sacarium and the choir, were certainly completed, towers and all. They alone were indispensably necessary for liturgical purposes and were therefore the first taken in hand, in the same way as in mediæval times the corresponding parts of a cathedral were often in use for many years before the nave was added.

In clearing the basement, comparatively few fragments of carved stone were discovered imbedded in the soil. There are some built up into the adjoining houses, but chiefly corbels and shafts, which were clearly taken from the lower stories of the temple. No fragments of the upper stages of the towers have been brought to light; from which fact alone it might reasonably be conjectured that they were never finished. This was certainly the case with the two side chapels; and the large blocks lying on the top of their walls, ready to be placed in position, are just as they were left by the original builders, when the work for some unexplained reason was suddenly interrupted. Probably, as in so many other similar cases, it was the death of the founder, which brought everything to a stand-still. The tower over the central dome was also, as I

conjecture, never carried higher than we now see it; but the open arcades, which crowned the facade, though not a fragment of them now remains, were probably put up, as the stones of the parapet still show the dents of the pillars. The magnificent effect which they would have had may be gathered from a view of the Jain temple in the Gwalior fort; which, though some 600 years earlier in date, is in general arrangement the nearest parallel to the Brindá-ban fane, and would seem to have supplied Mán Sinh with a model. It has been subjected to the most barbarous treatment and unfortunately is still utterly neglected, though there is no more interesting specimen of architecture to be found in all India.*

A modern temple, under the old dedication, has been erected within the precincts and absorbs the whole of the endowment. The ordinary annual income amounts to Rs. 17,500; but by far the greater part of this, viz., Rs. 13,000, is made up by votive offerings. The fixed estate includes one village in Alwar and another in Jaypur, but consists principally of house property in the town of Brindá-ban, where is also a large orchard, called Rádhá Bāgh. This has been greatly diminished in area by a long series of encroachments; and a temple, dedicated to Ban Bihári, has now been built in it, at a cost of Rs. 15,000, by Rájá Jay Sinh Deva, Chief of Charkhári in Bundelkhand. About a hundred years ago it must have been very extensive and densely wooded, as Father Tieffenthaller, in his notice of Brindá-ban, describes it in the following terms:—
"L'endroit est couvert de beaucoup d'arbres et ressemble à un bois sacré des anciens; il est triste par le morne silence qui y regne, quoiqu' agréable par l'ombre épaisse des arbres, desquels on n'ose arracher un rameau, ni même une feuille; ce serait un grand délit." The site of the Seth's temple was also purchased from the Gobind Deva estate, and a further subsidy of Rs. 102 a year is still paid on its account.

The next temple to be described, viz., that of Madan Mohan, one of Krishna's innumerable titles, stands at the upper end of the town on a high cliff near the Káli-mardan, or as it is more commonly called, the Káli-dah Ghát, where the god trampled on the head of the great serpent Káli. The story of its foundation is given as follows in the Bhakt Sindhu of Lachman Dás, which is a modernized version of the Bhakt Málá. In this poem it is stated that the image of Gobind Jí was found by Rúpa and Sanátan at Naud-gánw, where they

* It seems scarcely possible that the Government should be aware of the frightful Vandalism, the perfectly wanton mutilation and destruction of architectural antiquities of the highest value, that for the last 20 years has been and still is being committed by officers of the Public Works Department in the fort at Gwalior. It seems, I say, scarcely possible, since at the very same time it is spending lakhs of rupees in other parts of the Upper Provinces on the restoration of buildings, which are in no respect of superior interest.

had dug it up in a cattle-shed (*Go-khirk men se nikar dya, idhe Gobind nam dhardye*) thence they brought it to Brindā-ban and erected it on the site of the present temple near the Brahm kund. They went daily to the neighbouring villages (Brindā-ban being at that time an uninhabited forest) and to Mathurā to beg; and one day a man in the city gave Śaṇātan an image of Madan Mohan, which he took and set up near the Kālī-dah Ghāt on the Duhsāsān hill. There, too, he built for himself a little hut to live in and gave the place the name of the Pasukandan Ghāt, because the road was so steep and bad that no cattle could go along it* (*nichangunchau dekhi bisheihan Pasu-kandan wuh Ghāt kahdi, tahin baithi mansukh lahti*). One day a merchant from Multān in the Panjāb, a khattri by caste, named Rām Dās, but more familiarly known as Kapūri, came down the river with a boat-load of merchandise bound for Agra, but stuck on a sand bank near the Kālī-dah Ghāt. After trying in vain for three days to get off, he determined to discover the local divinity and implore his assistance. So he came on shore, climbed up the hill, and there found Śaṇātan, who told him to address his prayer to Madan Mohan. He did so, and his boat immediately began to float. When he had sold all his goods at Agra he came and brought the price to Śaṇātan, who told him to build a temple with it. This he did and added the Ghāt also, all of red stone.

The temple, as we now see it, consists of a nave 57 feet long, with a choir of 20 feet square at the west end, and a sanctuary of the same dimensions beyond. The nave has three openings on either side and a square door at the east end, immediately outside of which the ground has a precipitous drop of some 9 or 10 feet; thus the only entrance is from the side. Its total height would seem to have been only about 22 feet, but its vaulted roof has entirely disappeared; the upper part of the choir tower has also been destroyed. That surmounting the sacrarium is a plain octagon of curvilinear outline tapering towards the summit. Attached to its south side is a tower-crowned chapel of similar character, but much more highly enriched, the whole of its exterior surface being covered with sculptured panels; its proportions are also much more elegant. Over its single door, which is at the east end, is a Sanskrit inscription, given first in Bengali and then in Nāgari characters, which runs as follows:—

हर इव गुरुवशो यत्पिता रामचन्द्रे
गुणिमयिरिव पुत्रो यस्य राधा वसंतः ।
सकृतसुकृतराशिः श्रीगुणानन्दनामा
व्यधित विधिवदेन्मन्दिरं नन्दसूनेः ॥

* This derivation is a very absurd one, *Kandan* being a Persian word. The real name of the Ghāt is the Sanskrit *Prasādanā*, taken either as a name of Śiva, or as an epithet of the cliff, 'standing out.'

“Of Guru descent, a compeer of Mahádeva, whose father was Rámachandra, whose son was Rádhá Vasant, a jewel of good men; that mass of virtue, by name Srí Gunámanand, dedicated in approved fashion this temple to the son of Nanda (Nandkishor, i. e., Krishna).”

The above had never been copied before, and as the letters were raised, instead of incised, and also much worn, a transcript was a matter of some little difficulty. The Bráhmán in charge of the shrine had certainly never troubled himself to take one, for he declared the inscription to be absolutely illegible, or at least unintelligible, even if the letters could be deciphered. The information given is not very perspicuous except as to the name of the founder, and there is no indication of a date, but it would certainly be later than that of the main building, (which was the work of Rám Dás). The court-yard is entered, after the ascent of a flight of steps, through a massive square gateway with a pyramidal tower, which groups very effectively with the two towers of the temple. As the buildings are not only in ruins, but also from peculiarities of style ill-adapted to modern requirements, they are seldom, if ever, used for religious service, which is ordinarily performed in an elegant and substantial edifice erected on the other side of the street under the shadow of the older fane. The annual income is estimated at Rs. 10,100, of which sum, Rs. 8,000 are the voluntary offerings of the faithful, while only Rs. 2,100 are derived from permanent endowment.* A branch establishment at Rádhá Kund with the same dedication is also supported from the funds of the parent house.

The nave, ruinous as it is, was evidently to a great extent rebuilt in comparatively recent times, the old materials being utilized as far as possible, but when they ran short, the place of stone being supplied by brick. A side-post of one of the doors on the south side of the nave bears an inscription with the date *Sambat* 1684 (A.D. 1627), but it simply records a successful pilgrimage made by a native of Kanauj in that year. In 1875 I greatly improved the appearance of the temple by reducing the level of the ground round the chapel, the plinth of which had been completely buried, and by removing a number of buildings from inside the nave and from the front of the chapel door. A boundary wall was also thrown down, and a new approach to the court-yard opened out from the east with a flight of masonry steps up the ascent. The latter were constructed by the municipality at a cost of Rs. 200; the rest of the expense was borne by the Gosáin.

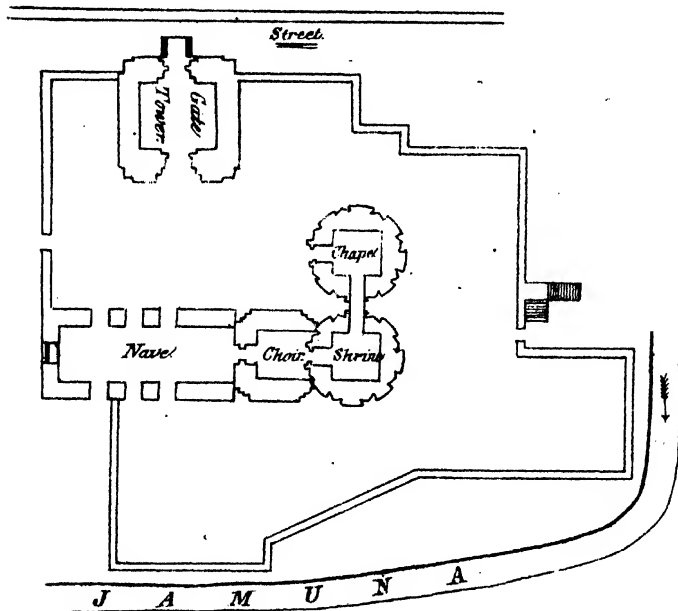
The original image of Madan Mohan is now at Karauli, where Rájá Gopál Sinh, who reigned from 1725 to 1757 A.D., built a new temple for its reception,

* On the road from Brindá-ban to Jait, within the boundaries of the village of Sunrakh, is a walled garden with a tank, called Rám Tál, part of the property of the temple of Madan Mohan.

TEMPLE OF MADAN MOHAN.

AT
BRINDÁ BAN.

NEW TEMPLE.



Scale 50 feet = 1 inch.

50 0 50 100 feet.

after he had obtained it from his brother-in-law, the Rájá of Jaypur. The Gosáin whom he placed in charge was a Bengali from Murshidabad, by name Rám Kishor; the name of the present incumbent is Mohan Kishor. He has an endowment in land which brings in a yearly income of Rs. 27,000. The god is fed seven times a day, the two principal meals being the *rāj-bhog* at mid-day and the *sayana* at sleeping time. At the other five only a light repast is offered, of sweetmeats, &c.; these are called the *mangal-árti*, which takes place at dawn; the *dhūp*, at 9 A. M.; the *srīngār*, at 11 A. M.; *dhūp*, again at 3 P. M.; and *sandhyárti*, at dusk.

With reference to this temple, a curious anecdote is told in the Bhakta Málá of a devout Vaishnava, by name Sūr Dās. He was Governor (Amin) of Sandila in Akbar's reign, and on one occasion consumed all the revenues of his district in entertaining the priests and pilgrims at the temple. The treasure chests were duly despatched to Delhi, but when opened were found to contain nothing but stones. Such exaggerated devotion failed to commend itself even to the Hindu minister, Todar Mall, who threw the enthusiast into prison; but the grateful god could not forget his faithful servant and speedily moved the indulgent emperor to order his release. The panegyric on Sūr Dās stands thus in the text of the original poem: the explanatory narrative, as added by Priya Dās, is too long to copy:—

मूल

श्री मदनमोहन सूरदास की नाम शखला जैरी अटल ॥
 गान काव्य गुन राशि सुहृद सहचरि अवतारी ।
 राधाकृष्ण उपास्य रहस्य सुख के अधिकारी ॥
 नवरस मुख्य सिंगार विविध भांतिन करि गायी ।
 वदन उच्चरत वेर सहस पाइन ह्वे धायी ॥
 अंगीकार की अवधि यह ज्यों आख्या भ्राता जलज ।
 श्री मदनमोहन सूरदास की नामखशला जैरी अटल ॥

Translation.—"Joined together like two links in a chain are the god Madan Mohan and Sūr Dās, that paragon of excellence in verse and song, incarnation of the good and beneficent, votary of Rādhā Krishan, master of mystic delights. Manifold his songs of love; the muse of love, queen of the nine, came dancing on foot* to the melodies that he uttered; his persuasiveness as unbounded as

* Each Ras (the Hindu equivalent for the European Muse) has a special vehicle of its own, and the meaning appears to be that the Ras Srīngār, or Erotic Muse, alighted on foot the better to catch the sound of his voice.

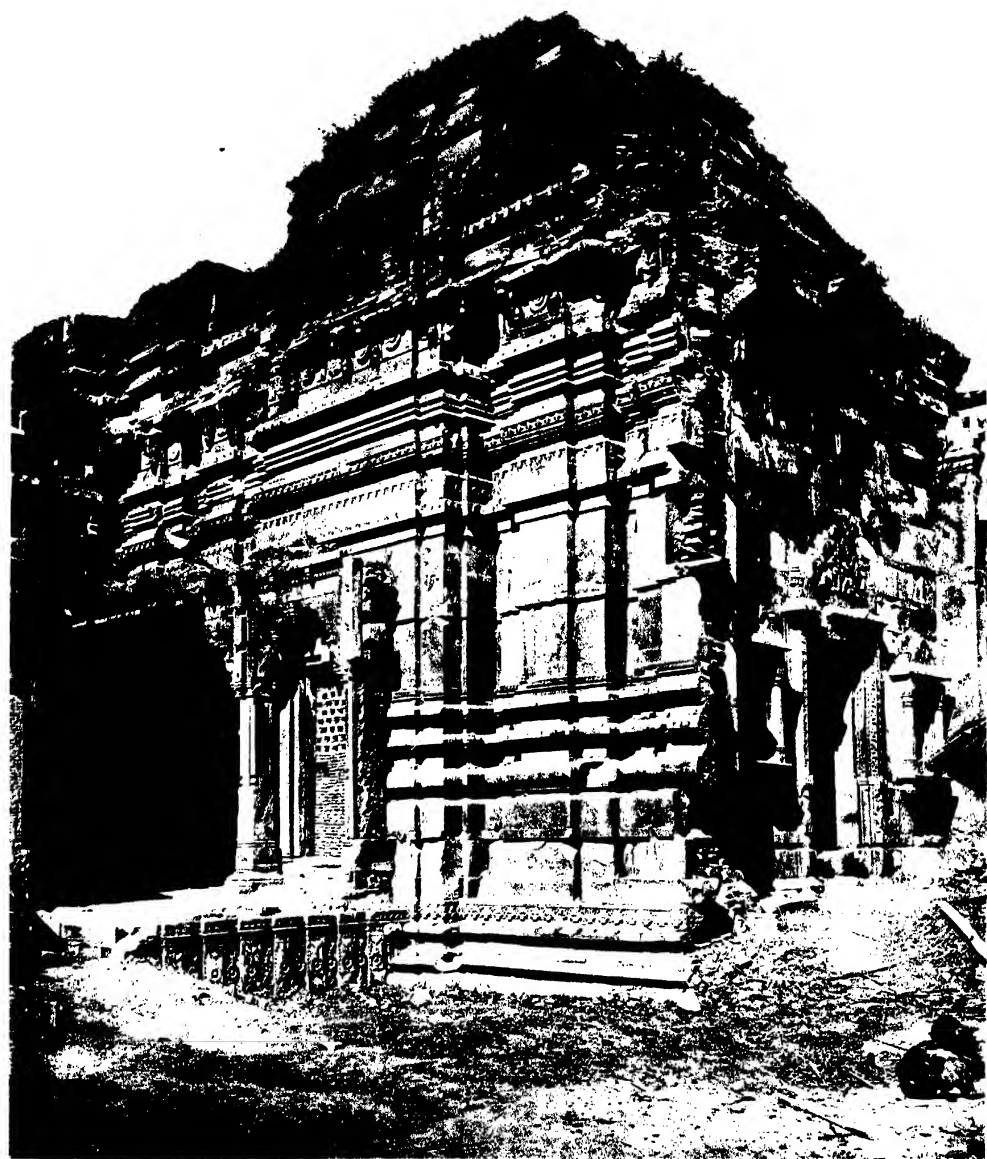
that of the fabled twin brothers.* Joined together like two links in a chain are the god Madan Mohan and Súr Dás."

The temple of Gopináth, which may be slightly the earliest of the series, is said to have been built by Ráesil Jí, a grandson of the founder of the Shai-kháwát branch of the Kachhwáhá Thákurs. He distinguished himself so greatly in the repulse of an Afghan invasion, that Akbat bestowed upon him the title of Darbári, with a grant of land and the important command of 1,250 horse. He also accompanied his liege lord, Rájá Mán Sinh of Amber, against the Mewár Rána Pratáp, and further distinguished himself in the expedition to Kábul. The date of his death is not known. The temple, of which he is the reputed founder, corresponds very closely both in style and dimensions with that of Madan Mohan, already described, and has a similar chapel attached to the south side of the sacrarium. It is, however, in a far more ruinous condition; the nave has entirely disappeared; the three towers have been levelled with the roof; and the entrance gateway of the court-yard is tottering to its fall. The special feature of the building is a curious arcade of three bracket arches, serving apparently no structural purpose, but merely added as an ornamental screen to the south wall, which already had a fine boldly moulded plinth and required no further adornment. The terrace on which this arcade stands has a carved stone front, which had been buried for years, till I uncovered it. The choir arch is of handsome design, elaborately decorated with arabesque sculptures. It was partly concealed from view by mean sheds which had been built up against it, all of which I caused to be pulled down; but the interior is still used as a stable, and the north side is blocked by the modern temple. This was built about the year 1821 by a Bengali Kayath, Nand Kumár Ghos, who also built the new temple of Madan Mohan. The votive offerings here made are estimated at Rs. 3,000 a year, in addition to which there is an endowment yielding an annual income of Rs. 1,200.†

The temple of Jugal Kishor, the fourth of the old series, stands at the lower end of the town near the Kesi Ghát. Its construction is referred to the year *Sambat* 1684, i. e., 1627 A D., in the reign of Jahángir, and the founder's name is preserved as Non-Karan. He is said to have been a Ohauhán Thákur; but it is not improbable that he was the elder brother of Ráesil, who built the temple of Gopináth. The choir, which is slightly larger than in the other

* The fabled twin brothers are probably the two Gandharvas (heavenly musicians), who were metamorphosed into *arjuna* trees till restored by Krishna to their proper form.

† The Seth's Garden, where stands the Brahmo-Sava Pavilion, was purchased from the temple of Gopináth, and is still liable to an annual charge of Rs. 18.



TEMPLE OF GOPI-NĀTH, BRINDA-BAN.



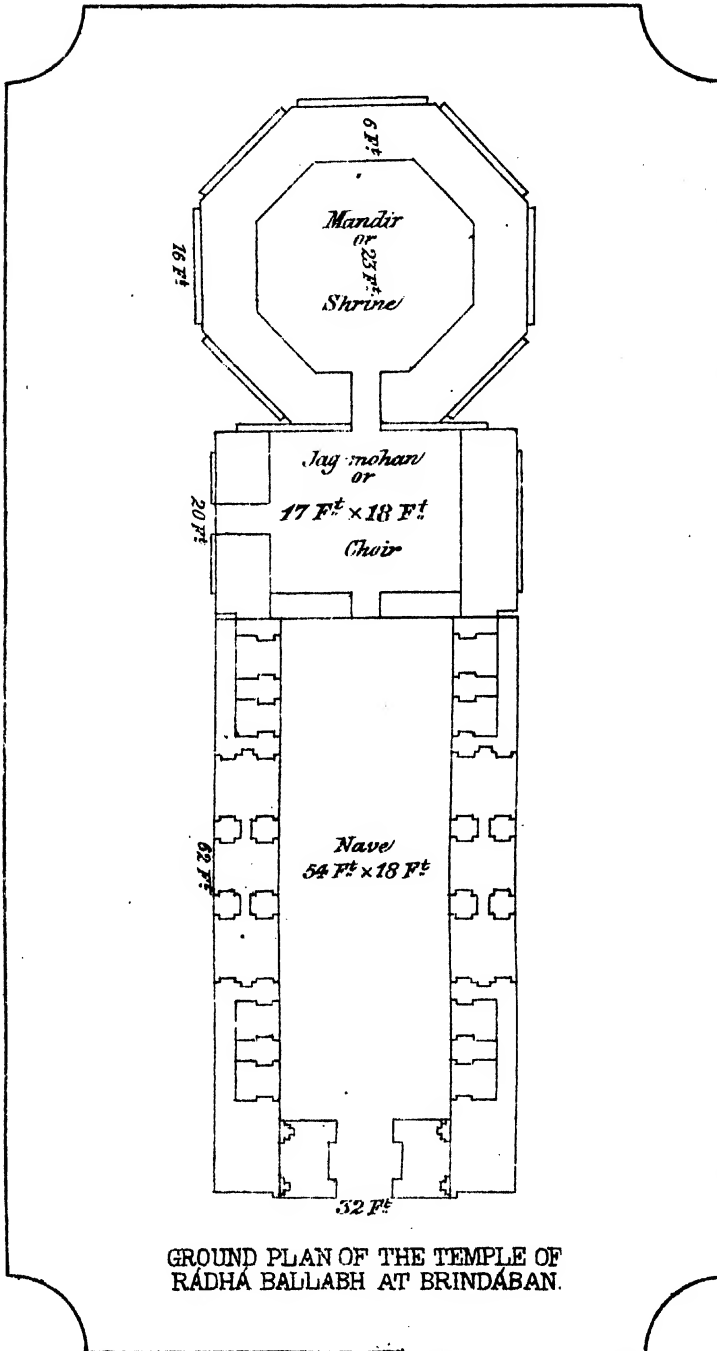
examples, being 25 feet square, has the principal entrance, as usual, at the east end, but is peculiar in having also, both north and south, a small doorway under a hood supported on eight closely-set brackets carved into the form of elephants. The nave has been completely destroyed. The choir arch is an interesting composition with a fan-light, so to speak, of pierced tracery in the head of the arch, and a group above representing Krishna supporting the Gobardhan hill. I had caused the whole of the building to be cleared out, removing from the upper room of the tower an accumulation of pigeons' dung more than four feet deep; and at my suggestion the municipal committee had rented the temple for a rupee a month to ensure its always being kept clean and unoccupied for the ready inspection of visitors. As soon as I left the district, the new magistrate vetoed this arrangement, and I suppose the place is now once more a cattle shed.

The somewhat later temple of Rádha Ballabh has been already mentioned in the previous chapter. It is in itself a handsome building and is further of special architectural interest as the last example of the early eclectic style. The ground plan is much the same as in the temple of Harideva at Gobardhan and the work is of the same character, but carried out on a larger scale. The nave has an eastern facade, 34 feet broad, which is in three stages, the upper and lower Hindu, and the one between them purely Muhammadan in character. The interior is a fine vaulted hall (63 ft. \times 20 ft.) with a double tier of openings north and south; those in the lower story having brackets and architraves and those above being Muhammadan arches, as in the middle story of the front. These latter open into a narrow gallery with small clerestory windows looking on to the street. Below, the three centre bays of the colonnade are open doorways, and the two at either end are occupied by the staircase that leads to the upper gallery. Some of the carved panels of the stone ceiling have fallen; but the outer roof, a steep gable, also of stone, is as yet perfect. Some trees however have taken root between the slabs and unless carefully removed must eventually destroy it. The actual shrine, or *celik*, as also at the temple of Gobind Deva was demolished by Aurangzeb and only the plinth remains, upon which a room has been built, which is used as a kitchen. As no mosque was ever erected at Briandá-ban, it is not a little strange that Mr. Fergusson in his History of Indian architecture, when speaking of this very locality, should venture to say: "It does not appear proven that the Moslems did wantonly throw down the temples of the Hindus, except when they wanted the materials for the erection of mosques or other buildings." A thorough repair of roof, eaves and east front would cost Rs. 4,500, and as a typical example of architecture, the building is worth the outlay. A modern temple has been erected on the south side, and

the name of the old fabric has long been entirely disused. In fact this is the last temple in the neighbourhood in which a nave was built at all. In the modern style it is so completely obsolete that its distinctive name even is forgotten.

These five temples form a most interesting architectural series, and if Mr. Fergusson had ever been able to visit Brindá-ban or to procure photographs of them, it is possible that he would not have found the origin of the Hindu sikhara such an inscrutable mystery as he declares it to be. He conjectures that the external form may have been simply a constructural necessity resulting from the employment internally of a very tall pointed horizontal arch, like that of the Treasury at Mycenæ. But so far as my experience extends, no such arch was ever used in a Hindu temple. On the contrary, the *cella*, over which the sikhara is built, is separated from the more public part of the building by a solid wall pierced only by a doorway small enough to be easily closed; while the chamber itself is of no great height and is covered in with a vaulted ceiling, as to the shape of which nothing could be learnt from a view of the sikhara outside; and *vice versa*. Thus at the great temple of Gobind Deva the central dome of the nave (or porch as Mr. Fergusson very inappropriately calls it) is perfect; but it is impossible to determine from thence with any certainty what would have been the outline and proportions of the tower that the architect proposed to raise over it. I have no question in my own mind that the origin of the sikhara is to be found in the Buddhist stûpa. Nor do I detect any violent break in the development. The lower story of the modern temple which, though most commonly square, is occasionally, as in the Madan Mohan and Râdhâ Ballabh examples, an octagon, and therefore a near approach to a circle, is represented by the masonry plinth of the relic-mound; the high curvilinear roof by the swelling contour of the earthen hill, and the pinnacle with its peculiar base by the Buddhist rails and umbrella on the top of a Dagoba. From the original stûpa to the temple of Parsvanâth at Khajurao of the 11th century, the towers of Madan Mohan and Jugal Kishor at Brindá-ban of the 16th, and the temple of Vishveshvar at Banâras, the gradation seems to be easy and continuous.

Of the smaller temples some have been casually mentioned in connection with their founders. Though of ancient date, they have been often renewed and possess no special architectural merit. The same may be said of the Bengali temple of Sringâr Bat, near the Madan Mohan, which, however, enjoys an annual income of Rs. 13,500, divided among three shareholders, who each take the religious services for four months at a time. The village of Jahângirpur on the opposite bank of the river, including the sacred grove of Bel-ban, forms part of the endowment.



The temple of Rádhá Dámodar has a special claim to distinction from the fact that it contains the ashes of Jíva, its founder, as also of his two uncles, the Gosáins Rúpa and Sanátan, the founders of the temple of Gobind Deva, who in their life-time had expressed a wish to be buried together within its precincts. Their joint anniversary is celebrated in the month of Sáwan, when the three shrines are visited by great crowds of Bengalis, who, according to custom, make each some small offering. The proceeds used to be divided between the priests of the two temples; but in 1875, the Rádhá Dámodar Mahant made an attempt to engross the whole by excluding the Gobind Deva people from any participation in the ceremony. The plea advanced was that they were renegades from Vaishnavism since the time that they had complied with the Jaypur Mahárája's order and marked their foreheads with the three horizontal lines that indicate a votary of Siva. This exclusion was naturally resented by the Gobind Deva Mahant, who claimed the immemorial right of free access to his founder's tomb, and as there seemed cause to anticipate that the two rival factions would come to blows, precautions were taken to suppress all external manifestations whatever, much to the chagrin of the Rádhá Dámodar claimants, who had prepared to signalize their triumph by a display of exceptional magnificence.

Of the modern temples, five claim special notice. The first in time of erection is the temple of Krishna Chandrama, built about the year 1810, at a cost of 25 lakhs, by the wealthy Bengali Káyath, Krishna Chandra Sinh, better known as the Lálú Bábu. It stands in a large court-yard, which is laid out, not very tastefully, as a garden, and is enclosed by a lofty wall of solid masonry, with an arched gateway at either end. The building is of quadrangular form, 160 feet in length, with a front central compartment of three arches and a lateral colonnade of five bays reaching back on either side towards the cella. The workmanship throughout is of excellent character, and the stone has been carefully selected. The two towers, or *sikharas*, are singularly plain, but have been wisely so designed that their smooth polished surface may remain unsullied by rain and dust.

The founder's ancestor, Bábu Murli Mohan Sinh, son of one Har Krishna Sinh, was a wealthy merchant and landed proprietor at Kándi in Murshidabad. His heir, Bihári Lál Sinh, had three sons, Rádhá Gobind, Gangá Gobind, and Rádhá Charan: of these, the last-named, on inheriting his share of the paternal estate, broke off connection with the rest of the family and has dropped out of sight. Rádhá Gobind took service under Alláh Virdí Khán and Siráj-ud-daula, Nawábs of Murshidabad, and was by them promoted to posts

of high honour. A rest-house for travellers and a temple of Rádhá Ballabh, which he founded, are still in existence. He died without issue, leaving his property to his brother, Gangá Gobind, who took a prominent part in the revision of the Bengal settlement under Lord William Bentinck, in 1828. He built a number of *dharmaśálas* for the reception of pilgrims and four temples at Rámchandrapur in Nadiyá. These latter have all been washed away by the river, but the images of the gods were transferred to Kándi. He also maintained several Sanskrit schools in Nadiyá; and distinguished himself by the extraordinary pomp with which he celebrated his father's obsequies, spending, moreover, every year on the anniversary of his death a lakh of rupees in religious observances. Gangá Gobind's son, Prán Krishan Sinh, still further augmented his magnificent patrimony before it passed in succession to his son, Krishan Chandra Sinh, better known under the soubriquet of 'the Lálá Bábu.' He held office first in Bardwán and then in Orisá, and, when about thirty years of age, came to settle in the holy land of Braj. In connexion with his temple at Brindá-ban he founded also a rest-house, where a large number of pilgrims are still daily fed; the annual cost of the whole establishment being, as is stated, Rs. 22,000. He also enclosed the sacred tanks at Rádhá-kund with handsome gháts and terraces of stone at the cost of a lakh. When some forty years of age, he renounced the world, and in the character of a Bairági continued for two years to wander about the woods and plains of Braj, begging his bread from day to day till the time of his death, which was accidentally caused by the kick of a horse at Gobardhan.* He was frequently accompanied in his rambles by Mani Rám, father of the famous Seth Lakhmi Chand, who also had adopted the life of an ascetic. In the course of the ten years which the Lálá Bábu spent as a worldling in the Mathurá district, he contrived to buy up all the villages most noted as places of pilgrimage in a manner which strikingly illustrates his hereditary capacity for business. The zamíndárs were assured that he had no pecuniary object in view, but only the strict preservation of the hallowed spots. Again, as in the days of Krishna, they would become the secluded haunts of the monkey and the peacock, while the former proprietors would remain undisturbed, the happy guardians of so many new Arcadias. Thus the wise man from the East picked up one estate after another at a price in every case far below the real value, and in some instances for a purely nominal sum. However binding his fair

* The following Hindi couplet is current in the district with reference to the death of the two millionaires, the Lálá Bábu and Párikh Jí,

Lálá Bábu margaya, ghora dosh lagáye,
Párikh ká kira pará; Bidhi son ko basae ?

promises may have been on the conscience of the pious Bābu, they were never recorded on paper, and therefore are naturally ignored by his absentee descendants and their agents, from whom any appeal *ad misericordiam* on the part of the impoverished representatives of the old owners of the soil meets with very scant consideration. The villages which he acquired in the Mathurá district are fifteen in number, viz., in the Kosi Pargana, Jáu ; in Chhátá, Nandgánw, Barsána, Sanket, Karhela, Garhi, and Háthiya ; and in the home pargana, Mathurá, Jait, Maholi, and Nabí-pur ; all these, except the last, being more or less places of pilgrimage. To these must be added the four Gújar villages of Pírpur, Gulálpur, Chamar-garhi, and Dhínri. For Nandgánw he gave Rs. 900 ; for Barsána, Rs. 600 ; for Sanket, Rs. 800 ; and for Karhela, Rs. 500 ; the *annual* revenue derived from these places being now as follows ; from Nandgánw, Rs. 6,712 ; from Barsána, Rs. 3,109 ; from Sanket, Rs. 1,642 ; and from Karhela, Rs. 1,900. It may also be noted that payment was invariably made in Brindá-ban rupees, which are worth only thirteen or fourteen anas each. The Bābu further purchased seventy-two villages in Aligarh and Bulandshahr from Rájá Bír Sinh, Chauhán ; but twelve of these were sold at auction in the time of his heir, Bābu Sri Náráyan Sinh. This latter, being a minor at his father's death, remained for a time under the tutelage of his mother, the Ráni Kaitáni, who again, on his decease, when only thirty years old, managed the estate till the coming of age of the two sons whom his widows had been specially authorized to adopt. The elder of the two, Pratáp Chandra, founded an English school at Kándi and dispensary at Calcutta. He was for some time a Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal, received from Government the title of Bahádúr, and was enrolled as a Companion of the Star of India. He died in 1867, leaving four sons, Girís-chandra (since deceased) Púran-chandra, Kánti-chandra, and Sarad-chandra. The younger brother, Isvar-chandra, who died in 1863, left an only son, Indra-chandra, who now enjoys half the estate, the other half being divided between his three cousins. During their minority the property was under the control of the Court of Wards ; the General Manager being Mr. Robert Harvey of Calcutta. The gross rental of the lands in the Mathurá district is Rs. 76,738, upon which the Government demand, including the 10 per cent. cess, is Rs. 49,496. The value of the property when taken in charge was estimated at Rs. 2,40,193 ; it has now increased to Rs. 3,80,892.

The great temple, founded by Seths Gobind Dás and Rádhá Krishan, brothers of the famous millionaire Lakhmi Chand, is dedicated to Rang Jí, or **Srí** Ranga Náth, that being the special name of Vishnu most affected by Rámánuja, the founder of the **Srí** Sampradáya. It is built in the Madras

style, in accordance with plans supplied by their guru, the great Sanskrit scholar, Swami Rāṅgācārya, a native of that part of India.*

The works were commenced in 1845 and completed in 1851, at a cost of 45 lakhs of rupees. The outer walls measure 778 feet in length, by 440 in breadth, and enclose a fine tank and garden in addition to the actual temple-court. This latter has lofty gate-towers, or *gopuras*, covered with a profusion of coarse sculpture. In front of the god is erected a pillar, or *dhvajā stambha*, of copper gilt, sixty feet in height, and also sunk some twenty-four feet more below the surface of the ground. This alone cost Rs. 10,000. The principal or western entrance of the outer court is surmounted by a pavilion, ninety-three feet high, constructed in the Mathurā style after the design of a native artist. In its graceful outlines and the elegance of its reticulated tracery, it presents a striking contrast to the heavy and misshapen masses of the Madras Gopura, which rises immediately in front of it. A little to one side of the entrance is a detached shed, in which the god's *rath*, or carriage, is kept. It is an enormous wooden tower in several stages, with monstrous effigies at the corners, and is brought out only once a year in the month of Chait during the festival of the Brahmotsav. The mela lasts for ten days, on each of which the god is taken in state from the temple along the road, a distance of 690 yards, to a garden where a pavilion has been erected for his reception. The procession is always attended with torches, music, and incense, and some military display contributed by the Rājā of Bharatpur. On the day, when the *rath* is used, the image, composed of the eight metals, is seated in the centre of the car, with attendant Brāhmans standing on either side to fan it with *chaugies*. Each of the Seths, with the rest of the throng, gives an occasional hand to the ropes by which the ponderous machine is drawn; and by dint of much exertion, the distance is ordinarily accomplished in the space of about two and-a-half hours. On the evening of the following day there is a grand display of fire-works, to which all the European residents of the station are invited, and which attracts a large crowd of natives from the country round about. On other days when the *rath* is not brought out, the god has a wide choice of vehicles, being borne

* He translated some of Rāmānuja's works from the language of Southern India into Sanskrit, and was also the author of two polemical treatises in defence of the orthodoxy of Vaiṣṇavism. The first is a pamphlet entitled *Durjana-kari-panehāna*, which was written as an answer to eight questions propounded for solution by the Saivite Pandits of Jyepur. The *Mahārāja* not being convinced had a rejoinder published under the name of *Sajjana-manonuranjana*, which elicited a more elaborate work from the Swāmi, called *Vyāmooha-vidrāvānam*, in which he brought together a great number of texts from the canonical Scriptures of the Hindus in support of his own views and in refutation of those of his opponents. He died on the 26th of March, 1874.



THE SETH'S TEMPLE, BRINDA-BAN.

now on a palki, a richly gilt 'tabernacle,' (*punya-kothi*), a throne (*sinhdasan*), or a tree, either the kadamb, or the tree of Paradise (*kalpa-vriksha*); now on some demi-god, as the sun or the moon, Garúra, Hanuman, or Sesa; now again on some animal, as a horse, an elephant, a lion, a swan, or the fabulous eight-footed *Sarabha*. The ordinary cost of one of these celebrations is about Rs. 5,000, while the annual expenses of the whole establishment amount to no less than Rs. 57,000, the largest item in that total being Rs. 30,000 for the *bhog*, or food, which after being presented to the god is then consumed by the priests or given away in charity. Every day 500 of the Sri Vaishnava sect are fed at the temple, and every morning up to ten o'clock a dole of flour is given to anyone of any denomination who chooses to apply for it.

The endowment consists of thirty-three villages, yielding a gross income of Rs. 1,17,000, on which the Government demand amounts to Rs. 64,000. Of the thirty-three villages, thirteen, including one quarter of Brindá-ban, are in the Mathurá, and twenty in the Agra district. The votive offerings amount on an average to Rs. 2,000 a year, and there is further a sum invested in the funds which yields in annual interest as much as Rs. 11,800. In 1868, the whole estate was transferred by the Swámi—the deed of transfer bearing a stamp of Rs. 2,000—to a committee of management, who on his death were bound to appoint a successor. This arrangement was necessitated by the bad conduct of his son Srinivásácharya—named according to family custom after the grandfather—who far from being a scholar like his father, is barely educated up to the ordinary level of his countrymen; while his profligacy is open and notorious. Immorality and priestly dignity, it is true, are not universally accounted as incompatible qualities; but the scandal in his case is augmented by the ceremonial pollution he incurs from his habit of familiar intercourse with the lowest classes of the people, while his reckless extravagance knows no bounds. Since his father's death he receives a fixed allowance for his maintenance; but another Guru has been brought up from Madras to conduct the temple services, and the estate is entirely under the control of the committee. This consists of six members, of whom the most active is Seth Náráyan Dás. He is also appointed general attorney for the trustees, and all the temple property, valued at about 20 lakhs, is entered in his name. Since the new arrangement, there has been no falling off in the splendour of the festivals or in the liberality with which the different charities are maintained, while at the same time the estate has been improved and the cost of establishment reduced.

Of the villages that form the endowment, three in Mahában and two in Jalesar were conferred on the temple by Rájá Mán Sinh of Jaypur. Though the lawful heir to the throne, he never took his seat upon it. He was the

posthumous son of Rájá Prithi Sinh, on whose death, in 1779 A. D., the surviving brother, Pratáp Sinh, claimed the succession. The nephew's right was subsequently upheld by Daulat Ráo Sindhia, but the young prince was devoted to letters and religion, and on being assured of an annual income of Rs. 30,000 he gladly relinquished the royal title and retired to Brindá-ban. Here he spent the remainder of his days in the practice of the most rigid austerities, till death overtook him at the age of 70, in 1848. For 27 years he had remained sitting cross-legged in one position, never moving from his seat but once a week when nature compelled him to withdraw. Five days before his death he predicted his coming end and solemnly bequeathed to the Seth the care of his old servants; one of whom, Lakshmi Náráyan Byás, was manager of the temple estate, till his death in 1874.

If the effect of the Seths' lavish endowment is impaired by the ill-judged adoption of a foreign style of architecture, still more is this error apparent in the temple of Rádhá Raman, completed within the last few years. The founder is Sáh Kundan Lál, of Lakhsnau, who has built on a design suggested by the modern secular buildings of that city. The principal entrance to the courtyard is, in a grandiose way, decidedly effective; and the temple itself is constructed of the most costly materials and fronted with a colonnade of spiral marble pillars, each shaft being of a single piece, which though rather too attenuated are unquestionably elegant. The mechanical execution is also good; but all is rendered of no avail by the abominable taste of the design. The facade with its uncouth pediment, flanked by sprawling monsters, and its row of life-size female figures in meretricious, but at the same time most ungraceful, attitudes, resembles nothing so much as a disreputable London casino; a severe, though doubtless unintended, satire, on the part of the architect, on the character of the divinity to whom it is consecrated. Ten lakhs of rupees are said to have been wasted on its construction.*

In striking contrast to this tasteless edifice is the temple of Rádhá Indra Kishor, built by Ráni Indrajit Kunvar, widow of Het Rám, Bráhmaṇ zamindár, of Tikári by Gayá. It was six years in building, and was completed at the end of 1871. It is a square of seventy feet divided into three aisles of five bays each, with a fourth space of equal dimensions for the reception of the god. The *sikhara* is surmounted with a copper *kalas*, or final, heavily gilt, which alone cost Rs. 5,000. The piers are composed of four conjoined pillars,

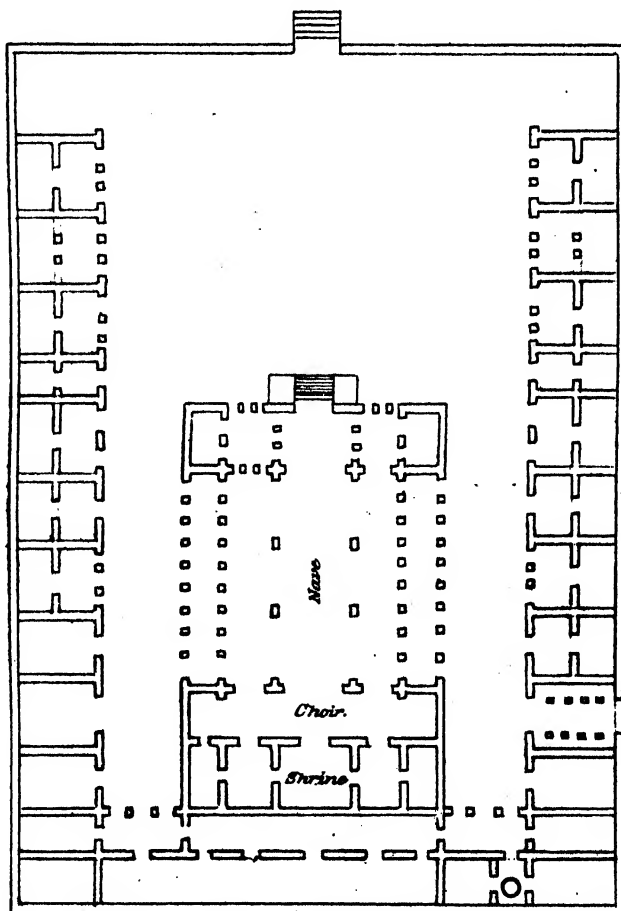
* In imitation of the bad example thus set, a new temple dedicated to Rádhá Gopál was built in 1873 by Lálá Braj Kishor, a wealthy resident of Sháhjahánpur, where he is district treasurer. It has a long frontage facing one of the principal streets, with a continuous balcony to the upper story, in which each pillar is a clumsily carved stone figure of a *Sakhi*, or 'dancing girl.'

TEMPLE OF RADHA GOPAL

AT
BRINDA BAN

Scale 50 feet = 1 inch.

50 0 50 100 feet.



each shaft being a single piece of stone, brought from the Pahārpur quarry in Bharatpur territory. The building is raised on a high and enriched plinth, and the entire design is singularly light and graceful. Its cost has been three lakhs.

The temple of Rādhā Gopāl, built by the Mahārāja of Gwalior, under the direction of his guru Brahmachāri Gīri-dhāri Dās, is also entitled to some special notice. The interior is an exact counterpart of an Italian church and would be an excellent model for our architects to follow, since it secures to perfection both free ventilation and a softened light. It consists of a nave 58 feet long, with four aisles, two on either side, a sacarium 21 feet in depth and a narthex of the same dimensions at the entrance. The outer aisles of the nave, instead of being closed in with solid walls, have open arches stopped only with wooden bars; and the tier of windows above gives on to a balcony and verandah. Thus any glare of light is impossible. The building was opened for religious service in 1860, and as it stands has cost four lakhs of rupees. The exterior has a mean and unsightly appearance, which might be obviated by the substitution of reticulated stone tracery for the wooden bars of the outer arches below and a more substantial balcony and verandah in lieu of the present rickety erection above. An entrance gateway is now being added.

There are in Brindā-ban no secular buildings of any great antiquity. The oldest is the court, or Ghera, as it is called, of Sawāi Jay Sinh, the founder of Jaypur, who made Brindā-ban an occasional residence during the time that he was Governor of the Province of Agra (1721-1728). It is a large walled enclosure with a pavilion at one end consisting of two aisles divided into five bays by piers of coupled columns of red sandstone. The river front of the town has a succession of ghāts reaching for a distance of about a mile and-a-half. Their beauty has been greatly marred by the religious mendicants who have taken possession of all the graceful stone kiosques and utilized them for cooking places, blocking up the arches with mud walls and blackening the carved work with the smoke of their fires. I cleared out a great many, but left the task unfinished. The one highest up the stream is the Kālī-mardan Ghāt with the kadamb tree from which Krishna plunged into the water to encounter the great serpent Kālīya; and the lowest at the other end is Kesi Ghāt, where he slew the equine demon of that name. Near the latter are two handsome mansions built by the Rānis Kishori and Lachhmi, consorts of Ranjīt Sinh and Randhīr Sinh, two successive Rājās of Bharatpur. In both the arrangement is identical with that of a mediæval college, carried out on a miniature scale but with extreme elaboration of detail. The buildings are disposed in the form of a quadrangle, with an enriched gateway, in the centre of one front and

opposite it the chapel, of more imposing elevation than the ordinary domestic apartments, which constitute the two flanks of the square. In Ráni Lachmi's *kunj* (such being the distinctive name for a building of this character), the temple front is a very rich and graceful composition. It has a colonnade of five arches standing on a high plinth, which, like every part of the wall surface, is covered with the most delicate carving, and is shaded above by unusually broad eaves which have a wavy pattern on their under-surface and are supported on bold brackets. The work of the elder Ráni is of much plainer character; and a third *kunj*, which stands a little lower down the river, close to the temple of Dhīr Samīr,* built by Thākūr Badan Sinh, the father of Súrāj Mall, the first of the Bharatpur Rájās, though large, has no architectural pretensions whatever. The most striking of the whole series is, however, the Gangá Mohan Kunj, built in the next generation by Gangá, Súrāj Mall's Ráni. The river front, which is all that was ever completed, has a high and massive basement story, which on the land side, as seen from the interior of the court, becomes a mere plinth for the support of a majestic double cloister with broad and lofty arch and massive clustered pier. The style is precisely the same as that which prevails in the Garden Palace at Dīg, a work of the same chief; who, however rude and uncultured himself, appears to have been able to appreciate and command the services of the highest available talent whether in the arts of war or peace. His son, Ratn Sinh, would seem to have inherited his father's architectural proclivities, for he had commenced what promised to be a very large and handsome mausoleum for the reception of his own funeral ashes, but died before the work had advanced beyond the first story. This is in one of the large gardens outside the town beyond the Madan Mohan temple, and has not been touched since his death.

A few years ago the town was exceedingly dirty and ill kept; but this state of things ceased from the introduction of a municipality. The conservancy arrangements are now of a most satisfactory character, and all the streets of any importance have been either paved or metalled. This unambitious, but most essential, work has, up to the present time, absorbed almost all the surplus income; the only exception being a house, intended to serve both for municipal meetings and also for the reception of European visitors, which

* In explanation of the title of this temple, which means literally 'a soft breeze,' take the following line from the Gītā Gobinda of Jayadeva:—

Dhira-sāmirē Yumunā-tīre vasati vane vana-māli.

which may be thus translated—

He is waiting, flower-begarlanded, beneath the forest trees,
Where cool across the Jamunā steals the soft delicious breeze.

I had not quite completed at the time of my transfer. It is in Indian style with carved stone pillars and arches to the verandah and pierced tracery in the windows. As the ground about it had also been taken up for a garden, the whole would have formed a conspicuous ornament to the official quarter of the town, where all the other buildings are on the conventional and singularly prosaic D. P. W. type. Education, as conducted on European principles, has never made much way in the town, in spite of the efforts of the committee to promote it by the establishment of schools of different grades. Some of these have been closed altogether. The Tahsili school, completed in 1868 at a cost of Rs. 3,710, which included a donation of Rs. 500 from Swami Rangacharya, the head of the Seth's temple, still continues and has a room also for some Anglo-vernacular classes; but the number of pupils, though variable, is never very large. The children find it more lucrative and amusing to hang about the temples and act as guides to the pilgrims and sight-seers. The dispensary, also opened in 1868, cost the small sum of only Rs. 1,943; but as yet it has had no accommodation for in-door patients. As such a large number of people come to Brindá-ban simply for the sake of dying there, while of the resident population nearly one-half are professed celibates, the proportion of births to deaths is almost in inverse ratio to that which prevails elsewhere; a circumstance which might well startle anyone who was unacquainted with the exceptional character of the locality. The municipal income for the year 1871-72 was Rs. 17,549, which may be regarded as a fair average. Of this sum, Rs. 16,666 were derived from octroi collections; the tax on articles of food alone amounting to Rs. 13,248. These figures indicate very clearly, what might also be inferred from the preceding sketch, that there is no local trade or manufacture, and that the town is maintained entirely by its temples and religious reputation. There was a mint (*Taksál*) established here by Daulat Rao Sindhia, in 1786, whence the name of the street called the Taksál-wali-Gali. When the Jats were in possession of the country, they transferred it to Bharatpur, where what are called Brindá-bani rupees are still coined. They are especially used at weddings, and when there are many such festivities going on, the coin is sometimes valued at as much as 13 anas, but ordinarily sells for 12.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.

I.—CALENDAR OF LOCAL FESTIVALS AT BRINDĀ-BĀN.

Chait Sudi (April 1—15).

1. *Chait Sudi 3.*—Gangaur : adoration of Ganpati and Gauri. In the older Sanskrit calendars this day is generally named Saubhāgya Sayana, and is appropriated to a special devotion in honour of the goddess Arundhati, which is recommended to be practised by all women who desire to lead a happy married life and escape the curse of early widowhood. At the present day the oblations to Gauri are accompanied by the repetition of the following uncouth formula, in commemoration of a Rāni of Udaypur, who, after enjoying a life of the utmost domestic felicity, had the further happiness of dying at the same moment as her husband :—

गोर गोर गनपति ईश्वर पूजे पारवती महेश पूजा छा आला गीला गोर के
सेना काटि काटिका दे टिमका दे रानी वरत करै वालादे रानी वरत करै
वार गया पारगया खेरा ले राजाने दिया ।

2. *Chait Sudi 9.*—Rām Navami. Rāma's birthday.

3. *Chait Sudi 11.*—Phul dol.

Baisākh (April—May).

4. *Baisākh Sudi 3.*—Akhay Tīj. Among agriculturists, the day for settling the accounts of the past harvest. Visits are paid to the image of Bihāri, which on this festival only has the whole body exposed. The ceremony is hence called 'Chandan bāgā kā darsan,' as the idol, though besmeared with sandal-wood (*chandan*), has no clothing (*bāgā*). The temple *bhog* on this day consists exclusively of *kakris* (a kind of cucumber) *dāl*, and a mash made of wheat, barley, and *chandā* ground up and mixed with sugar and *ghī*.

5. *Baisākh Sudi 9.*—Jānaki Navami. Held at Akrūr. Sītā's birthday.

6. *Baisākh Sudi 10.*—Hit jī kā utsav : at the Rās Mandal. Anniversary of the birth of the Gosāin Ilari Vaus.

7. *Baisākh Sudi 14.*—Narsinh avatār.

Jeth (May—June).

8. *Jeth Badi 2.*—Perambulation, called Ban bihār kā parikrama. The distance traversed is between five and six miles, each pilgrim starting from the point which happens to be most convenient.

9. *Jeth Badi* 5.—The same, but at night.
10. *Jeth Badi* 11.—Rás Mandal.
11. *Jeth Sudi* 5.—Jal Jātra.

On the full moon of Jeth, Gaj-graha ká Mela: representation of a fight between an elephant and a crocodile in the tank at the back of the Seth's temple.

Asārḥ (June—July).

12. *Asārḥ Sudi* 2.—Rath Jātra. The god's collation, or *bhog*, consists on this day only of mangoes, *jāman* fruit and *chaná*.

13. *Asārḥ full moon*.—Dhío dhío ká mela at Madan Mohan, followed by the Pavan Pariksha.

Srávan (July—August).

14. *Srávan Badi* 5.—Rádha Raman Ji ká dhío dhío. Mourning for the death of Gosáin Gepál Bhatt, the founder of the temple.

15. *Srávan Badi* 8.—Gokulánand ká dhío dhío. Mourning for the death of Gosáin Gokulánand.

16. *Srávan Sudi* 3.—Hindol, or Jhúl-jātra. Swinging festival.

17. *Srávan Sudi* 9.—Fair at the Brahm Kund.

18. *Srávan Sudi* 11.—Pavitra-dhāran, or presentation of Bráhmanical threads.

19. *Srdvan full moon*.—Fair at the Gyán gudari.

Bhádón (August—September.)

20. *Bhádón Badi* 8.—Janm Ashtami. Krishna's birthday.

21. *Bhádón Badi* 9.—Climbing a greasy pole, which is set up outside the temple of Rang Jí, with a dhoti, a lota, five sers of sweetmeats, and Rs. 5 on the top, for the man who can succeed in getting them. This takes place in the afternoon. In the evening, the Nandotsav, or festival in honour of Nanda, is held at the Sringár-bat, and continued through the night with music and dancing.

22. *Bhádón Sudi* 8.—Rádhá Ashtami. Rádhá's birthday. A large assemblage also at the Mauni Dás ki tatti by the Nidh-ban, in honour of a saint who kept a vow of perpetual silence.

23. *Bhádón Sudi* 11.—Jal jholni mela, or Karwatui, 'the turning of the god' in his four month's sleep.

Kuvār (September—October).

24. *Kuvār Badi 11.*—Festival of the Sanjhi, lasting for five days ; and mela at the Brahm kund.

25. *Kuvār Sudi 1.*—Dīn Līlā at the Gyān-gudari and mela of the Kalpavriksha.

26. *Kuvār Sudi 10.*—The Dasahara. Commemoration of Rāma's conquest of Lankā.

27. *Kuvār Sudi 11.*—Perambulation.

Kārtik (October—November).

28. *Kārtik new moon.*—Dīpotsav, or festival of lamps.

29. *Kārtik Sudi 1.*—Anna-kūt, as at Gobardhan.

30. *Kārtik Sudi 8.*—Perambulation and Go-chāran.

31. *Kārtik Sudi 12.*—Festival of the Davānal, or forest-conflagration (see page 56).

32. *Kārtik Sudi 13.*—Festival of Kesi Dānav (see page 60).

33. *Kārtik Sudi 14.*—Nāg-lila : at the Kālī-mardan Ghāt with procession of boats.

34. *Kārtik full moon.* Fair at Bhat-rond (see page 173).

Agahn (November—December).

35. *Agahn Badi 1.*—Byāhle-kā-mela, or marriage feast, at the Rās Mandal and Chain Ghāt.

36. *Agahn Badi 3.*—Rām līlā.

37. *Agahn full moon.*—Dau ji-kā-mela, in honour of Balarām.

38. *Agahn Sudi 5.*—Bihāri janmotsav, or birth of Bihāri ; also the Bhatrat-milāp.

Pās (December—January).

39. *Pās Sudi 5 to 11.*—Dhanur-mās otsav, observed at the Seth's temple with processions issuing from the Vaikunth gate: 'Dhanur' being the sign Sagittarius. Throughout the month distribution of *khichri* (pulse and rice) is made at the temple of Rādhā Ballabh.

Mágh (January--February).

40. *Mágh Sudi 5.*—Basantotsav. The spring festival.

Phálgun (February--March).

41. *Phálgun Badi 11.*—Festival at the Mán-sarovar.
 42. *Phálgun Sudi 11.*—Phúl dol.
 43. *Phálgun full moon.*—The Holi or Carnival.

Chait Badi (March 15th to 31st).

44. *Chait Badi 1.*—Dburendi or sprinkling of the Holi-powder, and Dol játra.
 45. *Chait Badi 5.*—Káli dahan and phúl dol
 46. Brahmotsav. Festival at the Seth's temple, beginning Chait Badi 2, and lasting ten days.

II.—LIST OF RIVER-SIDE GHÁTS AT BRINDĀ-BAN.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Madan Ter Ghát, built by Pandit Moti Lal. | 18 Tehriwára Ghát, built by the Rájá of Tehri. |
| 2 Rám-gol Ghát, built by the Gosáin of the temple of Bihári Ji. | 19 Imla Ghát. |
| 3 Káli-daha Ghát, built by Holkar Ráo. | 20 Bardwán Ghát, built by a Rájá of Bardwán. |
| 4 Gopál Ghát, built by Madan Pál, Rájá of Kurauli | 21 Barwára Ghát. |
| 5 Nábhawála Ghát, built by Rájá Hira Sinh of Nábha. | 22 Ránawat Ghát, built by the Rána of Udaypur. |
| 6 Praskandan Ghát, re-built by Gosáins of temple of Madan Mohan. | 23 Singár Ghát, built by the Gosáin of the temple of Singárbat. |
| 7 Súrj Ghát. | 24 Ganga Mohan Ghát, built by Ganga, Ráni of Súrj Mall, of Bharatpur. |
| 8 Koriya Ghát, said to be named after certain Gosáins from Kol. | 25 Gobind Ghát, built by Rájá Mán, of Jaypur. |
| 9 Jugál Ghát, built by Hari Dás and Gobind Dás, Thákurs. | 26 Himmat Bahádur's Ghát, built by Gosáin Himmat Bahádur (see Chapter XI). |
| 10 Dhúsar Ghát. | 27 Chír Ghát or Chaín Ghát, built by Mullár Ráo, Holkar. |
| 11 Naya Ghát, built by Gosáin Bhajan Lal. | 28 Hanumán Ghát, built by Sawái Jay Sinh, of Jaypur. |
| 12 Sri-jí Ghát, built by Rájá of Jaypur. | 29 Bhaunra Ghát, built by Sawái Jay Sinh, of Jaypur. |
| 13 Bibár Ghát built by Appa Rám, from the Dakhin. | 30 Kishor Ráni's Ghát, built by Kishori, Ráni of Súrj Mall of Bharatpur. |
| 14 Dhúrawára Ghát, built by Rájá Randhír Sinh of Dhúra. | 31 Pandawára Ghát, built by Chaudhari Jagannáth, of Lakhnau. |
| 15 Nágari Dás. | 32 Kesi Ghát, built by the Bharatpur Ráni, Lachhmi. |
| 16 Bhím Ghát, built by the Rájá of Kota. | |
| 17 Andha (i. e., the dark or covered) Ghát, built by Rájá Mán, of Jaypur. | |

III.—NAMES OF MAHALLAS, OR CITY QUARTERS, AT BRINDÁ-BAN.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Gyán Gudari. | 34 Gobardhan Darwáza. |
| 2 Gopesvar Mahádeva. | 35 Ahir-pára. |
| 3 Bansi-bat. | 36 Dusáit (the name, it is said, of a
sub-division of the Sanádh tribe). |
| 4 Gopináth Bágh. | 37 Mahalla Barwára (from the number
of <i>bar</i> trees). |
| 5 Bazár Gopináth. | 38 Ghera Madan Mohan. |
| 6 Brahm-kund. | 39 Bihári-pura. |
| 7 Rádhá Nivás. | 40 Purohit-wára. |
| 8 Kesi Ghát. | 41 Mani-pára. |
| 9 Rádhá Raman. | 42 Gautam-pára. |
| 10 Nidh-ban. | 43 Ath-khamba. |
| 11 Pathar-pura. | 44 Gobind bágh. |
| 12 Nagara Gopináth. | 45 Loi Bazár. (the blanket mart).* |
| 13 Gherá Gopináth. | 46 Retiya Bazár. |
| 14 Nagara Gopál. | 47 Ban-khandi Mahádeva. |
| 15 Chir Ghát. | 48 Chhipi kí Gali. |
| 16 Mandi Darwáza. | 49 Ráewári Gali (occupied by Bháts,
or bards, who are always distin-
guished by the title <i>Ráe</i>). |
| 17 Ghera Gobind Jí. | 50 Bundele ká Bágh. Bundela is
the god propitiated in time of
cholera. He is always represent-
ed as riding on a horse. When
small-pox, the twin scourge of
India, is raging, an ass is the
animal to which offerings are
made. |
| 18 Nagara Gobind Jí. | 51 Mathurá Darwáza. |
| 19 Gali Taksár. | 52 Ghera Sawai Jay Sinh. |
| 20 Rám Jí Dwára. | 53 Dhír Samír. |
| 21 Bazár Kanthiwára (<i>i. e.</i> , sellers of
rosaries and necklaces). | 54 Mauni Dás ki tattí. |
| 22 Sewa Kunj. | 55 Gahvar ban. |
| 23 Kunj Gali. | 56 Gobind kund. |
| 24 Bvás ká Gherá. | 57 Rádhá Bágh. |
| 25 Singár-bat. | |
| 26 Rús Mandal. | |
| 27 Kishor-pura. | |
| 28 Dhobiwári Gali. | |
| 29 Rangí Lal kí Gali. | |
| 30 Sukhan Mátá Gali (<i>i. e.</i> , street of
dried up small-pox). | |
| 31 Purána Shahr (<i>i. e.</i> , old town). | |
| 32 Láriawári Gali. | |
| 33 Gabdua kí Gali. | |

* There is a large sale of Loi, or country blanketting, at Brindá-ban. The material is imported chiefly from Márwár and Bikaner in an old and worn condition; but is worked up again so thoroughly that natives account it as good as new.

CHAPTER X.

MAHÁ-BAN, GOKUL, AND BALADEVA.

THE town of Mahá-ban is some five or six miles from Mathurá, lower down the stream and on the opposite bank of the Jamuná. Though the country in its neighbourhood is now singularly bare, the name indicates that it must at one time have been densely wooded ; and so late as the year 1634 A. D., we find the Emperor Sháhjahán ordering a hunt there and killing four tigers. It stands a little inland, about a mile distant from Gokul ; which latter place has appropriated the more famous name, though it is in reality only the water-side suburb of the ancient town. This is clearly indicated by the fact that all the traditional sites of Krishna's adventures, described in the Puránas as having taken place at Gokul, are shown at Mahá-ban ; while the Gokul temples are essentially modern in all their associations : whatever celebrity they possess is derived from their having been founded by the descendants of Vallabhá-chárya, the great heresiarch of the sixteenth century. The existence of Gokul as a distinct town was no doubt long antecedent to its religious aggrandizement, and probably dates from the time when the old Hindu fort was occupied by a Muhammadan garrison and the Hindus expelled beyond its immediate precincts.

Taking, then, Mahá-ban as equivalent to the Gokul of Sanskrit literature, the connection between it and Mathurá has always been of a most intimate character. For, according to the legend, Krishna was born at the one and cradled at the other. Both, too, make their first appearance in history together and under most unfortunate circumstances, having been sacked by Mahmúd of Ghazní in the year 1017 A. D. From the effects of this catastrophe it would seem that Mahá-ban was never able to recover itself. It is casually mentioned in connection with the year 1234 A. D., by Miuháj-i-Siráj, a contemporary writer, as one of the gathering places for the imperial army sent by Shams-ud-dín against Kálanjar ; and the Emperor Bábar, in his memoirs, incidentally refers to it, as if it were a place of some importance still, in the year 1526 A. D. ; but the name occurs in the pages of no other chronicle ; and at the present day, though it is the seat of a tahsíl, it can scarcely be called more than a considerable village. Within the last few years, one or two large and handsome private residences have been built, with fronts of carved stone in the Mathurá style ; but the temples are all exceedingly mean and of no antiquity. The largest and also the most sacred is that dedicated to Mathurá-náth, which boasts of a pyramidal tower, or *sikhara*, of some height and bulk, but con-

structed only of brick and plaster. The Bráhmaṇ in charge used to enjoy an endowment of Rs. 2 a day, the gift of Sindhia, but this has long lapsed. There are two other small shrines of some interest: in the one, the demon Trinávart is represented as a pair of enormous wings overhanging the infant god; the other bears the dedication of Mahá Mall Ráe, 'the great champion prince,' a title given to Krishna after his discomfiture of the various evil spirits sent against him by Kansa.

Great part of the town is occupied by a high hill, partly natural and partly artificial, extending over more than 100 bighas of land, where stood the old fort.* This is said to have been built by the same Ráná Katíra of Mewár to whom is also ascribed the fort at Jalesar. According to a tradition current in the Main-puri district, he had been driven from his own country by an invasion of the Muhamnadans, and took refuge with the Rájá of Mahá-ban, by name Digpál, whose daughter his son, Káñh Kunvar, subsequently married and by her became the ancestor of the tribe of Phátak Ahírs. It would seem that, on the death of his father-in-law, he succeeded to his dominions; for he made a grant of the whole of the township of Mahá-ban to his Purohīts, or family priests, who were Sanádh Bráhmans, of the Parásar clan. Their descendants bear the distinctive title of Chaudhari, and still own two shares in Mahá-ban, called Thok Chaudhariyán. The fort was recovered by the Muhammadans in the reign of Alá-ud-dín, by Sufi Yahya of Mashhad, who introduced himself and a party of soldiers inside the walls in litters, disguised as Hindu ladies who wished to visit the shrines of Syám Lalá and Rohini. The Rána was killed, and one-third of the town was granted by the sovereign to the Saiyid Yahya. This share† is still called Thok Saiyidát, and is owned by his descendants; the present head of the family being Sardár Ali, now officiating as a Tahsildár in the Main-puri district. The place where his great ancestor was buried is shown at the back of the Chhattli Pálua, but is unmarked by any monument.

* With the exception of the *kila*, or keep, the rest of the hill is known as the *kot*.

† The division of proprietary rights in Mahá-ban is of a very perplexing character, the several shares being very different in extent from what their names seem to indicate. The total area is 6,529 bighas and 10 biswas, distributed as follows:—

			Bighas.	Bis.
The 11 biswa Thok Chaudhariyán	...	...	1,397	10
The 9 ditto ditto	...	...	708	4
The Thok Saiyidát	...	...	570	19
Free lands resumed by Government	...	...	1,750	4
Common land	...	...	2,107	13
Total,			6,529	10

One-third of the profits of the common land goes to the Saiyids; the remaining two-thirds are then again sub-divided into three, of which one part goes to the 9 biswa thok, and two to the 11 biswas.

The story as told in different localities is so identical in all its main features that it may reasonably be accepted as based on fact; but it is difficult to determine an exact date for the event, or decide which of the Sissodia Princes of Chitor is intended by the personage styled 'the Ráná Katíra.' Still, though certainty is unattainable, a conjectural date may be assigned with some amount of probability; for as the Ráná Katíra is represented as still living at the time when the fort of Mahá-ban was recovered by Alá-ud-dín, his flight from his own country cannot have occurred very long previously, and may plausibly be connected with Alá-ud-dín's memorable sack of Chitor, which took place in the year 1303. If so, he can scarcely have been more than a cadet of the royal line; for, according to accepted tradition, the actual Ráná of Mewár and all his family had perished in the siege, with the exception only of the second son and his infant nephew, Hamír, the heir to the throne, who eventually not only recovered the ancient capital of his forefathers, but made it the centre of a far wider dominion than had ever previously acknowledged the Sissodia rule. The stratagem of introducing armed men disguised as women in closed litters into the heart of the enemy's camp had been successfully practised against Alá-ud-dín himself after a former siege of Chitor, and had resulted in the escape of the captured Ráná. This may have suggested the adoption of the same expedient at Mahá-ban, either in fact to the Sufi, who is said to have carried it into execution, or to the local legend-monger, who has used it as an embellishment to his narrative.

The shrine of Syám Lalá, to which allusion has been made above, still exists as a mean little cell, perched on the highest point of the fortifications on the side where they overlook the Jamuná. It is believed to mark the spot where Jasodá gave birth to Mayá, or Joga-nidrá, substituted by Vasudeva for the infant Krishna. But by far the most interesting building is a covered court called Nanda's Palace, or more commonly the Assi-Khamba, *i.e.*, the eighty pillars. In its present form it was erected by the Muhammadans in the time of Aurangzeb out of older materials, to serve as a mosque, and as it now stands, it is divided, by five rows of sixteen pillars each, into four aisles, or rather into a centre and two narrower side aisles, with one broad outer cloister. The external pillars of this outer cloister are each of one massive shaft, cut into many narrow facets, with two horizontal bands of carving: the capitals are decorated either with grotesque heads or the usual four squat figures. The pillars of the inner aisles vary much in design, some being exceedingly plain and others as richly ornamented with profuse and often graceful arabesques. Three of the more elaborate are called respectively the Satya, Dwápar, and Treta Yug; while the name of the Káli Yug is given to another somewhat plainer. All these interior pillars, however, agree in consisting as it were of two short

columns set one upon the other. The style is precisely similar to that of the Hindu colonnades by the Kutb Minār at Delhi; and both works may reasonably be referred to about the same age. As it is probable that the latter were not built in the years immediately preceding the fall of Delhi in 1194, so also it would seem that the columns at Mahā-ban must have been sculptured before the assault of Mahmūd in 1017; for after that date the place was too insignificant to be selected as the site of any elaborate edifice. Thus, Mr. Fergusson's conjecture is confirmed, that the Delhi pillars are to be ascribed to the ninth or tenth century. He doubts whether the cloister there now stands as originally arranged by the Hindus, or whether it had been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors; but concludes as most probable that the former was the case, and that it was an open colonnade surrounding the Palace of Prithi Rāj. "If so," he adds, "it is the only instance known of Hindú pillars being left undisturbed." General Cunningham differs from this conclusion, and considers it utterly incredible that any architect, designing an original building and wishing to obtain height, should have recourse to such a rude expedient as constructing two distinct pillars; and then, without any disguise, piling up one on the top of the other. But, such a design, however strange according to modern ideas, did not, it is clear, offend the taste of the old Mahā-ban architects, since we find them copying it for decorative purposes even when there was no structural necessity for it. Thus some of the inner columns are really each a single shaft, and yet they have all the appearance of being in two pieces.

A good illustration of this Hindu fancy for broken pillars may be seen at Noh-jhīl, a town across the Ganges in the extreme north of the district. Here also is a Muhammadan dargāh, constructed out of the wreck of a Hindu temple. The pillars, twenty in number, are very simple in character, but exceptional in two respects; first, as being all of uniform design, which is quite anomalous in Hindu architecture; secondly, as being, though of fair height, each cut out of a single piece of stone. The only decoration on the otherwise plain shaft consists of four deep scroll-shaped notches half-way between the base and capital; the result of which is to make each column appear as if it were in two pieces. The explanation is obvious. In earlier days, when large blocks of stone were difficult to procure, there was also lack of sufficient art to conceal the unavoidable join in the structure. In course of time, the eye became accustomed to the defect, and eventually required its apparent introduction even where it did not really exist. A similar conservatism may be traced in the art history of every nation, and more especially in religious art. In breaking up his columns into two pieces, and thus perpetuating, as a decoration, what in its origin had been a signal defect, the



THE CHHATTRI PALNA. MAHABAN.

Hindu architect was unconsciously influenced by the same motive as the Greek, who to the very last continued to introduce, as prominent features in his temple facades, the metopes and triglyphs which had been necessities in the days of wooden construction, but had become unmeaning when repeated in stone.

The two ancient Brahmanical* temples on the Gwalior rock, commonly known as the Sás Bahu, illustrate still more remarkably than the Noh-jhál dargáh the way in which what was originally a structural make-shift has subsequently been adopted as a permanent architectural feature. In the larger of these two buildings the interior of the spacious nave is disfigured by four enormous columns, which occupy a square in the centre of the area and obstruct the view in every direction. It is evident at a glance that, though the work of the same architect as the rest of the fabric, they are utterly out of harmony with his first design. Necessity alone can have compelled him to introduce them as props for a falling roof; while the shallowness and unfinished state of their surface sculpture further suggest that they were erected in great haste in order to avert a catastrophe which appeared imminent. They were as little contemplated at the outset as the inverted arches in Wells Cathedral, or as the rude struts inserted by General Cunningham in this very same building to support the broken architraves of the upper story. In the smaller temple, which is of somewhat later date, the internal arrangement follows precisely the same lines, though here the lesser span of the roof rendered the detached pillars unnecessary, the massive walls being quite sufficient by themselves to support the small flat dome and the low tower that surmounted it. The central columns, however, are here so artistically treated, and are in such excellent proportion to the other parts of the building, having been designed with them and not subsequently intruded, that they are really decorative and add beauty to the interior.

Both these temples, like that of Gobind Deva at Brindá-ban, to which they form a most valuable and interesting complement, originally consisted of three compartments—a fact which has not been previously noticed by any archaeologist. In the larger Gwalior temple the nave and choir remain, but the sanctum, as is usually the case, has been totally destroyed by the Muhammadans. That it once existed, however, is evident from the fact that the choir is seen from the interior to have communicated with an apartment beyond, though the opening is now closed with blocks of stone. In the smaller of the two temples the nave alone is perfect: the choir has utterly perished; but the end wall of the sanctum still exists *in situ*, built up into the ramparts of the fort. General Cunningham,

* Referring to one of these temples at page 236, I have wrongly described it as a Jain structure.

in describing these buildings, has followed Mr. Fergusson in using, instead of 'nave,' the misleading word 'porch,' and has thus failed to notice the triple arrangement which otherwise could not have escaped him.*

To return to the Chhatthi Pálná. On a drum of one of the pillars is an inscription—now upside down—which I read as *Rám dása kas eknavi kam*, meaning, it would seem, 'Column No. 91, the gift of Rám Dás.' This would rather lead to the supposition that the pillars were all originally of one set and belonged to a single building, though it is quite possible that they may be the wreck of several different temples, all of which were overthrown by Mahmúd of Ghazní, when he captured the fort in 1017. In either case there can be no question as to the Buddhist character of the building, or buildings, for I found let into the wall a small seated figure of Buddha, as also a cross-bar and a large upright of a Buddhist railing. The latter is ornamented with foliated circular disks; on one of which is represented a head with a most enormous chignon, and, what is unusual, has four oval sockets for cross-bars on either side instead of three. These columns and other fragments had probably been lying about for centuries till the Muhammadans, in the reign of Aurangzeb, after demolishing a modern Hindu temple, roughly put them together and set them up on its site as a makeshift for a mosque. When Father Tieffenthaller visited Mahá-ban about the middle of last century, it seems that Hindus and Muhammadans were both in joint possession of the building, for he writes: "On voit á Mahá-ban dans une grande maison portée par 80 colonnes, une peinture qui represente Krishna volant du lait en jettant le clair et jouant avec d'autres. Cet edifice a été converti en partie en une mosquee, en partie en une pagode." But the connection of the building with Krishna or his worship, even at any earlier period, is entirely fictitious. That is to say, so far as concerns the actual fabric and the materials of which it is constructed: the site, as in so many other similar cases, has probably been associated with Hindu worship from very remote antiquity. In Sir John Strachey's time I obtained a grant of Rs. 1,000 for the repair of the building, which had fallen into a very ruinous condition, and in digging the foundations of the new screen-walls (the old walls had been simply set on the ground without

* I would here notice, as I may not have a better opportunity and it is a fact of interest, that the third of the Gwalior temples, commonly called the *Teli ka mandir*, about which General Cunningham hesitates to express an opinion, is certainly a Jain building. This is shown by the enormous height of the doorway, a feature peculiarly unbrahmanical, and by the two upper stories of the tower—as in the 'Buddh Gaya temple—which no Brahman would ever have thought of allowing over the head of the god. I am also bound to modify the severity of my note on page 230, written on the representation of an enthusiastic correspondent, before I had actually myself visited the spot. Though the D. P. W. have done nothing towards helping to preserve the antiquities of Gwalior, and have made a great clearance on the summit of the rock, I think that the buildings they have destroyed were probably of little or no architectural interest.

any foundation at all) I came upon a number of remains of the true Hindu temple, dating apparently from no further back than about the year 1500 A.D. The Iconoclast would not use these sculptures in the construction of his mosque, since they had too recently formed part of an idolatrous shrine, but had them buried out of sight ; while he had no scruple about utilizing the old Buddhist pillars. Whatever I dug up, I either let into the wall or brought over to Mathurá for the local Museum. The roof of the present building, as constructed by the Muhammadans, is made up of any odd slabs and broken pillars that first came to hand, but two compartments are covered in with the small flat domes of the old temple, which are similar in character to the beautiful examples at Ajmer and Mount Abu.

Mothers come here for their purification on the sixth day after childbirth—*chhatthi púja*—whence the building is popularly known as the Uhhaththi Pálna, and it is visited by enormous crowds of people for several days about the anniversary of Krishna's birth in the month of Bhádon. A representation of the infant god's cradle (*pálna*) is displayed to view, with his foster-mother's churn and other domestic articles. The place being regarded not exactly as a temple, but as Nanda and Jasoda's actual dwelling-house, all persons, without regard to the religion they profess, are allowed to walk about in it with perfect freedom. Considering the size, the antiquity, the artistic excellence, the exceptional archæological interest, the celebrity amongst natives, and the close proximity to Mathurá of this building, it is strange that it has never before been mentioned by any English writer.

It is said that whenever foundations are sunk within the precincts of the fort, many fragments of sculpture—of Buddhist character, it may be presumed—have been brought to light ; but they have always been buried again, or broken up as building materials. Doubtless, Mahá-ban was the site of some of those Buddhist monasteries, which the Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hian distinctly states existed in his time on both sides of the river. And further, whatever may be the exact Indian word concealed under the form Klisoboras, or Clisobora, given by Arrian and Pliny as the name of the town between which and Mathurá the Jamuná flowed—*Annis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Clisobora*, Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi., 22—it may be concluded with certainty that Mahá-ban is the site intended.*

* The parallel passage in Arrian's India is as follows :—*Τούτον τον Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς Σουρασηνῶν γεμαίρεσθαι. Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος, ἔνα δύο πόλεις μεγάλαι, Μεθορά τε καὶ κλεισόβουρα, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλουτὸς διὰ ῥεῖ την χώρην αὐτῶν*. As both authors seem to be quoting from the same original, the insertion of the words *per Palibothros* in Pliny must be due to an error on the part of some copyist, misled by the frequent mention of Palibothra in the preceding paragraphs. The mistake cannot be credited to Pliny himself,

Its other literary names are Brihad-vana, Brihad-aranya, Gokula, and Nanda-grāma; and no one of these, it is true, in the slightest resembles the word Clisobora. But this might well be a corruption of 'Krishna-pura,' 'the city of Krishna,' a term used by the speaker as a descriptive title – and it would be a highly appropriate one—but taken by the foreign traveller for the ordinary proper name of the place. Colonel Tod thought Clisobora might be Batesar, and most subsequent English topographers seem to have blindly accepted the suggestion. There is, however, really no foundation for it beyond the surmise that Clisobora and Mathurá were quoted as the two principal towns in the country, and that Batesar must have been a place of importance, because its older name was derived from the Súrasi, after whom the whole people were called Sauraseni. General Cunningham, in his 'Ancient Geography,' has thrown out a new theory and identifies Clisobora (read in one MS., as Cyrisoborka) with Brindá-ban, assuming that Kálikavartta, or 'Kálík's Whirlpool,' was an earlier name of the town, in allusion to Krishna's combat with the serpent Kálík. But in the first place, the Jamuná does not flow *between* Mathurá and Brindá-ban, seeing that both are on the same bank; secondly, the ordinary name of the great serpent is not Kálík, but Káliya; and thirdly, it does not appear upon what authority it is stated that "the earlier name of the place was Kálikavartta." Upon this latter point, a reference was made to the great Brindá-ban Pandit, Swámi Rangáchárya, who, if any one, might be expected to speak with positive knowledge, and his reply was that in the course of all his reading, he had never met with Brindá-ban under any other name than that which it now bears.

The glories of Mahá-ban are told in a special (interpolated) section of the Brahmánda Purāṇa, called the Brihad vana Máhātmya. In this, its *tirthas*, or holy places, are reckoned to be twenty-one in number as follows :—

*Eka-vinsati-tirthena yuktam bhúrtjunánvitam,
Yamul-árjuna punyatamam, Nanda-kúpaṁ tathaiva cha,
Chintá-harana Bráhmándam, kundam Sarasvatam tathá,
Sarasvati silí tatra, Vishnu-kunda-samánvitam,
Karna-kúpaṁ, Krishna-kundam, Gopa-kúpaṁ tathaiva cha,
Ramanam-ramana-sthánam, Nárada-sthánam eva cha,
Pútana-patana sthánam, Trinávarttákhya pátanam,
Nanda-harmyam, Nanda-geham, Ghátam Ramana-samjnakam,
Mathuránáthodbhavam kshetram puṇyam pápaprantánam,
Janma-sthánam tu Sheshasya, jananam Yogamáyayá.*

who fixes the site of Palibothra as 415 miles to the east of the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuná. The gods whom Arrian proceeds to describe under the names of Dionysus and Hercules correspond closely with Krishna and Balarama, who are still the local divinities of Mathurá.

The Pútaná-pátana-sthānam of the above lines is a ravine, commonly called Putaná khár, which is crossed by the Mathurá road a short distance outside the town. It is a mile or more in length, reaching down to the bank of the Jamuná, and, as the name denotes, is supposed to have been caused by the passage of Pútaná's giant body, in the same way as the Kans Khár at Mathurá.

At the Bráhmánd ghát, where a *rás*, or 'sacred dance,' is held every Sunday, there is a small modern shrine of Mrítika Bihári and the remains of a *chhattri* built by one Mukund Sinh, the greater part of which has been washed away by the river. A Jaini sculpture, probably brought from the Chhatthi Pálná, is let into the front of the little platform, on which are placed balls of sand in the shape of the *pera* sweetmeat, to represent the lump of earth that the child Krishna stuffed into his mouth, and which Jasodá saw develop into a miniature universe. These are called the *Bráhmánd ke pera* and are taken away by pilgrims as souvenirs of their visit. A pretty walk under the trees along the high bank of the river leads to the Chintá-haran ghát, a quarter of a mile lower down the stream, a secluded spot, where a Rás is held every Monday. There are no buildings save a Bairági's cell. The Hindu cicerones never fail to speak with much enthusiasm of the liberality of Mir Sārfaráz Ali, grandfather of Sardár Ali, who never cut any of the timber for his own profit and allowed the Pilgrims to make free use of it all: the property has now changed hands and the landlord's manorial rights are more strictly enforced.

Between the town and the sandy expanse called the Raman Reti is a small grove known as the Khelan Ban, with several trees of the Páras Pipar kind, which I have not seen elsewhere in this part of India, though in Bombay there are avenues of it in some of the streets of the city. The largest, which is in front of the Bairági's cell, flowers profusely in the cold weather from November to February: the flowers, much resembling those of the cotton plant in form, are on first opening yellow and afterwards change their colour to red. The bud is exactly like an elongated acorn; the leaves resemble those of the pipal, but are smaller. On the high bank overlooking the Raman Reti (where is held a fair on the 11th of each Hindu month) are two handsome *chhattris* to members of Ali Khan's family, of the same design as the one on the other side of the town but in a more ruinous condition. The well close by is called the Gop Kúa. On the opposite bank, on what is an island in the rains, is the Koila Saráe, of much the same size as the one at Chaumuha. The gateways still retain their original wooden doors and are surmounted by corner Chhattris as at Chhátá. The whole area was occupied till 1871, when it was flooded by the river, which rose to an unusual height and carried away the city bridge, 18 pontoons of which were stranded here. Since then the site has been deserted, the villagers having all

removed to higher ground. Outside one of the gates is a mosque and there are ruins of other edifices also—undermined and partly washed away by the river—including a square building said to have been a temple of Mahádeva, erected by Jawáhir Sinh, of Bharatpur: the foundations have been laid bare to a depth of some six or seven feet.

The principal Hindu festivals observed in Mahá-ban are the Rám Lílá in the month of Kuvár, first set on foot by a late Tahsildár, Munshi Bhajan Lál; the Pútana melá, Kártik Sudi 6th; the Jakhaiya melá, held on the Sundays of the month of Mágh (there is a similar festival held at Paindhat in the Mustafabad pargana of the Mainpuri district, which is believed to have great influence on the fall of rain in the winter season); the Raman Reti, held on the sands of the Jamuná, Phálgun Sudi 11th; and the Parikama, or Perambulation, Kártik Sudi 5th; this includes the town of Gokul and village of Rával, at which latter place Rádha's mother is said to have lived.

The Muhammadans have several small mosques and two festivals. One of these, the Chatiyal Madár, is held on the 3rd of Jamáda'l-awwal, in honour of Saiyid Badia-ud-dín, better known as Sháh Madár, whose principal shrine is at Makhanpur on the Isan. His festivals, wherever held, are distinguished by the name of Chatiyal, meaning 'an open place,' and the hereditary hierophants bear the title of Khalifa. The second Muhammadan melá is the Urs Dargáh of Sháh Gilan, or Saiyid Makhdúm. The dargáh was built about a century ago by Nawáb Sulaimán Beg.

GOKUL.

The town of Gokul, being the head-quarters of the Vallabhácháryas, or Gokulastha Gosáins, is throughout the year crowded with pilgrims, of whom the majority come from Gujarát and Bombay, where the doctrines of the sect have been very widely propagated, more especially among the Bhattias and other mercantile classes. In many of its physical characteristics the place used to present a striking parallel to the presumed morality of its *habitués*, its streets being tortuous and unsavoury, its buildings unartistic, its environs waste and uninviting; while, to complete the analogy, though only five or six miles distant from Mathurá, it was cut off from easy access by the river, and was thus at once both near and remote, in the same way as its literature is modern and yet obscure. The picturesque appearance, which it presented from the opposite bank, was destroyed on nearer approach. For the temples, though they amount to a prodigious number and are many of them richly endowed, are nearly all modern in date and for the most part tasteless in design; while the thoroughfares were in the rains mere channels for the floods which poured down through them to the Jamuná, and at all other seasons of the year were so rough and broken that the rudest

wheeled vehicle could with difficulty make its way along them. Efforts were made for many years to improve its sanitation, but without the slightest result, for the Gosáin Muáfidárs were quite indifferent to any reform of the kind, and were well content to let things remain as they were. However, by personally interesting myself in the matter and putting an active and intelligent Tahsildár in local charge, I succeeded before I left the district in making it by universal consent one of the cleanest and neatest of towns, instead of being as formerly the very filthiest. It may be doubtful how long the reform will last, for constant supervision is necessary in consequence of the number of cattle driven within the walls every night, which render the place really what its name denotes, 'a cattle yard,' rather than an abode of men. Its most noteworthy ornament is a spacious masonry tank constructed some thirty years ago by a Seth named Chunna. The trees on its margin are always white with flocks of large water-fowl of a quite distinct species from any to be found elsewhere in the neighbourhood. They are a new colony, being all descended from a few pairs which casually settled there no more than ten or twelve years ago. Their plumage is peculiar and ornamental, but not at all times easy to obtain, as the birds are considered to enjoy the benefit of sanctuary, and on one occasion, when a party of soldiers from the Mathurá cantonments attempted to shoot a number of them, the townspeople rose *en masse* for their protection. Immediately opposite the tank and between it and the river I had a new school built occupying three sides of a quadrangle with an arched gateway of carved stone on the fourth side facing the street. The cost was Rs. 2,440, the whole of which sum was raised by local subscriptions save only Rs. 500, which were allotted from the balance of the Government cess. A Sanskrit class has since been started, and so many wealthy pilgrims visit Gökul, who would be glad to spend their money on local institutions, if there were only some one to call their attention to them, that the school might easily be maintained as one of the largest and highest in the district.

The great heresiarch, Vallabhāchārya, from whom Gokul derives all its modern celebrity, was born in the year 1479 A. D., being the second son of Lakshman Bhatt, a Telinga Brāhman of the Vishnu Swámi Sampradáya. By the accident of birth, though not by descent, he can be claimed as a native of Upper India, having been born at Champaranya, a wild solitude in the neighbourhood of Banaras, whither his parents had travelled up from the south on a pilgrimage. Their stay in the holy city was cut short by a popular *émeute*, the result of religious intolerance; and the mother, who was little in a condition to encounter the distress and fatigue of so hasty a flight, prematurely gave birth on the way to an eight months' child. Either from an exaggerated alarm as

to their own peril, or, as was afterwards said, from a sublime confidence in the promised protection of Heaven, they laid the babe under a tree and abandoned it to its fate. When some days had elapsed, and their fears had subsided, they cautiously retraced their steps, and finding the child still alive and uninjured on the very spot where he had been left, they took him with them to Banáras. After a very short stay there, they fixed their home at Gokul, where the child was placed under the tuition of the Pandit Náráyan Bhatt, and in four months mastered the whole vast range of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. His followers, it may be remarked, are conscientious imitators of their founder in respect of the short time which they devote to their studies; but the result in their case is more in accordance with ordinary experience, and their scholarship of the very slightest. When eleven years of age, he lost his father, and almost immediately afterwards commenced his career as a religious teacher. His earliest triumphs were achieved in Southern India, where he secured his first convert, Dámodar Dás; and in a public disputation at Vijaynagar, the place where his mother's family resided, he refuted the arguments of the Court Pandits with such authority that even the King, Krishna Deva, was convinced by his eloquence and adopted the youthful stranger as his spiritual guide. Thenceforth his success was ensured; and at every place that he visited, Ujaiyin, Banáras, Haridwár, and Allahabad, the new doctrines enlisted a multitude of adherents. A life of celibacy being utterly at variance with his ideas of a reasonable religion, he took to himself a wife at Banáras and became the father of two sons, Gopináth, born in 1511, and Bitthalnáth in 1516. His visits to Braj were long and frequent. There, in 1520, he founded at Gobardhan the great temple of Sri-náth; and at Brindá-ban saw in a vision the god Krishna, who directed him to introduce a new devotion in his honour, wherein he should be adored in the form of a child under the title of Bákrishna or Bál Gopál; which is still the cultus most affected by his descendants at the present day. His permanent home, however, was at Banáras, where he composed his theological works, of which the most extensive is a commentary on the Bhagavad Gita, called the Subodhini, and where he died in the year 1531.

He was succeeded in the pontificate by his second son, Bitthalnáth, who propagated his father's doctrines with great zeal and success throughout all the south and west of India, and himself received 252 distinguished proselytes, whose acts are recorded in a Hindi work called the 'Do Sau Bávan Vártá.' Finally, in 1565, he settled down at Gokul and, at the age of seventy, breathed his last on the sacred hill of Gobardhan. By his two wives he had a family of seven sons, Giridhar, Gobind, Bál-krishan, Gokulnáth, Raghunáth, Jadunáth, and Ghansyám. Of these, the fourth, Gokulnáth, is by far the most famous,

and his descendants in consequence claim some slight pre-eminence above their kinsmen. His principal representative is the Gosāin at Bombay.

Unlike other Hindu sects, in which the religious teachers are ordinarily unmarried, all the Gosāins among the Vallabhāchāryas are invariably family men and engage freely in secular pursuits. They are the Epicureans of the east and are not ashamed to avow their belief that the ideal life consists rather in social enjoyment than in solitude and mortification. Such a creed is naturally destructive of all self-restraint even in matters where indulgence is by common consent held criminal ; and the profligacy to which it has given rise is so notorious that the Mahārājā of Jaypur was moved to expel from his capital the ancient image of Gokul Chandrama, for which the sect entertained special veneration, and has further conceived such a prejudice against Vaishnavas in general, that all his subjects are compelled, before they appear in his presence, to mark their forehead with the three horizontal lines that indicate a votary of Siva. The scandalous practices of the Gosāins and the unnatural subserviency of the people in ministering to their gratification received a crushing *exposé* in a *cause célèbre* for libel tried before the Supreme Court of Bombay in 1862, from the detailed narrative of which I have borrowed a considerable amount of information.

The dogma of Brahma-Sambandh, or 'union with the divine,' upon which Vallabhāchārya constructed his whole system was, as he declares, revealed to him by the Deity in person and recorded word for word as it was uttered. This inspired text is called the Siddhānta Rahasya, and being very brief and of quite exceptional interest, it is here given in full :—

श्रावणस्यामले पक्षे एकदश्यां महानिशि ।
 साक्षाद्भगवता प्रीक्तं तदक्षरश उच्यते ॥
 ब्रह्मसंबन्धकरणात्सर्वेषां देहजीवयोः ।
 सर्वदोषनिवृत्तिर्हि दोषाः पंचविधाः स्मृतः ॥
 सहजा देशकालात्था लोकवेदानिरूपिताः ।
 संयोगजाः स्पर्श जाश्च न मंतव्याः कथंचन ॥
 अन्यथा सर्वदोषाणां न निवृत्तिः कथंचन ।
 असमर्पितवस्तूनां तस्माद्वर्जनमाचरेत् ॥
 निवेदिभिः समर्प्यैव सर्वं कुर्यादिति स्थितिः ।
 न मतं देवदेवस्य स्वामिभुक्तसमर्पणं ॥
 तस्मादादौ सर्वकार्ये सर्ववस्तु समर्पणं ।
 दत्तापहारवचनं तथा च सकलं हरेः ॥

न ग्राह्यमिति वाक्यं हि भिन्नमार्गपरं मतं ।
 सेवकानां यथा लोके व्यवहारः प्रसिद्धमिति ॥
 तथा कार्यं समर्थैव सर्वेषां ब्रह्मता ततः ।
 गंगात्वं सर्वदोषाणां गुणदोषादिवर्णना ॥
 गंगात्वेन निरूप्यस्यात्तद्वदत्रापि चैव हि ।
 इति श्रीवल्लभाचार्यै विरचितं सिद्धान्तरहस्यं संपूर्णं ॥

" At dead of night, on the 11th of the bright fortnight of Śrāvan, what is here written was declared to me, word for word, by God himself. Every sin, whether of body or soul, is put away by union with the Creator ; of whatever kind the sin may be, whether 1st, original ; 2nd, accidental (*i.e.*, born of time and place) ; 3rd, social or ceremonial (*i.e.*, special offences defined by custom or the Vedas) ; 4th, sins of abetment ; or 5th, sins sensual.* No one of these is to be accounted any longer existent ; but when there is no union with the Creator there is no putting away of sin. Therefore, one should abstain from anything that has not been consecrated ; but when once a thing has been dedicated, the offerer may do with it what he likes : this is the rule. The God of gods will not accept any offering which has already been used by the owner. Therefore, at the outset of every action there should be unreserved offering. It is said by those of a different persuasion, ' what is once given cannot be taken away ; it is all God's ; ' but as is the practice of servants on earth, so would we act in the dedication through which everything becomes God's. Ganges water is full of impurities ; and ' the holy Ganges ' may be predicated of bad as well as good. Precisely the same in our case."

The last four lines are rather obscurely expressed. The idea intended is that as servants† use what remains of that which they have prepared for their masters, so what we offer to God we may afterwards use for ourselves ; and as dirty water flowing into the Ganges becomes assimilated with the sacred stream, so vile humanity becomes purified by union with God.

* There is a paraphrase on the Siddhānta Rahasya by Gosāi Gokulnāth, called Bhakti Siddhānta Vivṛiti ; in which, with the characteristic fondness of Sanskrit commentators for scholastic refinements, he explains these terms in a much more narrow and technical sense than that which I have applied to them. As the text contains an uneven number of lines, it would appear at first sight to be imperfect ; but this suspicion can scarcely be well founded, since in Gokulnāth's time it stood precisely as now.

† Hence *sevakaḥ*, ' servants,' is the distinctive name for lay members of the Vallabhāchārya community. The whole system of doctrine is known as ' Puṣṭi mārg,' or way of happiness, and its practice as ' Daivi jīvan,' the Divine life. Their sectarial mark consists of two red perpendicular lines down the forehead meeting in a curve at the root of the nose with a red spot between them.

The practice of the sect has been modelled strictly in accordance with these instructions. A child is Krishna-ed (christened) while still an infant by the Gosáin's putting on its neck a string of beads and repeating over it the formula called the Ashtákshar Mantra, *Sri Krishna saranam mama* (Deus adjutorium meum), but before the neophyte can claim the privileges of full communion he has to undergo a rite similar to that of confirmation, and at the age of twelve or thereabouts, when ready to take upon himself the responsibilities of life, he initiates his career by a solemn dedication (*samarpana*) of all that he has and is to the God of his devotion. This oblation of *tan, man, dhan*, as it is popularly expressed—that is, of body, soul, and substance—is couched in the following terms :—

ॐ श्रीकृष्णः शरणं मम सहस्रपरिवत्सरामितकालसंजात
कृष्णवियोगजनिततापक्लेशानंततिरोभावाहं भगवते कृष्णाय
देहेंद्रियप्राणांस्तःकरणतद्धर्मांश्च दारागारपुत्राप्रवित्तेहपरायणा-
त्मना सह समर्पयामि दासोहं कृष्ण तवास्मि ॥

“Om. The God Krishna is my refuge. Distracted by the infinite pain and torment caused by the separation from Krishna, which has extended over a space of time measured by thousands of years, I now, to the holy Krishna, do dedicate my bodily faculties, my life, my soul, and its belongings, with my wife, my house, my children, my whole substance, and my own self. O, Krishna ; I am thy servant.”*

Now, all this may be so interpreted as to convey a most unexceptionable meaning: that man should consecrate to God, wholly and without reserve, his body, soul, and substance, his every thought, word, and action, and all that he has, or does, or suffers ; that such consecration is sufficient to hallow and ennoble the meanest actions of our ordinary life and is an effectual preservative from all evil, while even good works done without such consecration are unprofitable and “have even the nature of sin.”† This is the doctrine of Christianity, and it may be deduced from Vallabháchárya's revelation without forcing the sense of a single word. But though there may be some slight doubt as to his own views, there can be none as to those entertained by his most immediate successors and transmitted by them to his disciples at the present day. For Gokulnáth, who is regarded as the most authoritative exponent of his grandfather's tenets, repeatedly insists in all his works, with the most marked

* This formula is, I find, based on a passage in the Nárada Pancharátra.

† The final climax states the doctrine of the Anglican, but not of the Catholic Church

emphasis, in the absolute identity of the Gosáin with the Divinity.* In fact, he goes even a step beyond this, and represents the Gosáin as so powerful a mediator that practically his favour is of more importance to us than God's : for, if God is displeased, the Gosáin can deprecate his wrath ; but if the Gosáin is displeased, God will be affected towards us in the same way, and conciliation will then be impossible. When to this it is added that the Gosáin obtains his position solely by birth, and that no defect, moral or intellectual, can impair his hereditary claim to the adoration of his followers, who are exhorted to close their eyes and ears to anything that tends to his discredit,† it is obvious that a door is opened to scandals of a most intolerable description. By the act of dedication, a man submits to the pleasure of the Gosáin, as God's representative, not only the first fruits of his wealth, but also the virginity of his daughter or his newly-wedded wife ; while the doctrine of the Brahma Sambandh is explained to mean that such adulterous connection is the same as ecstatic union with the God, and the most meritorious act of devotion that can be performed. This glorification of immorality forms the only point in a large proportion of the stories in the Chaurási Vártá, or 'Accounts of Vallabhá-chárya's 84 great proselytes.' One of the most extravagant will be found given in full at the end of this chapter. The work commences with reference to the Revelation of the Siddhánta Rahasya, preceded by a brief colloquy between the Deity and the Gosáin, of which the following words are the most important :—

तब श्री आचार्य जी महाप्रभु आप कहैं जो जीव को
स्वरूप तो तुम जानत ही है दोषवंत है सो तुम सेा संबंध
कैसे होय तब श्रीठाकुरजी आप कहैं जो तुम जीवन को
ब्रह्म संबंध करावोगे तिनकों हैं अंगीकार करूंगे तुम जीवन
को नम देउगे तिनके सकल दोष निवर्त होयंगे ॥

" *Vallabha*.—You know the nature of life : that it is full of defects ; how can there be union between it and you ?

" *Krishna*.—You will effect the union of the divinity with living creatures, and I will accept them. You will give your name to them, and all their sins shall be put away. "

* This extravagant doctrine pervades all the later Vaishnava Schools, and is accepted by the disciples of Chaitanya no less than by those of Vallabháchárya. The foundation upon which it rests is a line in the Bhágavat, where the Guru is styled: Sarva-deva-maya, 'made up of all divinity.'

† This is considered so essential a duty, that in the Dasa marma, or Vallabháchárya Decalogue, 'See no faults,' stands as the Tenth Commandment.

Professor Wilson interprets this as merely the declaration of a philosophical dogma, that life and spirit are identical ; but (it can scarcely be doubted) the passage means rather that human life can only be purified by bringing it into intimate connection with God, or in default of God, with God's representative, the Gosáin.

Such being the revolting character of their theological literature, it is easy to understand why the Vallabhácháryas have always shown a great reluctance to submit it to the criticism of the outer world of unbelievers, who might not be prepared to accept such advanced doctrines. Though there are several copyists at Gokul, whose sole occupation it is to make transcripts for the use of pilgrims, they would ordinarily refuse to sell a manuscript to any one who was not of their own denomination ; and none of their books had ever been published till quite recently, when two or three of the less esoteric were issued from Pandit Giri Prasád's Press at Beswa in the Aligarh district. However, as in many other forms of religion, and happily so in this case, practice is not always in accordance with doctrine. Though there may be much that is reprehensible in the inner life of the Gosáins, it is not at Gokul obtruded on the public and has never occasioned any open scandal ; while the present head of the community, Gosáin Purushottam Lál, a descendant of Bitthalnáth's sixth son, Jadunáth, deserves honourable mention for exceptional liberality and enlightenment. He is the head of the temple of Navanít-Priya, popularly called, by way of pre-eminence, Rájá Thákur,* and is the proprietor of the whole of the township of Gokul. His uncle and predecessor, Gobind Lál, died, leaving a widow, Jánaki Báu Jí, and an only daughter. The latter, according to invariable custom, was married to a Bhatt, and by him had two sons by name Ran-chhor Lál and Gop Jí. But, as by Salic law neither of them could succeed to the spiritual dignity, the widow adopted her nephew Purushottam, the son of her husband's brother, Braj Pál. The adoption was disputed by the two sons, who carried their suit in appeal even up to the Privy Council, and there were finally defeated. Under their mother's will, they enjoy a maintenance allowance of Rs. 900 a year, paid to the elder brother by the Gosáin, and they have further retained—though under protest—all the property conferred by the Mahárája of Jodhpur on their common ancestor Murlidhar, the father of Gobind Lál and Braj Lál, who was the founder of the family's temporal prosperity and was the first muáfidar of Gokul by grant from Sindhia.

Gosáin Purushottam Lál has one son, Raman Lál, through whom he is the grandfather of Braj Lál and Kánhaiya Lál. The latter of these has been

* He also presides over two temples dedicated to Baladeva and Madan Mohan near the Kankhal Ghát in Mathurá, where he ordinarily resides.

adopted by Lachhman Jí, a descendant of Bitthalnáth's fourth son, Gokulnáth, and is now the Gosáin of the temple bearing that title. Thus the two principal endowments have both come into one branch of the family, and the Gosáin is one of the very largest landowners and wealthiest residents in the district; while he wields, at the same time, in virtue of his religious character, an influence which is absolutely unbounded among his own people, and very considerable in all classes of Hindu society. In the official world, however, he is barely known even by name, as his estates are too well managed to bring him before the Courts, and he is still so far fettered by the traditions of his order that he declines all social intercourse with Europeans, even of the highest rank : so much so, that when the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces visited the station in 1873, and being unaware of this peculiarity, expressed in writing a desire to see him, the invitation was not accepted. The compliment was prompted by the Gosáin's annual gift of a prize of Rs. 300 for the student who passes first in the general Entrance Examination for the Calcutta University ; a donation which, under the circumstances, cannot have been suggested by any ulterior motive beyond a genuine desire for the furtherance of education. He has since converted it into a permanent endowment. In the same spirit, though he makes no claim to any high degree of scholarship himself, he has maintained for some years past in the city of Mathurá a Sanskrit school, which is attended by a large number of adults as well as boys, for whom he has secured very competent teachers. He has also contributed freely to the Gokul new school and—as a further proof of the liberality of his sentiments—he gave Rs. 400 towards the erection of the Catholic Church.

At all the Vallabháchárya temples, the daily services are eight in number—viz., 1st, Mangala, the morning levee, a little after sun-rise, when the God is taken from his couch and bathed ; 2nd, Sringára, an hour and-a-half later, when the God is attired in all his jewels and seated on his throne ; 3rd, Gwála, after an interval of about three-quarters of an hour, when the God is supposed to be starting to graze his cattle in the woods of Braj ; 4th, Ráj Bhog, the mid-day meal, which, after presentation, is consumed by the priests and distributed among the votaries who have assisted at the ceremonies ; 5th, Uttápan, about 3 p. m., when the God awakes from his siesta ; 6th, Bhog, the evening collation ; 7th, Sandhyá, the disrobing at sunset ; and 8th, Sayan, the retiring to rest. Upon all these occasions the ritual concerns only the priests, and the lay worshipper is simply a spectator, who evinces his reverence by any of the ordinary forms with which he would approach a human superior.

On the full moon of *Asārh* there is a curious annual ceremony for the purpose of ascertaining the agricultural prospects of the year. The priests place little packets of the ashes of different staples, after weighing them, in the sanctuary. The temple is then closed, but the night is spent in worship. In the morning the packets are examined. Should any of the packets have increased in weight, that particular article of produce will yield a good harvest; and should they decrease, the harvest will be scanty in proportion to the decrease. This year (1879) everything increased, so that the season is regarded as certain to turn out one of plenty and prosperity.

As has already been mentioned, none of the buildings present a very imposing appearance. The three oldest, dedicated respectively to Gokulnāth, Madan Mohan, and Bitthal Nāth, are ascribed to the year 1511 A.D. The last named, which is near the Jasodā Ghāt, has a small but richly decorated quadrangle with bold brackets carved into the form of elephants and swans. It is quite uncared for and is rapidly falling into irreparable ruin. The most notable of the remainder are Dwārakā Nāth, dating from 1546 A.D., Bālkrishan, from 1636, with an annual income of Rs. 4,420; Navanīt Priya, or Dau Jī, the latter name being that of the Gosāin, whose grandson, Giridhāri Jī, is now in possession, with an income of Rs. 9,382; Braj Ratn, under Gosāin Gokul Nāth Jī, a descendant of Bitthal Nāth's younger son, Ghan Syām, with an income of Rs. 10,650; Śrī Chandrama, with Rs. 4,050, and Navanīt Lāl, Natwar, Mathures, Gopāl Lāl, and Brajeswar; all of these being quite modern. There are also two shrines in honour of Mahādeva, built by Bijay Sinh, Rājā of Jodhpur, in 1602. The principal melas are the Janm Ashtami, Krishna's birthday, in Bhādon, and Annkūt on the day after the new moon of Kārtik. The Trināvart mela is also held, Kārtik badi 4th, when paper figures of the demon are first paraded and then torn to pieces. The principal gate of the town is that called the Gāndipura Darwāza. It is of stone with two corner turrets, but has never been completely finished. From it a road, about half a mile or so in length, runs between some very fine imlī trees, which seem specially to affect the soil in this neighbourhood, down to Gāndipura on the bank of the river, where is a *bāoli* and a large house built by Manohar Lāl, a Bhattia, now personal assistant at the Rewa Court. Below it is Ballabh ghāt, with Koila immediately opposite on the right bank of the stream. This road is much frequented by pilgrims in the rains, and I had caused it to be widened and straightened, and the trustees of the Gokulnāth temple had promised to metāl it; but probably this will not be done now.

One small speciality of Gokul is the manufacture of silver toys and ornaments—figures of peacocks, cows, and other animals and devices—which are

principally purchased as souvenirs by pilgrims. The designs are very conventional, and the work roughly finished; but some little taste is often displayed, and when better models are supplied, they are copied with much readiness and ingenuity. The articles being of pure silver, are sold for their weight in rupees with the addition of two anas in the rupee for the work; unless it is exceptionally well finished, when a somewhat higher rate is demanded.

BALĀDEVA, OR BALDEO.*

Some six miles beyond Mahā-ban, a little to the right of the high road leading to Sa'dabād and Jalesar, is the famous temple of Baladeva, in the centre of the modern town to which it gives a name. The original village was called Rīrhā, and still exists, but only as a mean suburb occupied by the labouring classes. Adjoining the temple is a brick-built tank, above 80 yards square, called variously Kshīr Sāgar, the 'sea of milk,' or Kshīr Kund, or Balbhadrā Kund. It is in a dilapidated condition, and the surface of the water is always covered with a repulsive, thick green scum, which, however, does not deter the pilgrims either from drinking or bathing in it. Here it is said that Gosāin Gokul Nāth was warned in a vision that a god lay concealed. Immediate search was made, and the statue of Baladeva, that has ever since been regarded as the tutelary divinity of the place, was revealed to the adoring gaze of the assembled multitude. Attempts were made to remove it to Gokul; but as every cart broke down, either from the weight of the stone, or the reluctance of the God to change his abode, a shrine was erected for his reception on the spot, and an Ahivāsi of Bhartiya, by name Kalyān, constituted guardian. From his two sons, Jamunā Dās and Musiya, or Sukadeva, are descended the whole horde of Pāndas, who now find the God a very valuable property. They have acquired, by purchase from the Jāts, the old village of Rīrhā,† and are also considerable landowners in six other villages—viz., Artoni, Nera, Chhibarau, Kharāfra, Nūr-pur and Shahāb-pur, whence they derive an annual income of Rs. 3,853. This estate, which was for the most part a grant from Sindhia, forms, however, but a small part of their wealth, as the offerings made at the shrine in the course of the year are estimated to yield a net profit of Rs. 30,000 more. The Kshīr-Sāgar and all the fees paid by pilgrims bathing in it belong not to the temple Pāndas, but to a community of Sanādh Brāhmans.

* The latter name represents the common pronunciation, which (as in all similar words) has become corrupted by the practice of writing in Persian characters, which are inadequate to express the *va* termination.

† Besides the entire samindari, the Pāndas hold also 25½ bighas in Rīrhā as muāfīdārs. Of this area, 20 bighas are occupied by buildings, while the remainder is either waste or orchard. As the village has no arable land attached to it, the name Baladeva does not appear at all in the district rent-roll.

The temple, despite its popularity, is neither handsome nor well appointed. Its precincts include as many as eleven cloistered quadrangles, where accommodation is provided for the pilgrims and resident priests. No definite charge is levied on the former, but they are expected to make a voluntary donation according to their means. Each court, or *kunj*, as it is called, bears the name of its founder as follows:—1st the Kunj of Rashk Lál of Agra and Lakhnau, 1817 A.D.; 2nd, of Bachharáj, Baniya, of Háthras, 1825; 3rd, of Naval Karan, Baniya, of Agra, 1768; 4th, of Bhím Sen and Hulás Itái, Baniyas, of Mathurá, 1828; 5th, of Dás Mal, Khattri, of Agra, 1801; 6th, of Bhattáchárya of Jaypur, 1794; 7th, of Gopál, Bráhman, of Jaypur; 8th, of Chiman Lál, of Mathurá, 1778; 9th, of Sadá Rám, Khattri, of Agra, 1768; 10th, of Chunna, Halwái, of Bharat-pur, 1808; and 11th, of Púran Chand, Pachauri, of Mahá-ban, 1801. The actual temple, built by Seth Syám Dás, of Delhi, towards the end of last century, stands at the back of one of the inner courts, and on each of its three disengaged sides has an arcade of three bays with broad flanking piers. On each of these three sides a door gives access to the cella, which is surmounted by a squat pyramidal tower. In addition to the principal figure, Baladeva, who is generally very richly dressed and bedizened with jewels, it contains another life-sized statue, supposed to represent his spouse Revati. Apparently, she was an after-thought, as she is put away in a corner, off the dais. In an adjoining court is shown the small vaulted chamber which served the God as a residence for the first century after his epiphany. Near the tank is a shrine dedicated by Bihári Lál, Bohra, of Mursán, in 1803, to the honour of the god Harideva, and two stone *chhatris* in memory of the Pándas, Harideva and Jagannáth.

Two annual melas are held at Baladeva, the one Bhádon Sudi 6th (commonly called Deo Chath), the other on the full moon of Agahn; but there is probably not a single day in the course of the whole year in which the temple courts are not occupied by at least as many as a hundred pilgrims, who come from all parts of Northern India. The cost of the religious ceremonial cannot be much; but a charitable dole of an ana a-piece is given to every applicant; and as the Pándes with their families now number between 300 and 400 persons, the annual cost of their maintenance must be very considerable. After reasonable deductions on these three heads—*viz.*, temple expenses, charity, and maintenance of the priests, the balance of profits is calculated at over Rs. 30,000. There is ordinarily a division among the shareholders at the end of every three months, when they make an allotment into twelve equal portions, that being the number of the principal sub-divisions of the clan, and then each sub-division makes a separate distribution among its own members. The votive offerings in the

vast majority of cases are individually of very trifling amount; but even so, their collective value is not altogether to be despised. Thus, poorer pilgrims, in addition to a few copper coins, often present a piece of sugar; and the heap of sugar accumulated in three or four days has been sold by auction for as much as Rs. 80. The shrine is a very popular one among all classes; scarcely ever is an important venture made without a vow that the god shall receive a fixed share of the profits, if he bring it to a successful issue; and even casual votaries, who have no special boon to beg, are often most lavish in their donations, either of money, horned cattle, carriages, horses, or other property. For example, a few years ago, Śurajbhān, a wealthy merchant of Agra, gave Rs. 4,000 worth of jewellery for the personal adornment of the God.

It is unfortunate that the hereditary guardians of so wealthy a shrine should be such a low and thriftless set as the Ahivāsīs are. The temple-garden occupies 52 bighas of land, and was once a well-planted grove. It is now a dirty, unsightly waste, as the Pāndes have gradually cut down all the trees for firewood, without a thought of replacing them. They have thus not only deteriorated the value of their property, but also forfeited a grant that used to be made by the Mahārāja of Bharat-pur for its maintenance. It is also asserted to be a common practice for the younger members of the clan, when they see any devotees prostrate in devotion before the god, to be very forward in assisting them to rise and leading them away, and to take the opportunity of despoiling them of any loose cash or valuable ornaments that they can lay their hands upon. It is believed that thefts of this kind are frequent; though the victim generally prefers to accept the loss in silence, rather than incur the odium of bringing a charge, that there might not be legal evidence to substantiate, against a professedly religious community. It appears in every way desirable that some extra police should be maintained at the expense of the Pāndes, and a constable or two kept permanently on duty in the inner court of the temple. As an illustration of the esteem in which learning is held in this large and wealthy Brahmanical town, it may be mentioned that the school is not only merely a primary one, but is also about the smallest and worst of its class in the whole district.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

1.—CATALOGUE OF VALLABHĀCHĀRYA LITERATURE.

I.—Sanskrit works ascribed to the founder himself, divided into two classes; First, commentaries of considerable length on older writings of authority, being four in number, viz., Bhāgavata Tika Śubodhini, Vyāsa Sūtra Bhāṣya, Jaimini Sūtra Bhāṣya, and Tattva Dīpa Nibandha. None of these have I seen. Second,

ly, seventeen very short original poems entitled—Siddhánta Rahasya, Siddhánta Muktváli, Pushti Praváha Maryáda, Antah-karanah Prabodha, Nava Ratna, Viveka Dhairyasraya, Krishnásraya, Bhakti Vardhani, Jala-bheda, Sannyása Nirnaya, Nirodha Lakshana, Seva-phala, Bál-bodh, Chatur-sloki, Panch-sloki, Yamunáshtakam, and Purushottam Sahasr-náma. Of all of these, except the last, I have obtained copies from Gokul.

II.—Sanskrit works ascribed to Vallabhácharya's immediate successors. These also are, for the most part, very short. The principal are as follows : Sarvottama-stotram of Agni Kumár, Ratna Vivarna of Bitthalnáth, Bhakti Siddhánta Vivriti, of Gokulnáth, Vallabháshtakam of Bitthalnáth, Krishna Premámritam of Bitthalnáth, Siksha Patram, Gokuláshtakam, Prem-Amritam of Gokulnáth, Sri Vallabha-bhaváshtakam of Hari Dás, Madhur Ashtakam, Saran Ashtakam, Námávali Acharya, Námávali Goswámi, Siddhánta Bhávana, Virodha Lakshana, Srínagara Rasamandala, Saranopadesa, Rasa-Sindhu, Kalpadruma, Málá Prasanga, and Chita Prabodha.

III.—Works in the modern vernacular, *i. e.*, the Braj-Bháshá. Such are the Nij Várta, Chaurási Várta, Do Sau Bávan Várta, Dwádasa Kunja Pavitra Mandala, Purnamási, Nitya Sevaprakára, Rasa Bhávana Gokulnáth, Vachan-ámrita of Gokulnáth, Braj Bilás of Braj-bási Dás, Ban-Játra, Vallabhakýána, Dhola, Nitya-pada, Srí Gobardhan-nath Jí ka Prágatya, Gosáin Jí Prágatya, Lila Bhávana, Swarúpa Bhávana, Guru Seva, Seva Prakára Múla Purnsha, Dasa Marama, Vaishnava Battisi Lakshana, Chaurási Siksha, Otsava Pada, Yamuná Ji Pada, and others.

II.—SPECIMEN OF THE TONE AND STYLE OF POPULAR VALLABHÁCHARYA LITERATURE.

The following story of 'how Krishan Dás showed his devotion to the Gosáins' is extracted from the Chaurási Vártá, and is interesting as a specimen both of the dialect and religious superstition of the locality. Though written some two hundred years ago, it might, for all internal evidence to the contrary, have been taken down only yesterday, word for word, from the mouth of a village gossip. It does not contain a single archaic term, and in its unartificial style and rustic phraseology is an exact representation of the colloquial idiom of middle-class Hindus of the present century ; yet it has absolutely nothing in common with the language officially designated the vernacular of the country, either as regards the arrangement of the sentence or the choice of words ; the latter being all taken from the Hindi vocabulary, with the exception of three only—*vis.*, *kaul*, a 'promise,' *sauda*, 'merchandise' and *khabr*, 'news.' These are inserted as if on purpose to show that the non-admission of a larger

number was a spontaneous and not a pedantic exclusion. As to its purport; the eulogy which it bestows on the extraordinary sacrifice of personal decency and honour, merely for the sake of procuring the Gosáins a good dinner, is so revolting to the principles of natural morality that it condemns the whole tenour of Vallabhácharya doctrine more strongly than any argument that could be adduced by an opponent. The style of the narrative is so easy and perspicuous that it can present no difficulty to the student, who alone will take an interest in the matter, and therefore I have not considered it necessary to add a translation :—

श्री आचार्यजी महाप्रभून के सेवक कृष्णदासजी ब्राह्मण तिनकी वार्त्ता

वे कृष्णदास एक गाँम में रहते हते सो भगवदीय भये अकिंचन हते श्री आचार्यजी महाप्रभून के सेवक गाँम में रहते हते सो परस्पर मिलिके इकठेरे हो के श्रीआचार्यजी महाप्रभून के दर्शन को जातहते एक समे वैष्णव दश पंधे मिनके इकठेरे होयके श्रीआचार्यजी महाप्रभून के दर्शन को अडेल गाँम कुं चले सो जा गाँम में कृष्णदास रहते हते ता गाँम में आये सो कृष्णदास के घर आये तब कृष्णदास तौ घर हते नाहीं कछू कार्य के लिये कोस दाय तीन एक गाँम हते तहां गाँम में गये हते और कृष्णदामजी की स्त्री घर में हुती तब वा स्त्री ने उन वैष्णवन को साष्टांग दण्डवत कीनी श्री कृष्णस्मरण कहिके वोहात आदर सनमान करिके घर में बैठारे पाछे घर में जायके अपने मन में विचार करन लागी जो अब कहा करिये तब सुधि आई सो वुह हमारी बनियां मोसों नित्य टोक करत है और कहत है जो तुम मोसों मिलि जा मैं तो को कहै सो देहु सो आजु वाकी दुकान सूं सीधा सामग्री लाऊं हूं वासों कहोंगी जो अजु तेसों मिलुंगी मोकों सीधा सामग्री चहीयत है सो देउ असं विचार करिके आपने मन में वोह स्त्री चली सो वा बनियां की हाट ऊपर गई तब वा बनियां ने हाट ऊपर टोकी तब वा स्त्री ने वा बनियां से कह्यो जो मैं तेसों एक दिन मिलोंगी तू मोकों आज सेदा चाहिये है सो देउ तब वा बनियां ने कह्यो जो कोल करै तौ मैं मनुंगे तब वा स्त्री ने एक कोल कर्यो तब वा स्त्री को सीधा सामग्री चहीयै सो लीनी बनियां पैते पाछे घर आई रसेई करिये श्री ठाकुरजी को भोग समर्पिके समयानुसार भोग उसरायके अनेसर करिके पाछे उन वैष्णवन को प्रसद लिवाये तब वैष्णवने भली भांति सो प्रसाद लियो पाछे सांझ को कृष्णदास घर आये सो सब वैष्णव मिलिके दण्डवत कीये जे श्रीकृष्ण कहिके

भीतर गयो तब स्त्री सों कहाँ जो कहा खबरि है वैष्णवन को महाप्रसाद
 लिवायो तब स्त्री ने कही जो महाप्रसाद तो लिवायो तब कृष्णदास ने
 कही जो सीधो सामिगी कहाँ ते लाई है कहा प्रकार कियो तब जो प्रकार
 कियो हतो सो सब कह दीयो तब कृष्णदास स्त्री के ऊपर बोहत प्रशन्न
 भये पाछें स्त्री पुरुषनै दोऊ जने नैं सीठो महाप्रसाद लियो जो अपने घर
 श्रीठाकुरजी नित्य आरोगते सो प्रसाद लियो पाछें कृष्णदास सब वैष्णवन के
 पास आयकें सबरा रात्रि भगवत वार्ता करत बीती जब सवारो भयो तब
 सब वैष्णव कृष्णदास हेयकें चले तब कृष्णदास थोरीसी दूरि उनकें पोहचाय
 गये पाछें आप घर आय स्नान करि श्रीठाकुरजी की सेवा करिकें आप ब्या-
 ब्रत को गये पाछें स्त्री नैं रसाई करिकें श्रीठाकुरजी को भोग समये भोग
 उसराय आनेसर करिकें महाप्रसाद ठाँकि राख्यो तब कृष्णदास सांभ को
 घर आये तब बोह सीरो महाप्रसाद दोऊ जन नैं स्त्री पुरुष नैं लीने पाछें
 कृष्णदास नैं स्त्री सों कही जो तुमनें वा बनीयां को कालिको कोल कीयो
 हतो सो बोह पेंडों देखत होयगो ताते व को कोल पूरो करियै तो भलो है
 तब स्त्री आप उपटनो करिकें स्नान करिकें फेरि जो स्नान को सिंगार होय
 है सो सब करिकें पामन में महबर लगायकें चनी सो वर्षा के दिन हते
 सो मेह वरष रह्यो हतो सो मार्ग में कीच भईहती ताके लिये कृष्णदास
 नैं स्त्री सों कही जो तुम मेरे कन्या ऊपर बैठि लेहु तेकूं पोहचाय आज
 नातर तेरे पांम कीचसों भरि जायंगे मार्ग में कीच भई है तब स्त्री को
 कृष्णदास नैं कन्या ऊपर चढायकें वा बनीयां की हाट ऊपर उतारदीनी
 तब वा स्त्री नैं वा बनीयां को हेल पारिकें कही जो किवार खोलि
 तब वा बनीयां नैं किवार खोलिकें भीतर लानी तब वुह पांम धोयवेको
 पांनो ले आयो और कही जो पांम धोय तब वानें वा बनीयां सो कही जो
 मेरे पांम तो कीच सों भरे नाहीं तब वा बनीयां नैं वासों कही जो मारग
 में कीच भई है तेरे पांम कोरे क्यों रहे तब उन स्त्री नैं कही जो तू
 पुछिकें कहा करैगो तू तेरो काम करि तब वा बनीयां नैं कही जो यह
 बात तेको बतानी चाहिये तब वा स्त्री नैं कही जो मेरो भगतार काधेपे
 चढाय कें लाये है सो यह बात सुनिकें वा बनीयां को आश्चर्य भयो और
 सब वृत्तांत हो सो सब पुछे जो यह कहा कारण है सो सब मेरे आगे कहा
 तब वा स्त्री नैं सब प्रकार हो सो सब कही सो सुनिकें बनीयां अपने

जन्मकों धिक्कार करन लाग्यो और कह्यो जो धन्य जन्म तुम्हारा है जो जिनको ऐसे मन सांचा है और दोऊ हाथ जेरिके दण्डवत करी और कह्यो जो मेरो अपराध क्षमा करिये मेरे ऊपर कृपा करिये मेरी तुम वेंहन हो पाछे वा स्त्री को कपरा पहरायके वाको घर पोहचामन आयो और कृष्णदास सों वा बनीयां नें बीनती कीनी जो तुम मेरो अपराध क्षमा करिये यह मेरी वेंहनि है जो तुम मेरे पूज्य हो पाछे वुह बनीयां श्रीआचार्यजी महाप्रभून को ऐसे सेवक भयो तब वा बनीयां को नाम श्रीआचार्यजी महाप्रभून ने ज्ञानचन्द धर्यो पाछे वह वनियां बडै भगवदीय भयो सो कृष्णदास के सतसंगते भयो तातें संग करनें तो भगवदीय को करनें पाछे वह वनियां कृष्णदास सों सदां सर्वदा नमत रहतो और कृष्णदास की स्त्री सों वेंहनि को संबन्ध राखे वे कृष्णदास श्रीआचार्यजी महाप्रभून के ऐसे कृपापात्र भगवदीय हे तातें इनकी अनिर्वचनीय वार्ता है तातें इनकीवार्ता कहां तांई लिखिये वार्ता प्रथम ॥ १ ॥ संबन्ध १५० वैष्णव ॥ ७४ ॥

CHAPTER XI.

THE THREE HILL PLACES OF MATHURÁ: GOBARDHAN, BARSĀNA, AND NAND-GĀNW.

AT a distance of three miles from the city of Mathurá, the road to Gobardhan runs through the village of Satoha, by the side of a large tank of very sacred repute, called Sántanu Kund. The name commemorates a Rájá Sántanu, who (as is said on the spot) here practised, through a long course of years, the severest religious austerities in the hope of obtaining a son. His wishes were at last gratified by a union with the goddess Gangá, who bore him Bhíshma, one of the famous heroes of the Mahábhárat. Every Sunday, the place is frequented by women who are desirous of issue, and a large fair is held there on the 6th of the light fortnight of Bhádon. The tank, which is of very considerable dimensions, was faced all round with stone, early last century, by Sawái Jay Sinh of Amber, but a great part of the masonry is now much dilapidated. In its centre is a high hill connected with the main land by a bridge. The sides of the island are covered with fine *ritla* trees, and on the summit, which is approached by a flight of fifty stone steps, is a small temple. Here it is incumbent upon the female devotees, who would have their prayers effectual, to make some offering to the shrine, and inscribe on the ground or wall the mystic device called in Sanskrit Svastiká and in Hindi Sathiya, the fylfot of Western ecclesiology. The local superstition is probably not a little confirmed by the accidental resemblance that the king's name bears to the Sanskrit word for 'children,' *santána*. For, though Rájá Sántanu is a mythological personage of much ancient celebrity, being mentioned not only in several of the Puránas, but also in one of the hymns of the Rig Veda, he is not much known at the present day, and what is told of him at Satoha is a very confused jumble of the original legend. The signal and, according to Hindu ideas, absolutely fearful abnegation of self, there ascribed to the father, was undergone for his gratification by the dutiful son, who thence derived his name of Bhíshma, 'the fearful.' For, in extreme old age, the Rájá was anxious to wed again, but the parents of the fair girl on whom he had fixed his affections would not consent to the union, as the fruit of the marriage would be debarred by Bhíshma's seniority from the succession to the throne. The difficulty was removed by Bhíshma's filial devotion, who took an oath to renounce his birthright and never to beget a son to revive the claim. Hence every religious Hindu accounts it a duty to make him amends for this want of direct descendants by once a year offering libations to Bhíshma's

spirit in the same way as to one of his own ancestors. The formula to be used is as follows :—" I present this water to the childless hero, Bhishma, of the race of Vyághrapáda, the chief of the house of Sankriti. May Bhishma, the son of Sántanu, the speaker of truth and subjugator of his passions, obtain by this water the oblations due from sons and grandsons."

The story in the Nirukta Vedánga relates to an earlier period in the king's life, if, indeed, it refers to the same personage at all, which has been doubted. It is there recorded that, on his father's death, Sántanu took possession of the throne, though he had an elder brother, by name Devápi, living. This violation of the right of primogeniture caused the land to be afflicted with a drought of twelve years' continuance, which was only terminated by the recitation of a hymn of prayer (Rig Veda, x., 98) composed by Devápi himself, who had voluntarily adopted the life of a religious. The name Satoha is absurdly derived by the Bráhmans of the place from *sattu*, 'bran,' which is said to have been the royal ascetic's only diet. In all probability it is formed from the word *Sántanu* itself, combined with some locative affix, such as *sthána*.

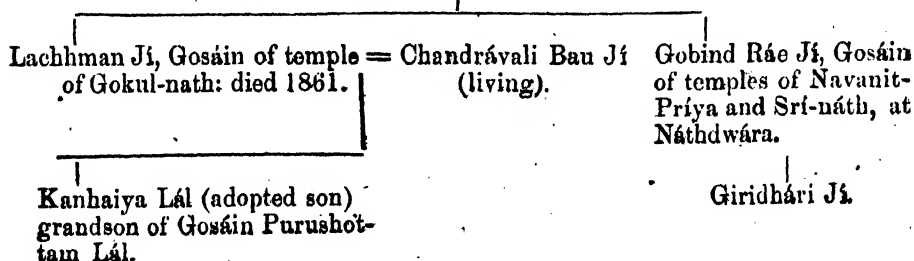
Ten miles further to the west is the famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, Gobardhan, *i.e.*, according to the literal meaning of the Sanskrit compound, 'the nurse of cattle.' The town, which is of considerable size, occupies a break in a narrow limestone range of hill, which rises abruptly from the alluvial plain, and stretches in a south-easterly direction for a distance of some four or five miles, with an average elevation of about 100 feet.

This is the hill which Krishna is fabled to have held aloft on the tip of his finger for seven days and nights to cover the people of Braj from the storms poured down upon them by Indra when deprived of his wonted sacrifices. In pictorial representations it always appears as an isolated conical peak, which is as unlike the reality as possible. It is ordinarily styled by Hindus of the present day, the Gíri-ráj, or royal hill, but in earlier literature is more frequently designated the Anna-kút. There is a firm belief in the neighbourhood that, as the waters of the Jamuná are yearly decreasing in body, so too the sacred hill is steadily diminishing in height; for in past times it was visible from Aríng, a town four or five miles distant, whereas now a few hundred yards are sufficient to remove it from sight. It may be hoped that the marvellous fact reconciles the credulous pilgrim to the insignificant appearance presented by the object of his adoration. It is accounted so holy that not a particle of the stone is allowed to be taken for any building purpose; and even the road which crosses it at its lowest point, where only a few fragments of the rock crop up above the ground, had to be carried over them by a paved causeway.

The ridge attains its greatest elevation towards the south between the villages of Jatipura and Anyor. Here, on the summit, was an ancient temple founded in the year 1520 A.D., by the famous Vallabháchárya of Gokul, and dedicated to Sri-náth. In anticipation of one of Aurangzeb's raids, the image of the god was removed to Náthdwára in Udaypur territory, and has remained there ever since. The temple on the Giri-ráj was thus allowed to fall into ruin, and the wide walled enclosure now exhibits only long lines of foundations and steep flights of steps, with a small, untenanted, and quite modern shrine. The plateau, however, commands a very extensive view of the neighbouring country, both on the Mathurá and the Bharatpur side, with the fort of Díg and the heights of Nand-gánw and Barsána in the distance.

At the foot of the hill on one side is the little village of Jatipura with several temples, of which one, dedicated to Gokul-náth, though a very mean building in appearance, has considerable local celebrity. Its head is the Gosáin of the temple with the same title at Gokul, and it is the annual scene of two religious solemnities both celebrated on the day after the Díp-dán at Gobardhan. The first is the adoration of the sacred hill, called the Giri-ráj Pújá, and the second the Anna-kút, or commemoration of Krishna's sacrifice. They are always accompanied by the renewal of a long-standing dispute between the priests of the two rival temples of Sri-náth and Gokul-náth, the one of whom supplies the god, the other his shrine. The image of Gokul-náth, the traditional object of veneration, is brought over for the occasion from Gokul, and throughout the festival is kept in the Gokul-náth temple on the hill, except for a few hours on the morning after the Diwáli, when it is exposed for worship on a separate pavilion. This building is the property of Giridhári Jí, the Sri-náth Gosáin, who invariably protests against the intrusion. Party-feeling runs so high that it is generally found desirable a little before the anniversary to take heavy security from the principals on either side that there shall be no breach of the peace. The relationship between the Gosáins is explained by the following table :—

Dámodar Jí, *alias* Dáu Jí,
Gosáin of the temple of Sri-náth at Náthdwára.



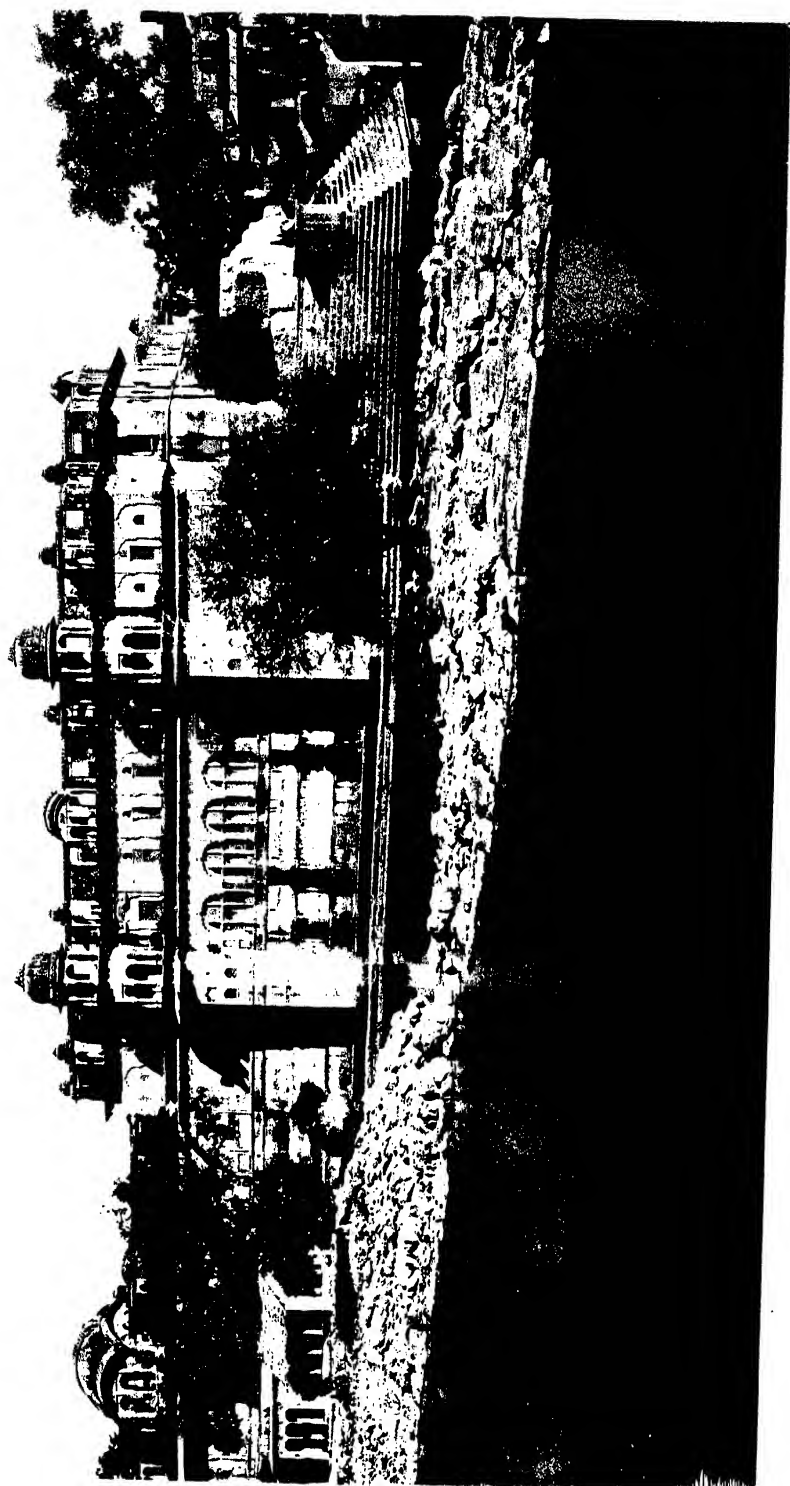
Immediately opposite Jatipura, and only parted from it by the intervening range, is the village of Anyor—literally 'the other side'—with the temple of Sri-náth on the summit between them. A little distance beyond both is the village of Puchhri, which, as the name denotes, is considered 'the extreme limit' of the Giri-ráj.

Kártik, the month in which most of Krishna's exploits are believed to have been performed, is the favourite time for the *pari-krama*, or 'perambulation' of the sacred hill. The dusty circular road which winds around its base has a length of seven *kos*, that is, about twelve miles, and is frequently measured by devotees who at every step prostrate themselves at full length. When flat on the ground, they mark a line in the sand as far as their hands can reach, then rising they prostrate themselves again from the line so marked, and continue in the same style till the whole weary circuit has been accomplished. This ceremony, called *Dandavatí pari-krama*, occupies from a week to a fortnight, and is generally performed for wealthy sinners vicariously by the Bráhmans of the place, who receive from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 for their trouble and transfer all the merit of the act to their employers. The ceremony has been performed with a hundred and eight* prostrations at each step (that being the number of Rádha's names and of the beads in a Vaishnava rosary) it then occupied some two years, and was remunerated by a donation of Rs. 1,000.

About the centre of the range stands the town of Gobardhan, on the margin of a very large irregularly shaped masonry tank, called the Mánasi Gangá, supposed to have been called into existence by the mere action of the divine will (*mánasa*). At one end the boundary is formed by the jutting crags of the holy hill, on all other sides the water is approached by long flights of stone steps. It has frequently been repaired at great cost by the Rájás of Bharat-pur; but is said to have been originally constructed in its present form by Rájá Mán Sinh of Jaypur, whose father built the adjoining temple of Harideva. There is also at Banáras a tank constructed by Mán Sinh, called Mán Sarovar, and by it a temple dedicated to Mánasvar: facts which suggest a suspicion that the name 'Mánasi'† is of much less antiquity than is popularly believed. Unfortunately, there is neither a natural spring, nor any constant

* In Christian theology 107 is the mystical number as 108 in Hindú. Thus the Emperor Justinian's great church of S. Sophia at Constantinople was supported by 107 columns, the number of pillars in the House of Wisdom.

† In devotional literature *mánasi* has the sense of 'spiritual,' as in the phrase 'spiritual communion.' Thus it is related in the *Shakti Málá* that Rájá Prithviráj, of Kanwar, being on a journey and unable to visit the shrine, for which he had a special devotion, imagined himself to be worshipping in the temple, and made a spiritual act of contemplation before the image (*murti*) of



artificial supply of water, and for half the year the tank is always dry. But ordinarily at the annual illumination, or *Dip dān*, which occurs soon after the close of the rains, during the festival of the *Diwālī*, a fine broad sheet of water reflects the light of the innumerable lamps, which are ranged tier above tier along the ghāts and adjacent buildings, by the hundred thousand pilgrims with whom the town is then crowded.

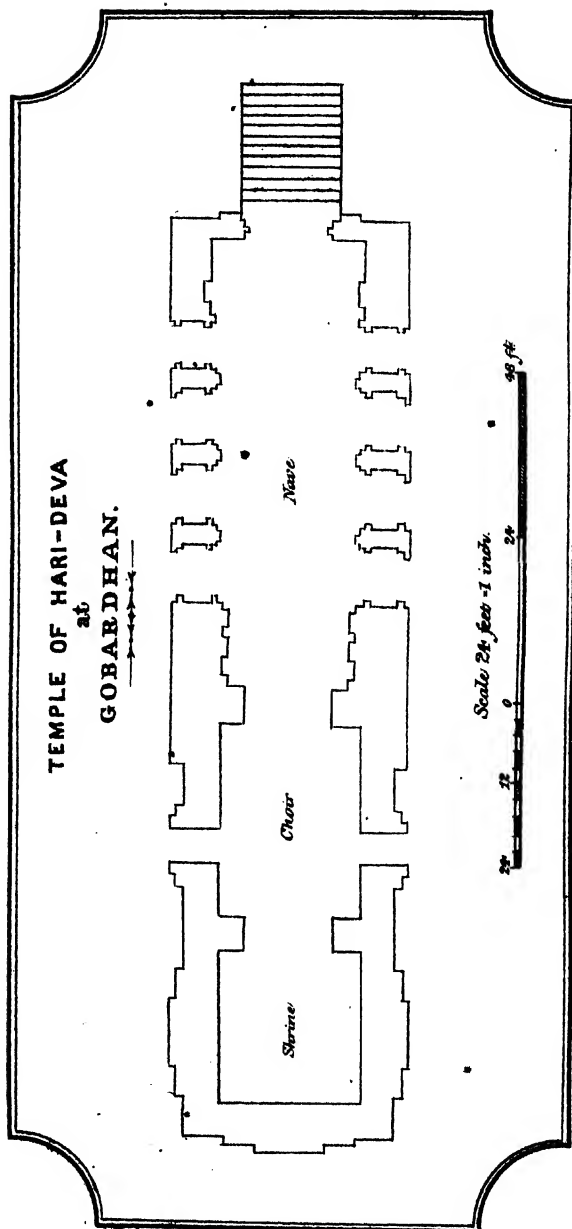
In the year 1871, as there was no heavy rain towards the end of the season, and the festival of the *Diwālī* also fell later than usual, it so happened that on the bathing day, the 12th of November, the tank was entirely dry, with the exception of two or three green and muddy little puddles. To obviate this mischance, several holes were made and wells sunk in the area of the tank, with one large pit, some 30 feet square and as many deep, in whose turbid waters many thousand pilgrims had the happiness of immersing themselves. For several hours no less than twenty-five persons a minute continued to descend, and as many to ascend, the steep and slippery steps; while the yet more fetid patches of mud and water in other parts of the basin were quite as densely crowded. At night, the vast amphitheatre, dotted with groups of people and glimmering circles of light, presented a no less picturesque appearance than in previous years when it was a brimming lake. To the spectator from the garden-side of the broad and deep expanse, as the line of demarkation between the steep flights of steps and the irregular masses of building which immediately surmount them ceased to be perceptible, the town presented the perfect semblance of a long and lofty mountain range dotted with fire-lit villages; while the clash of cymbals, the beat of drums, the occasional toll of bells from the adjoining temples, with the sudden and long-sustained cry of some enthusiastic band, vociferating the praises of mother *Gangā*, the clapping of hands that began scarce heard but was quickly caught up and passed on from tier to tier, and prolonged into a wild tumult of applause,—all blended with the ceaseless murmur of the stirring crowd in a not discordant medley of exciting sound. According to popular belief, the ill-omened drying up of the water, which had not occurred before in the memory of man, was the result of the curse of one *Habīb-illah Shāh*, a *Mubamsadān* fakīr. He had built himself a hut on the top of the *Giri-rāj*, to the annoyance of the priests of the neighbouring temple of *Dān-Rāo*, who complained that the holy ground was defiled by the bones and

dhyān mānusi harte thi). For two days his aspirations seemed to meet with no response, but on the third he became conscious of the divine presence. On enquiry it was found that for two days the god had been removed elsewhere, while the temple was under repair. He then made a vow to end his days at *Mathurā*. The emperor, to spite him, put him in command of an expedition to *Kabul*; but when he felt his end approaching, he mounted a camel and hastened back to the holy city and there expired.

other fragments of his unclean diet, and procured an order from the Civil Court for his ejection. Thereupon the fakir disappeared, leaving a curse upon his persecutors; and this bore fruit in the drying up of the healing waters of the Mánasi Gangá.

Close by is the famous temple of Hari-deva, erected during the tolerant reign of Akbar by Rájá Bhagawán Dás of Amber on a site long previously occupied by a succession of humbler fanes. It consists of a nave 68 feet in length and 20 feet broad, leading to a choir 20 feet square, with a sacrarium of about the same dimensions beyond. The nave has four openings on either side, of which three have arched heads, while the fourth nearest the door is covered by a square architrave supported by Hindu brackets. There are clerestory windows above, and the height is about 30 feet to the cornice, which is decorated at intervals with large projecting heads of elephants and sea-monsters. There was a double roof, each entirely of stone: the outer one a high pitched gable, the inner an arched ceiling, or rather the nearest approach to an arch ever seen in Hindu design. The centre was really flat, but it was so deeply coved at the sides that, the width of the building being inconsiderable, it had all the effect of a vault, and no doubt suggested the possibility of the true radiating vault, which we find in the temple of Govind Deva built by Bhagawán's son and successor, Mán Sinh, at Brindá-ban. The construction is extremely massive, and even the exterior is still solemn and imposing, though the two towers which originally crowned the choir and sacrarium were long ago levelled with the roof of the nave. The material employed throughout the superstructure is red sandstone from the Bharat-pur quarries, while the foundations are composed of rough blocks of the limestone found in the neighbourhood. These have been laid bare to the depth of several feet; and a large deposit of earth all round the basement would much enhance the appearance as well as the stability of the building.

Bihári Mall, the father of the reputed founder, was the first Rájput who attached himself to the court of a Muhammadan emperor. He was chief of the Rájawat branch of the Kachhwáhá Thákurs seated at Amber, and claimed to be eighteenth in descent from the founder of the family. The capital was subsequently transferred to Jaypur in 1728 A.D.; the present Maharájá being the thirty-fourth descendant of the original stock. In the battle of Sarnál, Bhagawán Dás had the good fortune to save Akbar's life, and was subsequently appointed Governor of the Panjáb. He died about the year 1590 at Láhor. His daughter was married to Prince Salim, who eventually became emperor under the title of Jahángir; the fruit of their marriage being the unfortunate prince Khusru.



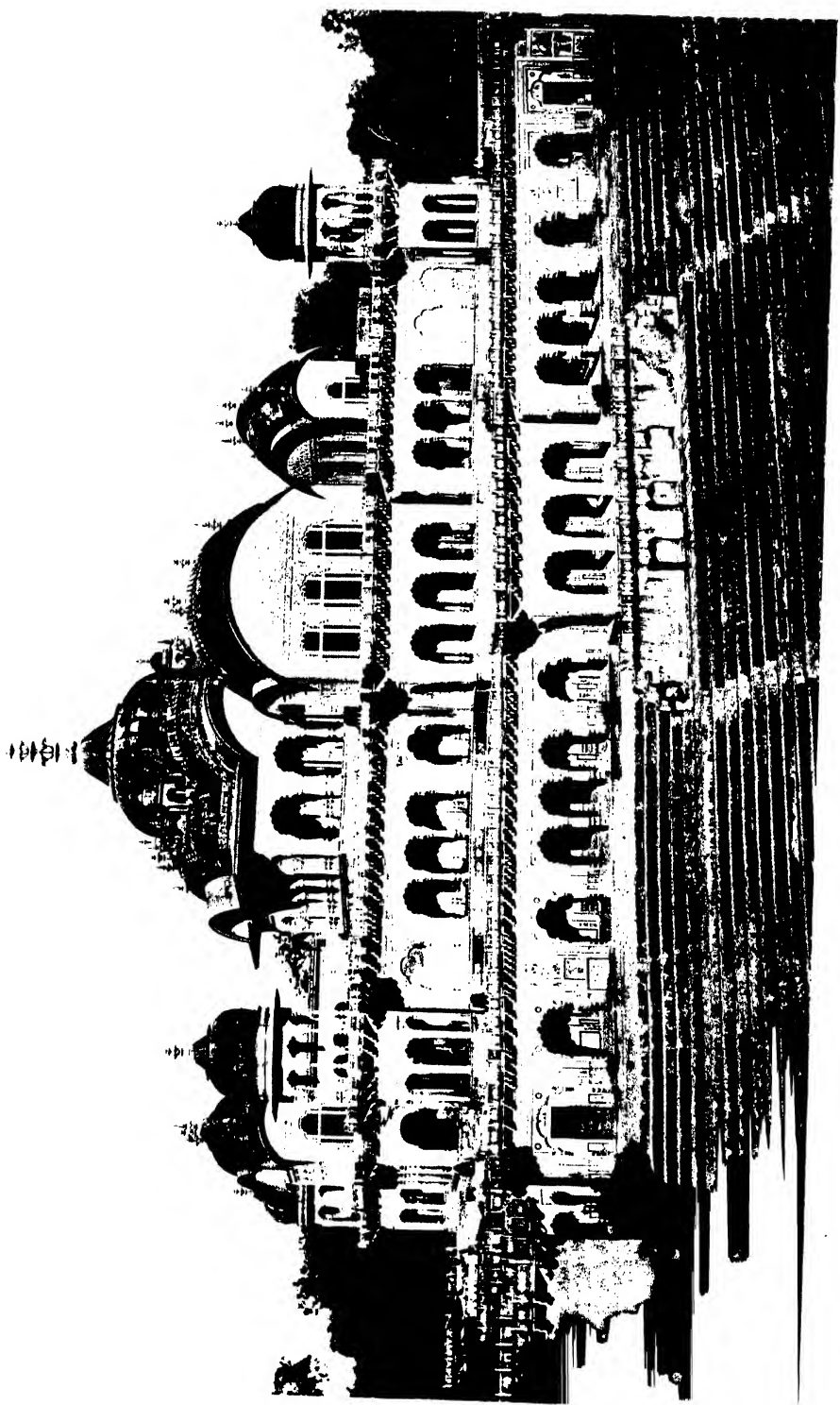
The temple has a yearly income of some Rs. 2,300, derived from the two villages, Bhagosa and Lodhipuri, the latter estate being a recent grant, in lieu of an annual money donation of Rs. 500, on the part of the Rájá of Bharat-pur, who further makes a fixed monthly offering to the shrine at the rate of one rupee per diem. The hereditary Gosáins have long devoted the entire income to their own private uses, completely neglecting the fabric of the temple and its religious services.* In consequence of such short-sighted greed, the votive offerings at this, one of the most famous shrines in Upper India, have dwindled down to about Rs. 50 a year. Not only so, but, early in 1872, the roof of the nave, which had hitherto been quite perfect, began to give way. An attempt was made by the writer of this memoir to procure an order from the Civil Court authorising the expenditure, on the repair of the fabric, of the proceeds of the temple estate, which, in consequence of the dispute among the shareholders, had for some months past been paid as a deposit into the district treasury and had accumulated to more than Rs. 3,000. There was no unwillingness on the part of the local Government to further the proposal, and an engineer was deputed to examine and report on the probable cost. But much delay occurred, and meanwhile the whole of the roof fell in with the exception of one compartment. This, however, would have been sufficient to serve as a model in the work of restoration. The estimate was at last made out for Rs. 8,767; and as there was a good balance in hand to begin upon, operations might have been commenced at once and completed without any difficulty in the course of two or three years. But no further orders were communicated by the superior authorities from April, when the estimate was submitted, till the following October, and in the interim a baniya from the neighbouring town of Aring, by name Chhítar Mall, hoping to immortalise himself at a moderate outlay, came to the relief of the temple proprietors and undertook to do all that was necessary at his own private cost. He accordingly ruthlessly demolished all that yet remained of the original roof, breaking down at the same time not a little of the curious cornice, and in its place simply threw across, from wall to wall, rough and unshapen wooden beams, of which the best that can be said is, that they may, for some few years, serve as a protection from the weather. But all that was unique and characteristic in the design has ceased to exist; and thus another of the few pages in the fragmentary annals of Indian architecture has been blotted out for ever. Like the temple of Gobind Deva at Brindá-ban, it has

* The estate is divided into twenty-four *bats* or shares, allotted among seventeen different families. It appeared that all were agreed as to the distribution, with the exception of one man by name Náráyan, who, in addition to his own original share, claimed also as sole representative of a shareholder deceased. This claim was not admitted by the others, and the zamindars continued to pay the revenue as a deposit into the district treasury, till eventually the muafidárs concurred in making a joint application for its transfer to themselves.

none of the coarse figure sculpture which detract so largely from the artistic appearance of most Hindu religious buildings; and though originally consecrated to idolatrous worship, it was in all points of construction equally well adapted for the public ceremonial of the purest faith. Had it been preserved as a national monument, it might at some day, in the future golden age, have been to Gobardhan what the Pagan Pantheon is now to Christian Rome.

On the opposite side of the Mánasi Gangá are two stately cenotaphs, or *chhattris*, to the memory of Randhir Sinh and Baladeva Sinh, Rájás of Bharat-pur. Both are of similar design, consisting of a lofty and substantial square masonry terrace with corner kiosks and lateral alcoves, and in the centre the monument itself, still further raised on a richly decorated plinth. The cella, enclosed in a colonnade of five open arches on each side, is a square apartment surmounted by a dome, and having each wall divided into three bays, of which one is left for the doorway, and the remainder are filled in with reticulated tracery. The cloister has a small dome at each corner and the curious curvilinear roof, distinctive of the style, over the central compartments. In the larger monument, the visitor's attention is specially directed to the panels of the doors, painted in miniature with scenes from the life of Krishna, and to the cornice, a flowered design of some vitreous material executed at Delhi. This commemorates Baladeva Sinh, who died in 1825, and was erected by his son and successor the late Rájá Balavant Sinh, who was placed on the throne after the reduction of the fort of Bharat-pur by Lord Combermere in 1826. The British army figures conspicuously in the paintings on the ceilings of the pavilions.* Rájá Randhir Sinh, who is commemorated by the companion monument, was the elder brother and predecessor of Baladeva, and died in the year 1823. These *chhattris* are very elegantly grouped piles of building and have an extremely picturesque effect, which is heightened by the sheet of water in front of them. But from a purely architectural point of view, they are not of any great merit, and give the idea of having been executed by a contractor, who scamped the work to increase his own profit. The decorative details are mostly poor in themselves, and are repeated with a monotonous uniformity, which contrasts most disagreeably with the rich variety of design that distinguishes all the more important buildings either in Mathurá or Brindaban. The painting on the interior of the domes is also as heavy and tasteless as Hindu attempts at pictorial art generally are.

* In the garden attached to this *chhattri* the Mahárája has a house, where he stays on his visits to the town; but at all other times it is most obligingly placed at the disposal of European visitors.



CHHATTRI OF MAHARAJA BALADEVA SÎNH. GOBARDHAN.

A mile or so from the town, on the borders of the parish of Rādhā-kund, is a much more magnificent architectural group erected by Jawāhir Sinh, in honour of his father Sūraj Mall, the founder of the family, who met his death at Delhi in 1764 (see page 39). The principal *chattri*, which is 57 feet square, is of precisely the same style as the two already described. The best part of the design is the plinth which is at once bold in outline and delicate in finish. With that curious blindness to practical requirements, which appears to have characterised the Hindu architect from the earliest period to the present, the decorated panels have been continued all round the four sides of the building, without a blank space being left anywhere for the steps, which the height from the ground renders absolutely necessary. The Rājā's monument is flanked on either side by one of somewhat less dimensions, commemorating his two queens, Hansiyā* and Kishorī. The lofty terrace upon which they stand is 460 feet in length, with a long shallow pavilion serving as a screen at each end, and nine two-storied kiosks of varied outline to relieve the front. Attached to Rāni Hansiyā's monument is a smaller one in commemoration of a faithful attendant. Behind is an extensive garden, and in front, at the foot of the terrace, is an artificial lake, called the Kusum-Sarovar, 460 feet square; the flights of stone steps on each side being broken into one central and four smaller side compartments by panelled and arcaded walls running out 60 feet into the water. On the north side, some progress had been made in the erection of a *chhattri* for Jawāhir Sinh, when the work was interrupted by Muhammadan inroad and never renewed. On the same side, the ghāts of the lake are partly in ruins, and it is said were reduced to this condition, a very few years after their completion, by the Gosāin Himmat Bahādur, who carried away the materials to Brindā-ban, to be used in the construction of a ghāt which still commemorates his name there. Such a wanton exercise of power seems a little startling, and therefore it will not be out of place to explain a little in detail who this warlike Gosāin was. A native of Bundel-khand, he became a pupil of Mahant Rājendra Giri, who had seceded from the Dasnāmī† or followers of Sankarāchārya, the most fanatical of all Hindu sectaries, and had joined the Sāiva Nāgas, a community characterized by equal turbulence unfettered by even a pretence of any religious motive. Through his instigations, Ali Bahā-

* Hans-ganj, on the bank of the Jamunā, immediately opposite Mathurā, was founded by this Rāni. In consequence of a diversion of the road which once passed through it, the village is now that most melancholy of all spectacles, a modern ruin; though it comprises some spacious walled gardens, crowded with magnificent trees.

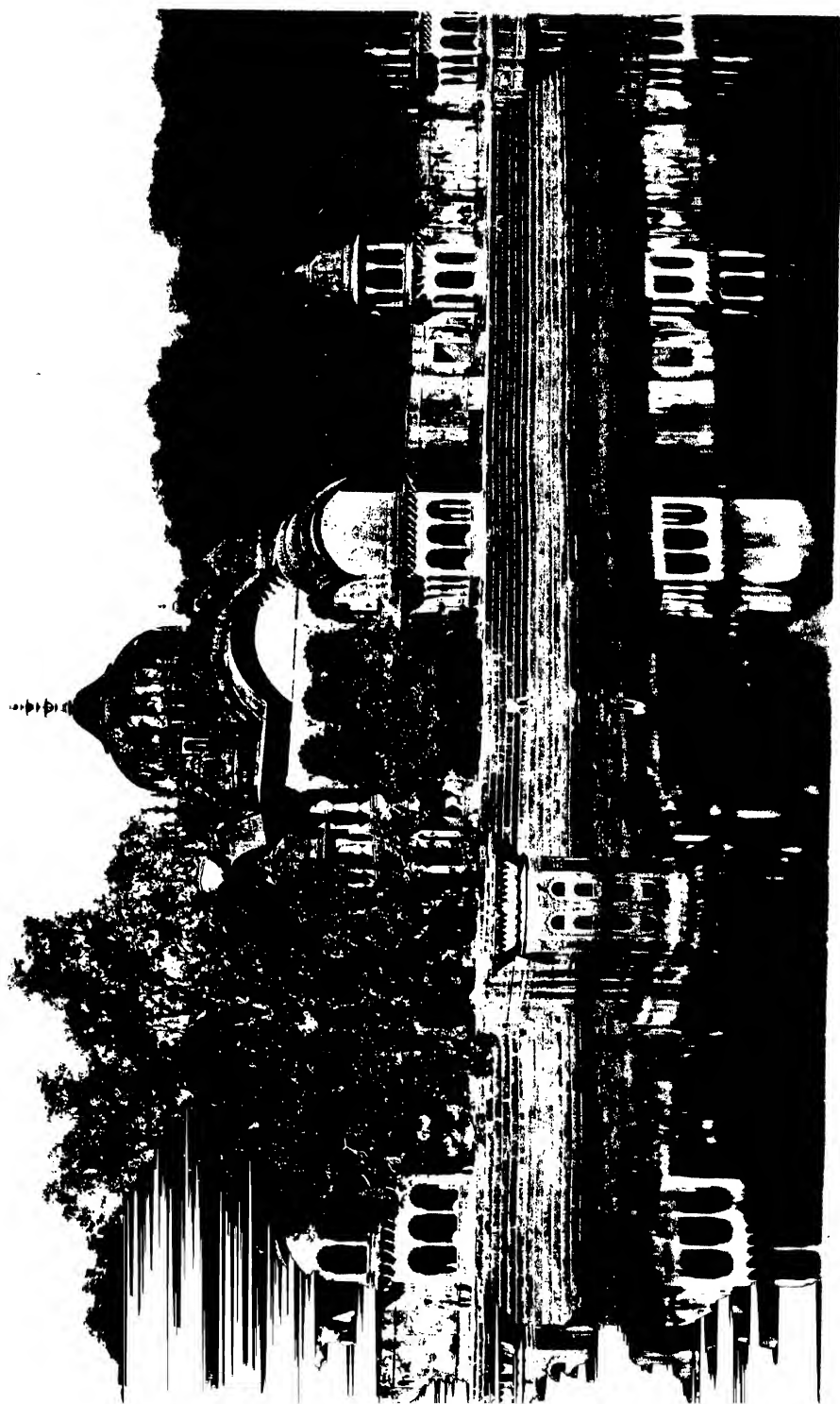
† The ten names—whence the title Das-nāmī—are *tirtha*, *śrama*, *vana*, *aranya*, *sarasvati*, *puri*, *bharati*, *giri*, *parvata*, and *śagara*, one of which is attached to his personal name by every member of the order.

du, an illegitimate grandson of Báji Ráo, the first Peshwá, was induced to take up arms against Sindhia and establish himself in Bundel-khand as virtually an independent sovereign. In 1802, Ali Bahádur fell at the siege of Kálanjar, leaving a son, Shamsher Bahádur. At first the heir was supported by Himmat, who, however, continued quietly to extend his own influence as far as possible; and, on the combination of the Mahratta chiefs against the British Government, in which they were joined by Shamsher, foreseeing in their success an immediate diminution of his own authority, he determined to co-operate with the British. On the 4th of September, 1803, a treaty was concluded between Lord Wellesley and 'Anúp-giri Himmat Bahádur,' by which nearly all the territory on the west bank of the Jamuná from Kalpi to Allahabad was assigned to him. His death, however, occurred in the following year, when the lands were resumed and pensions in lieu thereof granted to his family.

Other sacred spots in the town of Gobardhan are the temple of Chakresvar Mahádeva, and four ponds called respectively Go-rochan, Dharm-rochan, Páp-mochan, and Rin-mochan. But these latter, even in the rains, are mere puddles, and all the rest of the year are quite dry; while the former, in spite of its sanctity, is as mean a little building as it is possible to conceive.

The break in the hill, traversed by the road from Mathurá to Dig, is called the Dán Ghát, and is supposed to be the spot where Krishna lay in wait to intercept the Gopís and levy a toll (*dán*) on the milk they were bringing into the town. A Bráhmañ still sits at the receipt of custom, and extracts a copper coin or two from the passers-by. On the ridge overlooking the ghát stands the temple of Dán Ráo.

For many years past one of the most curious sights of the place has been an aged Hindu ascetic, who had bound himself by a vow of absolute silence. Whatever the hour of the day, or time of the year, or however long the interval that might have elapsed since a previous visit, a stranger was sure to find him sitting exactly on the same spot and in the same position, as if he had never once stirred; a slight awning suspended over his head, and immediately in front of him a miniature shrine containing an emblem of the god. The half century, which was the limit of his vow, has at length expired; but his tongue, bound for so many years, has now lost the power of uttering any articulate sound. In a little dog-kennel at the side sits another devotee, with his legs crossed under him, ready to enter into conversation with all comers, and looking one of the happiest and most contented of mortals; though the cell in which



THE KUSUM-SAROVAR. GOBARDHAN

he has immured himself is so confined that he can neither stand up nor lie down in it.

Subsequently to the cession by Sindhia in 1803, Gobardhan was granted, free of assessment, to Kaur Lachhman Singh, youngest son of Rāja Ranjit Singh of Bharat-pur; but on his death, in 1826, it was assumed by the Government and annexed to the district of Agra. Of late years, the paramount power has been repeatedly solicited by the Bharat-pur Rājā to cede it to him in exchange for other territory of equal value. It contains so many memorials of his ancestors that the request is a very natural one for him to make, and it must be admitted that the Bharat-pur frontier stands greatly in need of rectification. It would, however, be most impolitic for the Government to make the desired concession, and thereby lose all control over a place so important, both from its position and its associations; as Gobardhan.

The following legend in the Harivansa (esp. 94) must be taken to refer to the foundation of the town, though apparently it has never hitherto been noticed in that connection. Among the descendants of Ikshvāku, who reigned at Ayodhya, was Haryasva, who took to wife Madhumati, the daughter of the giant Madhu. Being expelled from the throne by his elder brother, the king fled for refuge to the court of his father-in-law; who received him most affectionately and ceded him the whole of his dominions, excepting only the capital Madhuvana, which he reserved for his son Lavana. Thereupon, Haryasva built, on the sacred Girivara, a new royal residence, and consolidated the kingdom of Anarta, to which he subsequently annexed the country of Arūpa, or (as it is otherwise and preferably read) Anūpa. The third in descent from Yadu, the son and successor of Haryasva, was Bhīma, in whose reign Rāma, the then sovereign of Ayodhya, commissioned Satruguna to destroy Lavana's fort of Madhuvana and erect in its stead the town of Mathurā. After the departure of its founder, Mathurā was annexed by Bhīma, and continued in the possession of his descendants down to Vasudeva. The most important lines in the text run thus:—

Haryasvasya mahatāḥ divya Girivarottame
 Divasvantaḥ puram āvarīḥam amaropamaḥ
 Anartaḥ śama śāstrakṛam śrīśṭīram Godhanśyūtam.
 Anubhavaḥ kṛmā samiddham pratyaśadyata
 Anūpa-vāṇīram dhātva vata-vana-vibhaktim.

From the occurrence of the words Girivara and Godhana and the declared proximity to Mathurā, it is clear that the capital of Haryasva must have been situated on the Girivara of Gobardhan; and it is probable that the country of Anūpa was to some extent identical with the more modern Brāj.

Anúpa is once mentioned, in an earlier canto of the poem, as having been bestowed by king Prithu on the bard Síta. The name Anarta occurs also in canto X., where it is stated to have been settled by king Reva, the son of Saryāti, who made Kusasthali its capital. In the Rámáyana IV., 43, it is described as a western region on the sea-coast, or at all events in that direction, and has therefore been identified with Gujarát. Thus there would seem to have been an intimate connection between Gujarát and Mathurá, long anterior to Krishna's foundation of Dwaraká.

BARSÁNA AND NAND-GANW.

Barsána, according to modern Hindu belief the home of Krishna's favourite mistress Rádhá, is a town which enjoyed a brief period of great prosperity about the middle of last century. It is built at the foot and on the slope of a ridge, originally dedicated to the god Brahma, which rises abruptly from the plain, near the Bharat-pur border of the Chhátá Pargana, to a height of some 200 feet at its extreme point, and runs in a south-westerly direction for about a quarter of a mile. Its summit is crowned by a series of temples in honour of Lárli-Jí, a local title of Rádhá, meaning 'the beloved.' These were all erected at intervals within the last two hundred years, and now form a connected mass of building with a lofty wall enclosing the court in which they stand. Each of the successive shrines was on a somewhat grander scale than its predecessor, and was for a time honoured with the presence of the divinity, but even the last and largest, in which she is now enthroned, is an edifice of no special pretension; though seated, as it is, on the very brow of the rock, and seen in conjunction with the earlier buildings, it forms an imposing feature in the landscape to the spectator from the plain below. A long flight of stone steps, broken about half way by a temple in honour of Rádhá's grandfather, Mahi-bhán, leads down from the summit to the foot of the hill, where are two other small temples. One of them is dedicated to Rádhá's female companions, called the Sakhis, who are eight in number, as follows: Lalitá, Visákhá, Ohampaká-latá, Ranga-devi, Chitra-lekha, Dulekhá, Sudevi, and Chandrávali. The other contains a life-size image of the mythical Brih-bhán robed in appropriate costume and supported on the one side by his daughter Rádhá, and on the other by Sridáma, a Pauránik character, here for the nonce represented as her brother.

The town consists almost entirely of magnificent mansions all in ruins, and lofty but crumbling walls now enclosing vast, desolate, dusty areas, which once were busy courts and markets or secluded pleasure grounds. All date from the time of Rúp Rám, a Kátera Bráhmaṇ, who, having acquired great reputation as a Pandit in the earlier part of last century, became Purohit to Bharat-pur,

Sindhia,* and Holkar, and was enriched by those princes with the most lavish donations, the whole of which he appears to have expended on the embellishment of Barsána and the other sacred places within the limits of Braj, his native country. Before his time, Barsána, if inhabited at all, was a mere hamlet of the adjoining village Unchá-gánw, which now, under its Gújar landlords, is a mean and miserable place, though it boasts the remains of a fort and an ancient and well-endowed temple, dedicated to Baladeva. Rúp Rám was the founder of one of the now superseded temples of Lárli-Jí, with the stone staircase up the side of the hill. He also constructed the largest market-place in the town, with as many, it is said, as sixty-four walled gardens; a princely mansion for his own residence; several small temples and chapels, and other courts and pavilions. One of the latter, a handsome arcaded building of carved stone, has for some years past been occupied by the Government as a police-station without any payment of rent or award of compensation, though the present representative of the family is living on the spot and is an absolute pauper. Three *chhatris*, commemorating Rúp Rám himself and two of his immediate relatives, stand by the side of a large stone tank with broad flights of steps and flanking towers, which he restored and brought into its present shape. This is esteemed sacred and commonly called Bhánokhar, that is, the tank of Brikha-bhán, Rádhá's reputed father. In connection with it is a smaller reservoir, named after her mother Kírat. On the margin of the Bhánokhar is a pleasure-house in three stories, known as the Jal-mahall. It is supported on a series of vaulted colonnades which open direct on to the water, for the convenience of the ladies of the family, who were thus enabled to bathe in perfect seclusion, as the two tanks and the palace are all enclosed in one courtyard by a lofty bastioned and embattled wall with tower-like gateways.† Besides these works, Rúp Rám also constructed two other large masonry tanks one for the convenience of a hamlet in the neighbourhood, which he settled and called after his own name Rúp-nagar; the second, on the opposite side of the town, in the village of Gházipur, is the sacred lake called Prem Sarovar, which he faced with octagonal stone gháts. Opposite the latter is a walled garden with an elegant domed monument, in the form of a Greek cross, to his brother Hem-ráj.

Contemporary with Rúp Rám, two other wealthy families resided at Barsána and were his rivals in magnificence. The head of the one family was

* It appears that Barsána was an occasional residence of Mádho Ráo Sindhia; for a treaty of his with the Company, regarding trade at Baroch, dated the 30th of September, 1785, was signed by him there, is also the supplementary article dated the following January.

† Both the house and Bhánokhar have been considerably damaged by the new proprietor, who has removed many of the larger slabs of stone.

Mohan Ram, a Lavaniya Brahman ; and of the other Lálji, a Tantia Thákur. It is said that the latter was by birth merely a common labourer, who went off to Lakhnau to make his fortune. There he became first a harkára, then a jamadár, and eventually the leading favourite at court. Towards the close of his life he begged permission to return to his native place and there leave some permanent memorial of the royal favour. The Nawáb not only granted the request, but further presented him with *carte blanche* on the State treasury for the prosecution of his designs. Besides the stately mansion, now much dilapidated, he constructed a large *báoli*, still in excellent preservation, and two wells, sunk at great expense in sandy tracts where previously all irrigation had been impracticable.

The sacred tank on the outskirts of the town called Priya-kund, or Píri-pokhar, was faced with stone by the Lavaniyas, who are further commemorated by a large *katra*, or market-place, the ruins of the vast and elaborate mansion where they resided, and by elegant stone *chhatris* at the foot of the hill. They held office under the Rájá of Bharat-pur, and their present representative, Rám Náráyan, is now a Tahsildár in that territory.

Barsána had scarcely been built, when, by the fortune of war, it was destroyed beyond all hope of restoration, as has already been related in Chapter II of this memoir, page 41. As if this blow were not enough, in the year 1812 it sustained a further misfortune, when the Gaurua Thákurs, its zamindárs, being in circumstances of difficulty and probably distrustful of the stability of British rule, then only recently established, were mad enough to transfer their whole estate to the oft-quoted Lálá Bábu for the paltry sum of Rs. 602 and the condition of holding land on rather more favourable terms than other tenants. The parish now yields Government an annual rental of Rs. 3,109 and the absentee landlords about as much, while it receives nothing from them in return, though their donations for charitable purposes in the neighbourhood of their own home in Bengal are often on a magnificent scale. Thus the appearance now presented by Barsána is a most forlorn and melancholy one.

The hill is still, to a limited extent, known as *Brahma-ká-prhá*r or Brahma's hill : and hence it may be inferred with certainty that Barsána is a corruption of the Sanskrit compound *Brahma-sánu*, which bears the same meaning. Its four prominent peaks are regarded as emblematic of the four-faced divinity, and are each crowned with some building ; the first with the group of temples dedicated to Lárli Jí, the other three with smaller edifices, known respectively as the Mán-mandir, the Dán-garh and the Mor-kutti. A second hill, of less extent and elevation, completes the amphitheatre in which the town is set, and

the space between the two ranges gradually contracts to a narrow path, which barely allows a single traveller on foot to pass between the shelving crags that tower above him on either side. This pass is famous as the Sankari-khor,* literally 'the narrow opening,' and is the scene of a *mela* (called the Búrhi Lila) on the 13th of the month of Bhádon, often attended by as many as 10,000 people. The crowds divide according to their sex and cluster about the rocks round two little shrines, erected on either side of the ravine for the temporary reception of figures of Rádhá and Krishna, and indulge to their heart's content in all the licentious banter appropriate to the occasion. At the other mouth of the pass is a deep dell between the two high peaks of the Máu-Mandir and the Mor-kutti, with a masonry tank in the centre of a dense thicket called the Gahrwar-ban. A principal feature in the diversions of the day is the scrambling of sweetmeats by the better class of visitors, seated on the terraces of the 'Peacock Pavilion' above, among the multitudes that throng the margin of the tank some 150 feet below.

The essentially Hindi form of the title Lálí, equivalent to the Sanskrit Lalitá, may be taken as an indication of the modern growth of the local cultus. Even in the Brahma Vaivarta, the last of the Puránas and the one specially devoted to Rádhá's praises, there is no authority for any such appellation. In the Vraja-bhakti-vilása the *mantra*, or formula of incantation which the pilgrims are instructed to repeat, runs as follows :—

Lalitá-sanyutam krishnam sarvaishu sakhibhir yutam
Dhyáye tri-veni-kúpa-stham mahá-rása-kritotsavam.

NAND-GÁNw, as the reputed home of Krishna's foster-father, with its spacious temple of Nand Ráe Jí on the brow of the hill overlooking the village, is in all respects an exact parallel to Barsána. The distance between the two places is only five miles, and when the kettle-drum is beaten at the one, it can be heard at the other. The temple of Nand Ráe, though large, is in a clumsy style of architecture and apparently dates only from the middle of last century. Its founder is said to have been one Rúp Sinh, a Sinsinwár Ját, and it has an endowment of 826 bighas of rent-free land. It consists of an open nave, with choir and sacrum beyond, the latter being flanked on either side by a Rasoi and a Sej-mahall, i. e., a cooking and sleeping apartment, and has two towers, or *sikharas*. It stands in the centre of a paved court-yard, surrounded by a lofty wall with corner kiosks, which command a very extensive view of the Bharat-pur hills

* A similar use of the local form *Khor*, for *Khol*, may be observed in the village of Khaira, where is a pond called Chintá-Khorí Kund, corresponding to the more common Sanskrit compound Chintá-harana.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF LOCAL NAMES IN NORTHERN INDIA, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE DISTRICT OF MATHURA.

IN this, the concluding chapter of the general narrative, I propose to investigate the principles upon which the local nomenclature of Upper India has been and still is being unconsciously constructed. The inquiry is one of considerable importance to the student of language ; but it has never yet been approached in a scientific spirit, and the views which are here advanced respecting this *terra incognita* in the philologist's map must be regarded as a first exploration, which is unavoidably tentative and imperfect. Many points of detail will possibly demand future rectification ; but the general outline of the subject, the fixed limits within which it is contained and some of its more characteristic features of interior development have, it is hoped, been satisfactorily ascertained and delineated with a fair amount of precision.

It is not to be inferred from this prelude that a subject of such obvious interest has hitherto been totally neglected. On the contrary, it has given rise to a vast number of speculations, but all of the most haphazard description. And this from two causes; the first being a perverse misconception as to the vernacular language of the country ; and the second, the absence up to the present time of any list of names sufficiently complete to supply a basis for a really thorough induction.

It seems a very obvious truism, and one that requires no elaborate defence to maintain, that the names of a country and of the places in it should *primâ facie*, and in default of any direct evidence to the contrary, be referred to the language of the people who inhabit them rather than to any foreign source. This, however, is the very point which most writers on the subject have failed to see. In order to explain why the founder of an Indian village gave his infant settlement the name, by which it is still known among his descendants, our laborious philologists have ransacked vocabularies of all the obscurest dialects of Europe, but have left their Sanskrit and Hindî dictionaries absolutely unopened.

A more curious illustration of a deliberate resolve to ignore obvious facts for the sake of introducing a startling theory based on some obscure and utterly problematical analogy could scarcely be found than is afforded by

Dr. Hunter in his Dissertation on non-Aryan languages. In this he refers the familiar local termination *gánw* (which *argumenti gratiâ* he spells *gáng* or *gaong*, though never so written in any Indian vernacular) to the Chinese *hiang*, the Tibetan *thiong*, the Lepcha *kyong*, &c., &c., and refuses to acknowledge any connexion between it and the Sanskrit *grāma*. Yet as certainly as Anglo-Saxon was once the language of England, so was Sanskrit of Upper India ; and it seems as reasonable to deny the relationship between *grāma* and *gánw* as between the English affix *bury* or *borough* and the Saxon *burg*. The formation is strictly in accord with the rules laid down by the Prākrit grammarians, centuries before the word *gánw* had actually come in existence. Thus by Vararuchi's Sutra—*Sarvatra la-va-rām* III., 3—the letter *r* when compounded with another consonant, whether it stands first or last, is always to be elided ; as we see in the Hindī *bāt* for the Sanskrit *vārtā*, in *kos* for *krosa*, a measure of distance, and in *pem* for *preman*, love. So *grāma* passes into *gāma*, and whether this latter form or *gánw* is used depends simply upon the will of the speaker ; one man calls the place where he lives Naugāma, another calls it Naugánw, in the same way as it is optional to say Edinbro, or Edinborough. For in Hindī as in Sanskrit a nasal can always be inserted at pleasure, according to the memorial line—*Savindukāvindukayoh syād abhede na kalpanam* : and the distinction between *m* and *v* or *w* has always been very slightly marked : for example, *dhīmar* is the recognized literary Hindī form of the Sanskrit *dhīvar*, and at the present day villagers generally write *Bhamāni* for *Bhawāni*, though the latter form only is admitted in printed books. If speculation is allowed to run riot with regard to the paternity of such a word as *gánw*, every step in the descent of which is capable of the clearest proof, then philology is still a science of the future, and the whole history of language must be rewritten from the very commencement.

Perhaps of all countries in the world, northern India is the one which for an investigation of this kind is the most self-contained and the least in need of alien analogies. Its literary records date from a very remote period ; are, in fact, far more ancient than any architectural remains, or even than any well-authenticated site, or definitely established era, and they form a continuous and unbroken chain down to this very day. From the Sanskrit of the Vedas to the more polished language of the Epic poems, and through the Prākrit of the dramatists, the old Hindī of Chand and the Braj Bhāsha of Tulsī Dās, down to the current speech of the rural population of Mathurā at the present time, the transitions are never violent, and at most points are all but imperceptible. The language, as we clearly see from the specimens which we have of it in all its successive phases, is uniform and governed throughout by the same phonetic

laws. And thus, neither from the intrinsic evidence of indigenous literature, nor from the facts recorded by history, is it permissible to infer the simultaneous existence in the country of an alien-speaking race at any period, to which it is reasonable to refer the foundation of places that still bear a distinctive name, prior to the Muhammadan invasion. The existence of such a race is simply assumed by those who find it convenient to represent as non-Aryan any formation which their acquaintance with unwritten Aryan speech in its growth and decay is too superficial to enable them at once to identify.

As local etymology is a subject which can only be investigated on the spot, and therefore lies beyond the range of European scholars, its study is necessarily affected by the prejudices peculiar to Anglo-Indian officials, who are so accustomed to communicate with their subordinates only through the medium of Urdú that most of them regard that *lingua franca* as being really what it is called in official parlance, the vernacular of the country. This familiarity with the speech of the small Muhammadan section of the community, rather than with that of the Hindu masses, causes attention to be mainly directed to the study of Persian and Arabic, which are considered proper to the country, while Sanskrit is thought to be utterly dead, of no interest save to professional scholars and of no more practical import in determining the value of current phrases than Greek or Hebrew.

The prejudice is to be regretted, as it frequently leads writers, even in the best informed London periodicals, to speak of India as if it were a purely Muhammadan country, and to urge upon the Government, as highly conciliatory, measures which—if taken—would most effectually alienate the sympathies of the vast majority.

Neither Urdú, Persian, nor Arabic, is of much service in tracing the derivation of local names, and it is hastily concluded that words which are unintelligible when referred to those recognized sources must therefore be non-Indian, and may with as much probability be traced up to one foreign language as another. Any distortion of the name of a town or village which makes it bear some resemblance to a Persian or Arabic root, is ordinarily accepted as a plausible explanation; thus Khánpur is substituted for Kánhpur, and Gházipur for Gádhipur, Gádhi, the father of Visvamitra, being a character not very widely known; while on the other hand a derivation from the Sanskrit by the application of well-established but less popularly known phonetic and grammatical laws, is stigmatized as pedantic and honestly considered to be more far-fetched than a derivation from the Basque or the Lithuanian.

This may seem an exaggerated statement; but I speak from personal experience and with special reference to a critic who wrote that he thought the identification of Maholi with Madhupuri far more improbable than its connection with the Basque and Toda word *wri*, which is said to mean 'a village.'

Such philological vagaries have their birth in the unfortunate preference for Urdú, which the English Government has inherited from the former conquerors of the country, though without any of their good reasons for the preference. They are further fostered by a wide-spread idea as to the character of the people and the country, which in itself is perfectly correct, and wrong only in the particular application. The Hindus are an eminently conservative race, and their civilization dates from an extremely remote period. It is, therefore, inferred that most of their existing towns and villages are of very ancient foundation and, if so, may bear names to which no parallel can be expected in the modern vernacular. This hypothesis is disproved by what has been said above as to the continuity of Indian speech: it is further at variance with all local traditions. The present centres of population, as any one can ascertain for himself, if he will only visit the spots instead of speculating about them in his study, are almost all subsequent in origin to the Muhammadan invasion. When they were founded the language of the new settlers, whatever it may have been in pre-historic times, was certainly not Turanian, but Aryan, as it is now; and though any place, which had previously been inhabited, must already have borne some name, the cases in which that old name was retained would be very rare. Thus, it may be remarked in passing, the present discussion supplies no ethnical argument with regard to the original population of the country. The names, once regarded as barbarous, but now recognized as Aryan, must be abandoned as evidence of the existence of a non-Aryan race; but, at the same time, since they are essentially modern, they cannot be taken as supporting the counter-theory. The names of the rivers, however, which also are mostly Aryan, may fairly be quoted as bearing on the point; for of all local names these are the least liable to change, as we see in America and our Colonies, where it is as exceptional to find a river with an English name as it is to find a town with an Indian one. And a still stronger and more numerous proof is afforded by the indigenous trees, nearly all of which (as may be seen from the list given in an appendix to this volume) have names that are unmistakably of Sanskrit origin.

Moreover, Hindu conservatism, though it doubtless exists, is developed in a very different way from the principle known by the same name in Europe.

Least of all is it shown in any regard for ancient buildings, whether temples or homesteads. Though Christianity is a modern faith as compared with Hinduism, and though the history of English civilization begins only from a time when the brightest period of Indian history had already closed, the material evidences of either fact are found in inverse order in the two countries. There is not a single English county which does not contain a longer and more venerable series of secular and ecclesiastical edifices than can be supplied by an Indian district, or it might even be said by an entire Presidency. Thus the temple of Gobind Deva at Brindá-ban, which is popularly known in the neighbourhood as 'the old temple' *par excellence*, dates only from the reign of Akbar, the contemporary of Elizabeth, and is therefore far more modern than any single village church in the whole of England, barring those that have been built since the revival by the present generation. The same also with MSS. The Hindus had a voluminous literature while the English were still unable to write; but at the present day in India a MS. 200 years old is more of a rarity than one five times that age in England. This complete disappearance from the surface of all material records of antiquity is no doubt attributable in great measure to the operation of the two most destructive forces in the known world, *viz.*, white ants and invaders, but the Hindus themselves are not altogether free from blame in the matter. As if from a reminiscence of their nomadic origin, with all their modern superstitious dislike to a move far from home is combined an inveterate tendency to slip away gradually from the old landmarks. The movement is not necessitated by growth of population, which, as in London, for instance, can no longer be contained within the original city bounds, but is a result of the Oriental idiosyncrasy that makes every man desire not, in accordance with European ideas, to found a family or restore an old ancestral residence, but rather to leave some building exclusively commemorative of himself, and to touch nothing that his predecessors have commenced, lest they should have all the credit of it with posterity. The history of England, which runs all in one cycle from the time of its first civilization, affords no ground for comparison; but in mediæval Italy the course of events was somewhat parallel, and, as in India, a second empire was built up on the ruins of a former one of equal or greater grandeur and extent. In it we find the modern cities retaining under some slight dialectical disguises the very same names as of old and occupying the same ground: in India, on the other hand, there is scarcely an historic site which is not now a desolation. Again, to pass from political to merely local disturbances: when London was rebuilt after the Great Fire, its streets, in spite of all Wren's remonstrances, were laid out exactly as before, narrow and irregular as they had grown up piece by piece in the course of centuries, and with even the churches on their old sites, through the latter

had become useless in consequence of the change in the national religion which required one or two large arenas for the display of pulpit eloquence rather than many secluded oratories for private devotion. When a similar calamity befell an Indian city, as it often did, the position of the old shrines was generally marked by rude commemorative stones, but the people made no difficulty about abandoning the exact sites of their old homes, if equally eligible spots offered themselves in the neighbourhood.

The same diversity of conservative ideas runs through the whole character: the Hindu quotes the practice of his father and grandfather and persuades himself that he is as they were, and that they were as their forefathers, unconscious of any change and ignoring the evidence of it that is afforded by ancient monuments, both literary and architectural. The former he prizes only for their connexion with the sect to which he himself belongs; whatever is illustrative of an alien faith he consigns to destruction without any regard for its history or artistic significance; and in an ancient building, if it has fallen into disuse, he sees no beauty and can take no interest; though this can scarcely be from the feeling that he can easily replace it with a better, a conviction which led our mediæval architects to destroy without compunction any part of an earlier cathedral, however beautiful in itself, which had become decayed or too small for later requirements. In all these matters England is far more critically conservative; believing in nothing, we tolerate everything; and profoundly distrusting our own creative faculties, preserve as models whatever we can rescue from the past, either in art or literature.

These reflections may seem to wander rather far from the mark; but they explain the curious equipoise that prevails in the Indian mind between a profound contempt for antiquity and an equally profound veneration for it. The very slight regard in which ancient sites are held is illustrated by the use of the terms 'Little' and 'Great' as local prefixes. In consequence of the tendency to shift the centre of population, these seldom afford information as to the comparative area and importance of the two villages so distinguished: most frequently the one styled 'Little' will be the larger of the two. In some cases the prefix 'Great' implies only that when the common property was divided among the sons of the founder, the share so designated fell to the lot of the eldest; but ordinarily it denotes the original village site, which has been wholly or at least partially abandoned, or so diminished by successive partitions that it has eventually become the smallest and least important of the group.

The foregoing considerations will, I trust, be accepted as sufficiently demonstrating the reasonableness of my general position that local names in

Upper India are, as a rule, of no very remote antiquity, and are *prima facie* referable to Sanskrit and Hindi rather than to any other language. Their formation has certainly been regulated by the same principles that we see underlying the local nomenclature of other civilized countries, and we may therefore expect to find them falling into three main groups, as follows :—

I. Names compounded with an affix denoting place.

II. Names compounded with an affix denoting possession.

III. A more indefinite class, including all names without any affix at all; such words being for the most part either the name of the founder, or an epithet descriptive of some striking local feature.

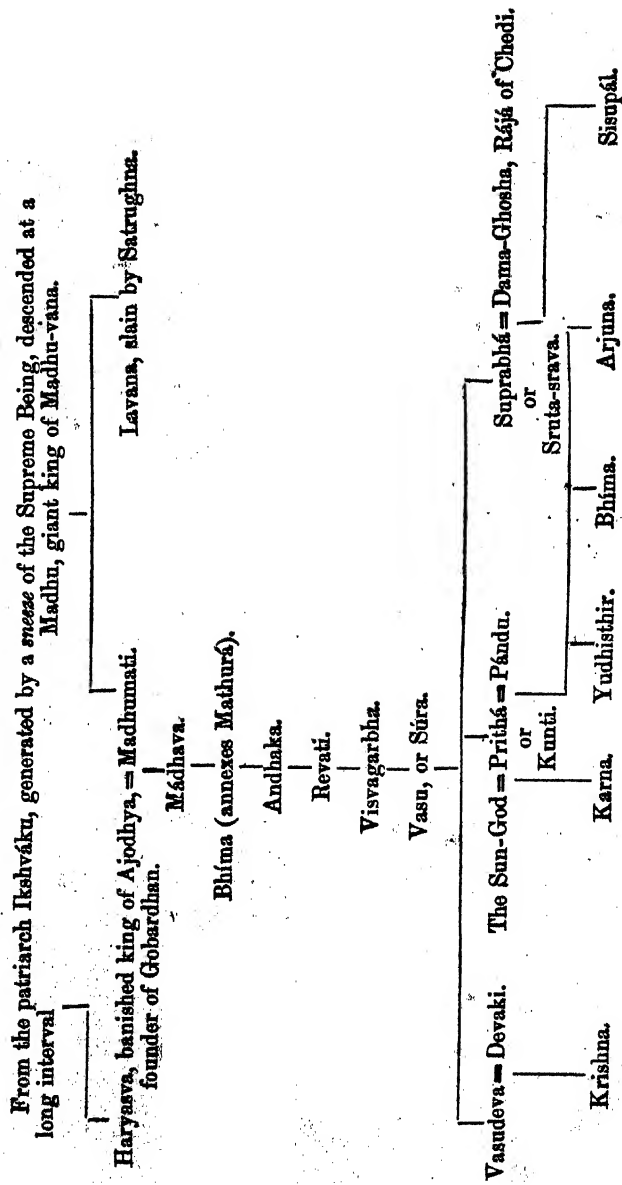
Running the eye over the list of villages in the Mathurá district, we can at a glance detect abundant illustrations of each of these three classes. Thus under Class I. comes such names as Nának-pur, Pati-pura, Bich-puri, where the founder's name is combined with the local affix *pur*, *pura*, or *puri*, signifying 'a town.' So also, Nau-gáma, Uncha-gánw, Badan-garh, Chamar-garhi, Rúp-nagar, Pál-kherá, Brindá-ban, Ahalya-ganj, Rádhá-kund, Mangal-khoh, Mall-sarái, and Nainu-patti. In all these instances both the local affix is easy to be recognized as also the word to which it is attached.

Of Class II. the illustrations are not quite so obvious and will mostly require special elucidation ; but some are self-evident, as for example Bhure-ká, where the affix is the ordinary sign of the genitive case ; Ráne-rá, where it is the Marwári form of the same ; and Pípal-wará, where it represents the familiar *wárá*.

Under Class III. come first such names as Súra-j, Misri, and Gaju, which are known to have been borne by the founders ; and under the second sub-division, Gobardhan, 'productive in cattle' ; Sanket, 'a place of assignation' ; Khor, 'an opening between the hills' ; Basai, 'a colony' ; and Pura, 'a town,' indicative of a period when towns were scarce ; with many others of similar character.

Looking first for names that may be included under Class I., we find that by far the most numerous variety are those compounded with the affix *pur*. This might be expected, for precisely the same reason that 'ton' is the most common local ending in England. But we certainly should not expect to find so large a proportion unmistakably modern, with the former part of the compound commemorating either a Muhammadan or a Hindu with a Persian name,

Descent of Krishna through his father, Vasudeva, from the Śūrajvanst Kshatriyas.



Ságar, is the one held in most repute. In constructing the following legend of Krishna, in his popular character as the tutelary divinity of Mathurá, the Vishnu Purána has been adopted as the basis of the narrative, while many supplementary incidents have been extracted from the Bhágavat, and occasional references made to the Harivansa.

In the days when Rána was king of Ajodhyá, there stood near the bank of the Jamuná a dense forest, once the stronghold of the terrible giant Madhu, who called it after his own name, Madhu-ban. On his death it passed into the hand of his son, Lavana, who in the pride of his superhuman strength sent an insolent challenge to Rána, provoking him to single combat. The god-like hero disdained the easy victory for himself, but, to relieve the world of such an oppressor, sent his youngest brother, Satrugghna, who vanquished and slew the giant, hewed down the wood in which he had entrenched himself, and on its site* founded the city of Mathurá. The family of Bhoja, a remote descendant of the great Jadu, the common father of all the Jádav race, occupied the throne for many generations. The last of the line was King Ugrasen. In his house Kansa was born, and was nurtured by the king as his own son, though in truth he had no earthly father, but was the great demon Kálanemi incarnate. As soon as he came to man's estate he deposed the aged monarch, seated himself on the throne, and filled the city with carnage and desolation. The priests and sacred cattle were ruthlessly massacred and the temples of the gods defiled with blood. Heaven was besieged with prayers for deliverance from such a monster, nor were the prayers unheard. A supernatural voice declared to Kansa that an avenger would be born in the person of the eighth son of his kinsman, Vasudeva. Now, Vasudeva had married Devaki, a niece of King Ugrasen, and was living away from the court in retirement at the hill of Gobardhan. In the hope of defeating the prediction, Kansa immediately summoned them to Mathurá and there kept them closely watched.† From year to year, as each successive child was born, it was taken and delivered to the tyrant, and by him consigned to death. When Devaki became pregnant for the seventh time, the embryo was miraculously transferred to the womb of Rohini, another wife of Vasudeva, living at Gokul, on the opposite bank of the Jamuná, and a report was circulated that the mother had miscarried from the effects of her long imprisonment and constant anxiety. The child thus

* The present Madhu-ban is near the village of Maholi, some five miles from Mathurá and from the bank of the Jamuná. The site, however, as now recognized, must be very ancient, since it is the *bán* which has given its name to the village; Maholi being a corruption of the original form, Madhupuri.

† The site of their prison-house, called the Kárá-grah, or more commonly Janm-bhúmi, i. e., 'birth-place,' is still marked by a small temple in Mathurá near the Putara-kund.

marvellously preserved was first called Sankarshana,* but afterwards received the name of Balarám or Baladeva, under which he has become famous to all posterity.

Another year elapsed, and on the eighth of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhádon† Devaki was delivered of her eighth son, the immortal Krishna. Vasudeva took the babe in his arms, and, favoured by the darkness of the night and the direct interposition of heaven, passed through the prison guards, who were charmed to sleep, and fled with his precious burden to the Jamuná. It was then the season of the rains, and the mighty river was pouring down a wild and resistless flood of waters. But he fearlessly stepped into the eddying torrent: at the first stop that he advanced the wave reached the foot of the child slumbering in his arms; then, marvellous to relate, the waters were stilled at the touch of the divine infant and could rise no higher,‡ and in a moment of time the wayfarer had traversed the torrent's broad expanse and emerged in safety on the opposite shore.§ Here he met Nanda, the chief herdsman of Gokul, whose wife, Jasodá, at that very time had given birth to a daughter, no earthly child, however, save in semblance, but the delusive power Joganidrá. Vasudeva dexterously exchanged the two infants and, returning, placed the female child in the bed of Devaki. At once it began to cry. The guards rushed in and carried it off to the tyrant. He, assured that it was the very child of fate, snatched it furiously from their hands and dashed it to the ground; but how great his terror when he sees it rise resplendent in celestial beauty and ascend to heaven, there to be adored as the great goddess Durgá. || Kansa started from his momentary stupor, frantic with rage, and cursing the gods as his enemies, issued savage orders that every one should be put to death who dared to offer them sacrifice, and that diligent search should be made for all young children, that the infant son of Devaki, wherever concealed,

* Signifying 'extraction,' i. e., from his mother's womb. The word is also explained to mean 'drawing furrows with the plough,' and would thus be paralleled by Balarámá's other names of Haláyudha, Haladhara, and Halabhrit.

† On this day is celebrated the annual festival in honour of Krishna's birth, called the Janm Ashtami.

‡ This incident is popularly commemorated by a native toy called 'Vasudeva Katorá,' of which great numbers are manufactured at Mathurá. It is a brass cup with the figure of a man in it carrying a child at his side, and is so contrived that when water is poured into it it cannot rise above the child's foot, but is then carried off by a hidden duct and runs out at the bottom till the cup is empty.

§ The landing-place is still shown at Gokul and called 'Uttaresyar Ghát.'

|| The scene of this transformation is laid at the Jog Ghát in Mathurá, so called from the child Joganidrá.

or one who can be proved in some other way to have lived only a few generations ago, and with scarcely a single instance of a name that can with any probability be referred to a really ancient date. As this fact is one of considerable importance to my argument, I must proceed to establish it beyond all possibility of cavil by passing in review the entire series of names in which the ending occurs in each of the six parganas of the district.

The Kosi pargana comprises 61 villages, of which 9 end in *pur*; viz. 'Azíz-pur, Hasan-pur, Jalál-pur, Lál-pur, Nabí-pur, Pákhār-pur, Rám-pur, Sháh-pur, and Sháhzád-pur. Six of these are unmistakably post-Muhammadan, one is apparently so, and two are of quite uncertain date.

In the Chhátá pargana there are 111 villages, and 16 of them have the *pur* ending; viz., Adam-pur, Akbar-pur, Báízid-pur, Deva-pura—so called from a 'temple' of Gopál, built by Muhkam Sinh, the ancestor of the present proprietors, whose Arabic name proves that he lived not many generations ago—Ghází-pur, Gulál-pur, Jait-pur, Jamál-pur, Khán-pur, Lár-pur; Mán-pur, on the Barsána range—so called from the Mán Mandir, the first erection of which cannot date from further back than the transfer of Rádha's chief shrine from Rával to Barsána, which took place in the 15th or 16th century A. D.—Pír-pur, Sayyid-pur, Tatár-pur, Hájí-pur, and Kamál-pur. Of these 16 names, 12 are unquestionably modern, and of the remaining 4, nothing can be said with certainty either one way or the other.

Of the 163 villages in the Mathurá pargana, as many as 32 have the *pur* ending; viz, Alha-pur, said by local tradition to have been founded and so named only 200 years ago (the founder's descendants are still on the spot and most unlikely to detract from the antiquity of their family) A'zam-pur and Bákir-pur, both founded by A'zam Khán Mir Muhammad Bákir, who was Governor of Mathurá from 1642 to 1645; Bhavan-pur; Bija-pur, founded 200 years ago by Bijay Sinh, Thákur, on land taken from the adjoining village of Nhrauli; Daulat-pur; Daun-pura, one of 11 villages founded by the sons of a Ját named Nainu at no very remote period, since the share which fell to the eldest of the sons is distinguished by the Persian epithet *kalán*; Giridhar-pur, probably the most ancient of the series, but still dating from times of modern history, having been founded by Giridhar, a Kachhwáha Thákur of Satoha, whose ancestors had migrated there from Amber; Gobind-pur; Hákim-pur; Jamál-pur; Jati-pura, founded by Gosain Bitthal-náth, the son of Vallabháchárya of Gokul, commonly called Jati Jí, about the year 1550 A. D.; Jay Sinh-pura, founded by Sawae Jay Sinh of Amber about the year 1720 A. D.; Kesopur, so called from the famous temple

of Kesava Deva, a fact which would sufficiently account for the name remaining unchanged, even though of ancient date; Lalpur, founded by a Thákur named Lalu, a member of the Gaurua clan, which is confessedly of late origin; Lár-pur, founded only a few generations ago by a Tarkar Thákur, Láram; Madan-pura, founded by an Ahír from the old village of Karnaul; Mádhó-pur, dating from 300 years ago, when it was formed out of lands taken from the adjoining villages and given to a Hindu retainer by Salín Sháh; Mirzá-pur; Muhammad-pur; Mukund-pur, so called after a Mahratta founder; Murshid-pur, founded by Murshid Kulí Khán, who was Governor of Mathurá in 1636 A.D.; Nabi-pur founded by 'Abd-un-Nabí, Governor from 1660 to 1668; Panna-pur, founded in 1725 A. D.; Ráj-pur, near Brindá-ban, so named with reference to the Ráj-Ghát, by a Sanádh Bráhmaṇ from Kámar in the 16th century; Rám-pur, named after the Rám-tál, a place of pilgrimage there; Rasúl-pur; Salím-pur, dating from the reign of Salím Sháh; 'Askar-pur, a modern alternative name for Satoha; Sháh-pur; and Dhak-pura. Of these 32 names, there are only five as to which any doubt can be entertained; all the remainder are clearly modern.

In the Mát pargana are 141 villages, and 41 end in *pur*; viz., Abhay-pura, settled by a Ját, Abhay Sinh, from Kaulána; Ahmad-pur; Akbar-pur; Amán-ullah-pur; Badan-pur; Baikunth-pur, founded according to local tradition 300 years ago; Baland-pur, founded in the 17th century by a Ját named Balavant; Bali-pur, founded by Bali, a Ját from Bájana about 1750 A. D.; Begam-pur; Bulákpur; Chánd-pur, of modern Ját foundation; Daulat-pur; Faridam-pur; Firoz-pur; Hamza-pur; Hasan-pur; 'Ináyat-pur; Ja'far-pur; Jahángír-pur; Jat-pura, a modern off-shoot from the adjoining village of Shal; Khán-pur; Khwája-pur; Lál-pur, founded by a Ját from Parsauli; Makhdúm-pur; Mírpur; Mubárah-pur; Mu'ín-ud-dín-pur; Nabí-pur; Nának-pur, a modern off-shoot from Musmina; Nausher-pur; Núr-pur; Pabbi-pur; Pati-pura, a modern colony from the Ját village of Dunetiya; Rae-pur, recently settled from Masmina; Sadikpur; Sadr-pur; Sakat-pur; Sikandar-pur; Suhág-pur; Sultán-pur; and Udhan-pur. As to the foundation of 6 out of these 41 villages nothing is known; the remaining 35 are distinctly ascertained to be modern.

Of the 203 villages in the Mahá-ban pargana, 43 have the ending *pur*; viz., 'Abd-un-Nabí-pur; 'Alí-pur; Amír-pur; Islám-pur; Bahádur-pur; Balarám-pur, recently founded by Sobhá Ráe, Kayath; Banárasí-pur, founded by a Bráhmaṇ, Banárasí, who derived his own name from the modern appellation of the sacred city called of old Váránasi; Bhankar-pur; Bichpuri, of modern Ját foundation; Daulat pur; Fath-pura; Ghiyás-pur; Gohar-pur; Habíb pur;

Hayát-pur ; Hasan-pur ; Ibráhím-pur ; 'Isá-pur, founded by Mirza 'Isá Tarkhán, Governor of Mathurá in 1629 A. D.; Jádón-pur; Jagadís-pur, founded by a Parásar, Jagadeva, whose descendants are still on the spot and claim no great antiquity; Jamál-pur ; Jogi-pur ; Kalyán-pur ; Kásim-pur ; Khán-pur ; Kishan-pur, recently settled from the village of Kárab ; Lál-pur ; Manohar-pur ; Mohau-pur ; Mubárak-pur ; Muzaffar-pur ; Nabí-pur ; Nasír-pur ; Núr-pur ; Ráe-pur ; Sayyid-pur ; Shiháb-pur ; Sháh-pur ; Shabzád-pur ; Sherpur ; Tayyib-pur, and Zakariya-pur. Of these 43 villages, 25 are certainly quite modern : as to the remaining 8 nothing can be affirmed positively.

The 6th and last pargana, Sa'dabad, contains 129 villages, of which 31 have the ending *pur* ; viz., Abhay-pura, of modern Ját foundation ; Bágh-pur, founded 300 years ago by a Ját named Bagh-ráj ; Bahádurpur ; Bijal-pur ; Chamar-pura ; Dhak-pura ; Fathullah-pur ; Ghátam-pur, founded in the reign of Sháhjuhán ; Hasan-pur ; Idal-pur ; Mahábat-pur ; Makan-pur ; Mánik-pur, of modern Ját foundation ; Mír-pur ; Náráyan-pur, named after a Gosain of modern date, Náráyan Dás ; Násirpur ; Nasír-pur ; Nau-pura ; Ráe-pura, of modern Thákur foundation ; Rám-pura, recently settled from Salpan, by a Bráhman named Mán Mall ; Rashíd-pur ; Sala-pur, founded by a Bráhman named Sabala ; Salím-pur ; Samad-pur, settled not many generations ago by a Ját named Sáavadhán ; Sarmast-pur ; Sháhbáz-pur ; Sher-pur ; Sithara-pur, a modern offshoot of Garúmra ; Sultán-pur ; Táj-pura ; and Zari-pura. Of these 31 names, 5 are doubtful, the other 26 are proved to be modern.

Adding up the results thus obtained, we find that there are in the whole district 172 villages that exhibit the termination *pur*, and of these as many as 141 are either obviously of modern origin, or are declared to be so by local tradition. It is also worthy of notice that in the above lists there has frequently been occasion to mention the name of the parent settlement from which a more recent colony has been derived ; but in no single instance does the older name show the *pur* ending. Yet *pura* or *puri* is no new word, nor is its use as a local affix new ; on the contrary we have the clearest literary proof that it has been very largely so employed from the very commencement of the Aryan occupation of India. What, then has become of all the older names in which it once appeared ? It is inconceivable that both name and place should in every instance have been so utterly destroyed as not to leave a trace behind ; and we are thus forced to accept the alternative conclusion that the affix has in course of time so coalesced with the former part of the compound, that it ceases to be readily distinguishable from it. Now of names that are presumably ancient, it will be found that a considerable proportion terminate in *oli*, *auli*, *aur*, *auri*, or *aula*. Thus, deducting from the 61 villages in the Kosi pargana, the nine

that have the modern termination *puri*, we have 52 left, and among that number 7 are of this character; viz., Banchnauli, Chacholi, Chandaui, Maholi, Sánchnaul, Sujauli, and Tumaula. Again, of the 95 villages that remain in the Chhátiá pargana after deduction of the 16 ending in *puri*, 15 have the *oli* affix: viz., Ahori, Astoli, Baroli, Bharauli, Chaksauli, Darauli, Gangroli, Lodhauri, Mangroli, Parsoli, Pilhora, Rankoli, Rithora, and Tárolí. Without continuing the list in wearisome detail through the other four parganas of the district, it will probably be admitted that, in earlier times, *oli* was as common a local affix as *puri* in modern times, and must represent some term of equally general and equally familiar signification. To proceed with the argument: these names, though as a rule older than those ending in *puri*, are still many of them of no great antiquity and can be proved to belong to an Aryan period, when the language of the country was in essentials the same as it is now and the people inhabiting it bore much the same names as they do still. Thus Sánchnauli is derived from Sánchi Devi who has a temple there; Sujáuli from a founder Suján, whose descendants are still the proprietors, and Parsoli and Tárolí from founders named respectively Parsa and Tára. It may be presumed with absolute certainty that these people, bearing such purely Indian names, whether they lived 5, 10, or 15 generations ago, knew no language but their own vernacular, and could not borrow from any foreign tongue the titles by which they chose to designate their new settlements. Thus Dr. Hunter, and those who have followed him in his speculations, may be correctly informed when they state that in Tamil, or Telugu, or Toda, or even in Basque, there is a word *uri*, or *uru*, or *ur*, which means 'village'; but yet if this word was never current in the ordinary speech of Upper India, the founders of the villages quoted above cannot possibly have known of it. The attempt to borrow such a name as Sujáuli or Maholi directly from the Basque is, when viewed under the light of local knowledge, really more absurd than to derive Cannington from *Kanhay*, or Dalhousie from *Dala-hási*, 'with pleasant foliage.' The misconception, as already observed, has arisen from the erroneous idea that all village names are of remote antiquity, and may therefore be illustrated by philological analogies collected from all parts and ages of the world. In truth, *uli* or *uri* is simply *puri* with the initial consonant elided. Such an elision, removing as it does the most distinctive element in the word, may appear at first sight highly improbable; it is, however, in strict accord with the rules of Hindi formation. The two first *sutras* of the second Book of Vararuchi's *Prákrita-Prakása* in the clearest manner direct it to be made. The text stands thus:

(1.) *Ayuktasyánádau* (2.) *Ka-ga-cha-ja-ta-da-pa-ya-vám práyo lopah.*
That is to say, the consonants k, g, ch, j, t, d, p, y, and v, when single and non-

initial, are generally elided. And as a convincing proof that this is no mere grammatical figment, but a practical rule of very extensive application, take the following familiar words, in which its influence is so obvious as to be undeniable. By the elision of the prescribed consonant we obtain from the Sanskrit *sūkara*, the Hindi *sūar*, 'a pig'; from *kokila*, *koil*, 'the cuckoo'; from *sūchi*, *sūi*, 'a needle'; from *tātā*, *tāu*, 'a father's elder brother'; from *pada*, *pāo*, 'a quarter'; from *kūpa*, *kua*, 'a well'; from *Prayāg*, *Prāg*, the Hindi name of Allāhābād; and from *jīva*, *jā*, 'life.' The rule, it is true, provides primarily that the letter to be elided must be non-initial; but one of the examples given in the text is *su uriso* for *su purusha*, 'a good man'; where the *p* is still elided although it is the initial of the word *purusha*. This the commentator explains by declaring that "the initial letter of the last member of a compound must be considered as non-initial." Thus the mystery is solved, and Karnaul is at once seen to be Karna-pur; Karauli, Kalyān-puri; Tāroli, Tārā-puri; and Sujāuli, Sujān-puri.

This practical application of the Prākṛit grammarian's rule was first stated in my first edition of this Memoir. In my own mind it was so firmly established as an indisputable fact, and possessed in its extreme simplicity at least one of the great merits of all genuine discoveries, that I stated it very briefly and thought it unnecessary to bring forward any collateral arguments in its support. But I find that I much under-rated the strength of inveterate prejudices; for with the exception of one reviewer in a London scientific journal; all other critics seemed to regard my theory as the mere outcome of unpractical pedantry. I have therefore on the present occasion taken great pains to omit nothing, and I cannot believe that anyone, who will submit to the trouble of following my argument as I have now stated it, will still maintain "that the direct derivation from the Turanian roots *aul*, *ur*, *uri*, is more probable than the forced and far-fetched Sanskrit derivation from one single root supported only by the theory of a grammarian, which may or may not have been put in practice in an unlettered age." The writer of the remarks I quote would seem to imagine that language was the invention of grammarians; on the contrary, they are powerless to invent or even change a single word, and can merely codify the processes which are the result of unconscious action on the part of the unlettered masses. When Sujān-puri is converted in popular speech into Sujāuli, it is not because in one rule Vararuchi has directed the elision of the initial *p*, and in another rule the elision of the final *n*; but because a Hindu's organs of speech (as the grammarian had noticed to be the invariable case) have a natural and unconscious tendency to the change.* This

* Thus the Agra shop-keepers, who have converted Blunt-ganj into Belanganj, have probably never heard of Vararuchi, but they have certainly, though unconsciously, followed his rules.

tendency is still existing in full force, and my observing it to be so in another local compound first suggested to me the identification of *uri* with *puri*. Thus the beautiful lake at Gobardhan with the mausoleum of the first of the Bharatpur Rájás is called indifferently Kusum-sarovar, or Kusumokhar; and at Barsána is a tank, called either Bhánokhar or Brikhbhán ká pokhar, after Rádha's reputed father Brikh-bhán. Both in Kusumokhar and Bhánokhar it is evident that the latter part of the compound was originally *pokhar*, and in the same way as the initial *p* has been there elided, so also has it been in Sujáuli and Maholi. The explanation of the last-mentioned word 'Maholi' is one of the most obvious and at the same time one of the most interesting results of my theory. It is the name of the village some four miles from Mathurá, which has grown up in the vicinity of the sacred grove of Madhuban, where Ráma's brother Satrugna destroyed the giant Madhu. On the site of the captured stronghold the hero is said to have built a city, called indiscriminately in Sanskrit literature Mathurá or Madhu-puri: the fact, no doubt, being that Mathurá was originally the name of the country, with Madhu-puri for its capital. In course of time the capital, like most Indian cities, gradually shifted its site, probably in order to follow the receding river; while Madhu-puri itself, fixed by the locality of the wood that formed its centre, became first a suburb and finally an entirely distinct village. Simultaneously with these changes, the name of the country at large was attached *par excellence* to its chief city, and Madhu-puri in its obscurity became a prey to phonetic decay and was corrupted into Maholi. The transition is a simple one; the 'h' being substituted for *dh* by the rule II. 27 *Kha-gha-tha-dha bhúm Hah*, which gives us the Hindi *bahira* for the Sanskrit *badhira*, 'deaf' and *bahu* for *vadhú*, 'a female relation.'

It will be observed that Madhu-puri as a literary synonym for Mathurá remains unchanged, and is transformed into Maholi only as the name of an insignificant village. Thus an easy solution is found for the difficulty raised by the same critic I have before quoted, who objects "If it is possible in the lapse of time to elide the *p* of *puri*, why have not the oldest towns in India like Hastina-pur yielded to the change?" and in the case of more modern towns why do we not find the change half-effected, some middle place in the transition stage?" To the former of these two questions I reply that a name when once petrified in literature is preserved from colloquial detrition. Thus, of two places originally named alike, one may retain the genuine Sanskrit form, while the other becomes Prákritized, according to their celebrity or otherwise. A parallel is afforded by the names of many English families: the elder branches retain the old spelling, however much at variance with modern pronunciation, as, for instance, Berkeley and Marjoribanks; while the obscurer branches, who

seldom had occasion to attach their signatures to any document, conform their spelling to the sound and appear in writing as Barkly and Marchbanks. Or not unfrequently they retain the old form, but pronounce the word not in the old-fashioned way, but according to the value of the vowels in ordinary modern pronunciation. Thus Hastinapur exists unchanged, by virtue of its historical fame; had it been an obscure village it would probably have been corrupted into Hathaura. In fine, it may be accepted as a general rule that when the termination *pur*, *pura*, or *puri*, is found in full, the place is either comparatively modern, or if ancient is a place of pre-eminent note. The one exception to the rule is afforded by names in which the first element of the compound is a Persian or Arabic word: Some of them may be much older and yet not more distinguished than many of pure Hindu descent, from which the *p* has disappeared; but the explanation lies in the natural want of affinity between the two members of the compound, which would prevent them from coalescing, however long they might be bound together.

To say that the actual process of transition can never be detected is not strictly in accordance with facts. The elision is not restricted to proper names, but is applicable to all words alike; and in Hindi books written and printed at the present day it is optional with the writer to use exclusively either *kokila*, or *koil*; *súkar* or *súar*; *kúp* or *kúa*, or both indifferently. Again, to take a local illustration: Gobardhan, being a place of high repute, is always so spelt by well-informed people, but in vulgar writing it is contracted to Gordhan, and it is almost exceptional to come across a man whose name is Gobardhan Dás, who does not acquiesce in the corruption.

Next to *pur* the local affix of most general signification and the one which we should therefore expect to find occupying the second place in popular use is *gráma*, *gáma*, or *gánw*. It occurs, however, far less frequently, at least in an un mutilated state. Thus of the 61 villages in the Kosi pargana there are only two with this affix, viz., Dahi-gánw, named from the Dadhi-kund, and Pai-gánw from the Pai-ban-kund; *dadhi* and *payas* both meaning 'milk.' In the 111 Chhátá villages there are four, viz., Bhan-gánw, Nand-gánw, Naugáma, and Uncha-gánw. In the 163 Mathurá villages there are six, viz., Bachh-gánw, Dhan-gánw, Jakhin-gánw, Naugáma (properly Ná-gáma from its founder Nága), Nim-gánw, and Uncha-gánw. In the 141 Mát villages there is only one, Tenti-ka-gánw, and this a name given by Rájá Súraj Mall, on account of the abundance of the *karíl* plant with its fruit called *tenti*, to a place formerly known as Akbar-pur. In the 203 Mahában villages only two, viz., Nim-gánw and Páni-gánw; and in the 129 S'adábád villages, four, viz., Kokar-gama, Naugáma, Risgáma, and Tasígau. The proportion is therefore little

more than two per cent., and even of this small number the majority may reasonably be presumed to be of modern date. Thus Nau-gāma in the Chhātā pargana was formed in later Muhammadan times by a moiety of the population of the parent village Tāroli, who under imperial pressure abandoned their ancestral faith and submitted to the yoke of Islām. Again the five or six villages, such as Bachh-gānw, Dahi-gānw, &c., that have sprung up round the sacred groves and lakes and retain the name of the *ūrath* unaltered, simply substituting *gānw* for the original *ban* or *kund*, are almost certainly due to the followers of Vallabhāchārya at the beginning of the 16th century, or to the Gosāin who composed the modern 'Brahma-vaivarta Purāna and first made these spots places of Vaishnava pilgrimage. It may therefore be inferred that in older names the termination *grāma* has, like *puri*, been so mutilated as to become difficult of recognition. The last name on the list, viz., Tasīgau, is valuable as suggesting the character of the corruption, which it exhibits in a transitional stage. The final syllable, which is variably pronounced as *gau*, *go*, or *gon*, is unmistakably a distinct word, and can only represent *gānw*. The former part of the compound, which at first sight appears not a little obscure, is illustrated by a village in the Mathurā pargana, Tasīha, a *patti*, or subdivision of the township of Sonkh, which is said to bear the name of one of the five sons of the Jāt founder, the other four being Ajal, Asa, Pūrna, and Sahjua. As these are clearly Hindi vocables, it may be presumed that Tasiha is so likewise, and we shall probably be right if we take it for the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *tishya*, one of the lunar mansions, used in the sense of 'auspicious,' in the same way as the more common Pūsa, which represents the asterism Pushya. Thus as the letter *g* can be elided under the same rule as the *p* in *puri*, the original termination *grāma* is not unfrequently reduced to the form *on*, in which not one letter of its older self remains. The most interesting example of this mutation is afforded by the village *Parson*. Its meaning has so thoroughly died out that a local legend has been in existence for some generations which explains it thus: that two days after Krishna had slain one of the monsters with which the country was infested, he was met at this spot by some of his adherents who asked him how long ago it was that he had done the deed, and he replied *parson*, 'the day before yesterday.' This is obviously as absurd as the *kal kata*, or 'yesterday's cutting,' told about Calcutta; for apart from other reasons the word in vogue in Krishna's time would have been not *parson*, but its original form *parvas*. However, the true etymology, which is yet more disguised by the fact that office clerks always change the *r* into *l* and call the place Palson, does not appear to have been ever suggested till now. Clearly the name was once Parasurāma-gānw, or in its contracted form Parsa-gānw, and thence by regular transition has passed through Parsānw into

Parson. If proof were required, it is supplied by the fact that a large pond of ancient sacred repute immediately adjoining the village is called Parasurám-kund.

The sacred ponds and groves with which the country of Braj abounds, are, as might naturally be expected, ordinarily much older than the villages on their margin; and, as illustrated by the above example, it is always of the utmost importance to the philologist to ascertain their popular names. These are much less liable to corruption than the name of any village; for as the *thrath* is visited solely on account of the divinity with whom it is traditionally associated, his name is in it preserved intact, while as an element in the word that designates the village (a place most connected in the mind with secular matters, its primary import is less considered and in a few generations may be totally forgotten. Thus the obscure name of a pond, which can only be ascertained by a personal visit, often reveals the name of the local deity or it may be of the founder of the settlement, and in that gives a surer clue to the process of corruption in the village name than could ever be afforded by any amount of library research. For example, the resolution of such a word as Senwa into its constituent elements might seem a hopeless undertaking; but the clouds are dispelled on ascertaining that a neighbouring pond of reputed sanctity is known as Syámkund. Thence it may reasonably be inferred that the original form was Syám-gánw; the final *m* of Syám and the initial *g* of gánw being elided by the rules already quoted, and the consonant *y* passing into its cognate vowel. Other names in the district, in which the affix *gánw* may be suspected to lurk in a similarly mutilated condition, are Jaiswa for Jay-sinh-gánw; Basáun for Bishan-gánw; Bhíún for Bhím-gánw; Bádon for Bádu-gánw (Bádu being for Sanskrit Bádava); and Oháwa for Udha-gánw.

Another word of yet wider signification than either *puri* or *gráma*, and one which is known to have been extensively used as a local affix in early times, is *sthána*, or its Hindi equivalent *thána*. And yet, strange to say, there is not a single village name in the whole district in which its presence is apparent. It probably exists, but if so, only in the very mutilated form of *ha*. Thus the village of Satohá on the road between Mathurá and Gobardhan is famous for, and beyond any doubt whatever derives its name from, a sacred pond called Sántanu-kund. The eponymous hero is a mythological character of such remote antiquity that he is barely remembered at all at the present day, and what is told about him on the spot is a strange jumble of the original legend. The word Satohá therefore is no new creation, and it can scarcely be expected to have escaped from the wear and tear of ages to which it has been exposed, without undergoing even very material changes. The local wiseacres find an

etymology in *sattu*, 'bran,' which they assert to have been Sántanu's only food during the time that he was practising penance. But this is obviously absurd, and Satohá, I am convinced, is an abbreviation for Sántanu-sthána. Instances are very frequent in which words of any length and especially proper names are abbreviated by striking out all but the first syllable and simply adding the vowel *u* to the part retained. Thus in common village speech at the present day Kalyán is almost invariably addressed as Kalu, Bhagaván as Bhagú, Balavant as Balú, and Múlchand as Mulú. In the last example the long vowel of the first syllable is also shortened, and thus an exact parallel is afforded to the change from Sántanu to Satu or Sato. Sato-thána then by ordinary rule, if only the *th* in the compound is regarded as non-initial, becomes Satohána; and the further loss of the final *na* cannot be regarded as an insuperable difficulty.

An affix, which has itself suffered from organic decay has a tendency to involve its support in the same destruction, and thus I feel no difficulty in proceeding a step further and interpreting the word 'Paithá' on the same principles as Satohá. It is the name of a large and apparently very ancient village with a temple of Chatur-bhuj, rebuilt on the foundations of an older shrine, which had been destroyed by Aurangzeb. At the back of the god's throne is a hollow in the ground, which has given rise to a local etymology of the usual unscientific character. For it is said to be the mouth of the cave into which the people of Braj 'entered' (*paithá*) when Krishna upheld the Giri-ráj hill, which is about two miles distant from the village, in order to shelter them from the storm of Indra. Absurd as the legend is, it supplies a suggestion: for *paitlná*, the verb 'to enter,' is unquestionably formed from the Sanskrit *pravishta*; and if we imagine a somewhat analogous process in the case of the local name, and allow for the constant detrition of many centuries, we may recognize in 'Paithá' the battered wreck of Pratihthána, which in Sanskrit is not an unusual name for a town.

Sthali, a word very similar in meaning to *sthána*, suffers precisely the same fate when employed as an affix; all its intermediate letters being slurred over, and only the first and last retained. Thus Kosi represents an original Kusa-sthali; and Társi with the sacred grove of Tál-ban, where, according to the very ancient legend Krishna put to death the demon Dhenuk, is for Tála-sthali:

Kárab, the name of a large village in the Mahában pargana, is a solitary example of an affix, which I take to have been in full the Sanskrit *vapra*, 'a fort' 'or field'. If so, it has suffered even more than *sthali* and has retained only one letter of its original self, viz., the initial *v* or *b*. Since hazard-

ing the above suggestion I have come across a fact which is the highest possible testimony to its correctness : for a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena, one of the Valabhi kings, transcribed in the *Indian Antiquary*, gives Hastaka-vapra as the name of a place now called Hâthab.

Another termination, which we find occurring with sufficient frequency to warrant the presumption that it is an affix with a definite meaning of its own, is *oi*. There are five examples of it in the district, *viz.*, Gindoi, Majhoi, Mandoi, Radoi, and Bahardoi. Of these the most suggestive is the first, Gindoi. Here is a pond of ancient sacred repute, called Gendokhar-kund, which is the scene of an annual melâ, the Phûl Dol, held in the month of Phalgun. Hence we may safely infer that Gindoi is a compound word with Genda for its first element. This is not an uncommon name for a Hindu, and its most obvious meaning would be 'a marygold.' So taken it would find a parallel in such proper names as Gulâb, 'a rose' ; Tulsi, the sacred herb so called ; Phûl, 'a flower' ; and Puhap, for the Sanskrit *pushp*, with the same meaning. It may, however, be doubted whether it did not in the first instance represent rather the Hindi *gainda*, for *gajendra*, 'an elephant.' Besides preserving the name of the village founder, the term Gendokhar-kund is curious in another respect, as showing a complete popular forgetfulness of the meaning of the termination *okhar* at the time when the word *kund* with precisely the same import was added. English topography supplies a case exactly in point ; for Wansbeckwater is composed of three words, which all mean exactly the same thing, but were current in popular speech at different times, being respectively Danish, German, and English. But to return to Gindoi, which we have found to be a compound word with Genda for its first element, the termination *oi* yet remains to be considered. I take it to be *vâpi*, 'a pond.' In confirmation of this view it is worthy of note that in the Ghiror pargana of the Mainpuri district there is a village called *oi*, *pur et simple*, surrounded on three sides by the river Arind, which in the rains becomes at that particular spot an enormous and almost stagnant sheet of water.* For such a place *vâpi* would be a highly appropriate name, and for the transition from *vâpi* to *oi* nothing is required beyond the elision of the *p* and change of *v* into its cognate vowel. Prefixing Genda, we have Genda-oi, Gendavai, and finally Gindoi ; *o* being substituted for *au*, and *i* for *ai*, by the following Sûtras of Vararuchi, *Autâ ot* I. 41, and *I'd dhairye* I. 39. The latter rule, it is true, refers strictly only to the word *dhairya*, which becomes *dhitram* in Prâkrit, but it seems not unreasonable to give it a wider application. The above line of argument would command unqualified assent if it could be shown that each of the places with the *oi* ending was in the neigh-

*For this curious fact so strikingly illustrative of my theory, I am indebted to Mr. McConaghey, who conducted the last settlement of the Mainpuri district.

bourhood of some considerable pond. There is such a one at Mando! Acharya-kund; and Bahardoi, founded at an early period by Thákú called Chitor, who only about 30 years ago lost their proprietary rights at from have all migrated elsewhere, is a place subject to yearly inundations, now immediately adjoins some low ground where a large body of water is as it collected in the rains. Radoi I have never had an opportunity of seeing, says therefore cannot say whether its physical characteristics confirm or are and variance with my theory: but at Majhoi, which is a Gújar village on at bank of the Jamuná, there is certainly no vestige of any large pond, while would account for the affix *vápi*. This one proved exception cannot, however be regarded as a fatal objection; for the same effect may result from very different causes; as, for instance, the Hindi word *bár* in the sense of 'a day of the week' represents the Sanskrit *vára*; while if taken to mean 'water' or 'a child,' it stands in the one case for *vári*, in the other for *bála*. Thus in the particular word Majhoi, the *o* may belong to the first element of the compound and the *i* be the affix of possession.

A'na is another termination of somewhat rare occurrence. This is in all probability an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *ayana*, which means primarily 'a going,' 'a road,' but is also used in the wider sense of simply 'place.' An example very much to the purpose is supplied by Vararuchi, or rather by his commentator Bhámaha, who incidentally mentions *munjána*, 'a place producing the *munja* plant,' as the Prákrit equivalent for the Sanskrit *maunjá-yana*. The district contains nine places which exhibit this ending, viz., Dotána, Halwána, Hathána, Mahrána, Sihána, Kaulána, Mirtána, Diwána, and Barsána. But what was only suspected in the case of the Gindoi group, viz., that all the names do not really belong to the same category, is here susceptible of positive proof. But to take first some of the words in which *ayana* seems an appropriate affix: Sihána, where is a pond called the *kshír ságar*, may be for Kshirayana; Dotána, derived on the spot from *dánton*, 'a tooth-brush,' which is suggestive of Buddhist legends and therefore of ancient sanctity, may well be for Devatáyana; Halwána, where an annual *melá* is celebrated in honour of Balaráma, may have for its first element Hala-bhrit, a title of that hero, the final *t* being elided and the *bh* changed into *v*; while the first syllable in the three names Hathána, Kaulána, and Mirtána, may represent respectively Hasti, Komal, and Amrit; Amrit Sinh being recorded by tradition as the founder of the last named village. But the resemblance of Diwána and Barsána to any of the above is purely accidental. The former commemorates the Ját founder, one Díwán Singh, whose name has been localized simply by the addition of the affix *a*, while Barsána has a history of its own, and that a

curious one. It is now famous as the reputed birth-place of Rādhā, who is the only divinity that—for the last two centuries at least—has been popularly associated with the locality. But of old it was not so: the hill on which the modern series of temples has been erected in her honour, is of eccentric conformation, with four boldly-marked peaks; whence it is still regarded by the local Pandits as symbolical of the four-faced divinity, and styled *Brahma kā pahār*, or 'Brahma's hill.' This lingering tradition gives a clue to the etymology: the latter part of the word being *sānu*, which is identical in meaning with *pahār* and the former part a corruption of *Brahma*. But this, the true origin of the word, had entirely dropped out of sight even in the 16th century, when the writer of the *Vraja-bhakti-vilāsa* was reduced to invent the form *Brishabhānu-pura* as the Sanskrit equivalent for the Hindī *Barsāna*. A somewhat similar fate has befallen the companion hill of *Nand-gānw*, which is now crowned with the temple of *Nand Rāé Jī*, *Krishná's* reputed foster-father. Its real name, before *Vaishnava* influence had become so strong in the land, was *Nandī-grāma*, by which title it was dedicated to *Mahādeva* in his character of *Nandīśvar*; and the second person of the Hindu trinity, who has now appropriated all three of the sacred hills of *Braj*, was then in possession of only one, *Gobardhan*.

The local name *Mai*, or *Man*, is found occasionally in all parts of Upper India and appears also in the *Mathurā* district, though not with great frequency.* The one form seems to be only a broader pronunciation of the other, in the same way as *nāu* is the ordinary village pronunciation for *nāi*, 'a barber,' the Sanskrit *nāpita*, and *raū* a flood, or rush of water, is for *raya*, or *rai*, from the root *ri* 'to go'. Twice the word stands by itself; twice as an affix, viz., in *Pipara-mai* and *Ris-mai*; once in connection with a more modern name of the same place, *Mai Mirzá-pur*; and twice, as in *Rāe-pur Mai* and *Bara Mai*, where the exact relationship with the companion word may be a little doubtful. In most of these cases I consider it to be an abbreviation of the Sanskrit *mahi*, meaning 'land' or 'a landed estate.' The elision of the *h* is not according to any definite rule laid down by the *Prākṛit* grammarians, but certainly agrees with vulgar practice: for example, the word *mahina*, 'a month,' is always pronounced *maina*; and if it were given its full complement of three syllables, a rustic would probably not understand what was meant. At *Mai Mirzápur* the tradition is that the name commemorates one *Mayá Rām*; and in the particular case, this very possibly may be so; but obviously instances of this very restricted derivation would be rare.

* Mr. Blochmann informed me that he had noted with regard to this word 'Mau,' that it was found all over the wide area extending from Western *Málwā* to Eastern *Audh*, but did not seem to occur in *Bengál*, *Bihār*, or *Sindh*.

Nagar, 'a town,' has always been fairly popular as a local affix, and the Mathurá district contains seven examples of the word so used, viz., Rúp-nagar, Sher-nagar, a second Rúp-nagar, Ma'súm-nagar, Rám-nagar, Bír-nagar, and Ráj-nagar. But it is in modern times and as a prefix that it enters most largely into any catalogue of village names. As a rule, whenever now-a-days an over-crowded town throws out a branch settlement, which becomes of sufficient importance to claim a separate entry in the Government rent-roll, it is therein recorded as Nagla so-and-so, according to the name of the principal man in it. On the spot, Nagla Bali, to take a particular case, is more commonly called Bali ká nagara; and after the lapse of a few generations, if the new colony prospers, it drops the Nagara altogether, and is known simply as Bali. The transmutation of the word *nagara* into Nagla and its conversion from a suffix into a prefix, are due solely to the proclivities of native revenue officials, who affect the Persian collocation of words rather than the Hindí, and always evince a prejudice against the letter *r*. It is interesting to observe that in England the Teutonic mode of compounding names differs from the Celtic, in the same way as in India the Hindí from the Urdú: for while the Celts spoke of Strath Clyde and Abertay, the Teutons preferred Clydesdale and Taymouth.

The number of sacred woods and lakes in Braj accounts for the terminations *tan* and *kund*, which probably are not often met elsewhere. Examples of the former are Kot-ban, Bhadra-ban, Brindá-ban, Loha-ban and Mahá-ban; and of the latter, Rádhá-kund and Mádhuri-kund. The only name in this list, about which any doubt can be felt as to the exact derivation, is Loha-ban. It is said to commemorate Krishna's victory over a demon called Loha-jangha, i.e., Iron-leg; and at the annual festival, offerings of 'iron' are made by the pilgrims. In the ordinary authorities for Krishna's life and adventures I certainly find no mention of any Loha-jangha, and as we shall see when we come to speak of the village Bandi, local customs are often based simply on an accidental coincidence of name, and prove nothing but the prevalent ignorance as to the true principles of philology. But in the *Vrihat-kathá*, written by Somadeva in the reign of Harsha Deva, king of Kashmír, A. D. 1059-1071, is a story of Loha-jangha, a Bráhmaṇ of Mathurá, who was miraculously conveyed to Lanka: whence it may be inferred that at all events in the 11th century Loha-jangha, after whom the young Bráhmaṇ was named by the romancer, was recognized as a local power; and thus, though we need not suppose that any such monster ever existed, Loha-ban does in all probability derive its name from him.

The few local affixes that yet remain require no lengthened notice : of *garh*, or *garhi* there are as many as twenty instances, viz., Nilkanth-garhi, a settlement of Jáesvár Thákurs; Sher-garh, a fortress commanding the Jamuná, built in the reign of Sher Sháh; Chamar-garhi, a colony of the factious Gújar tribe; Ahvaran-garhi; Chintá-garhi and Rustam-garhi, founded by Gahlot Thákurs in the reign of Aurangzeb; Badan-garh, commemorating Thákur Badan Sinh, father of Súra Mall, the first Bharatpur Rájá; Ikhú-Fath-garh, founded by one of Súra Mall's officers; Birju-garhi, Chintá-garhi, Ináyat-garhi, Kankar-garhi, Lál-garhi, Máná-garhi, Mani-garhi, Rám-garhi, Shankar-garhi, Tilka-garhi, Bharú-garh, and Tál-garhi, all founded by Játs during the fifty years that elapsed between the establishment of their brief supremacy and the British annexation. The name will probably never be used again as a local affix; and its extreme popularity during one half-century constitutes an interesting landmark in Indian provincial history, as proof of the troubled character of the country, when no isolated habitation was thought secure unless protected by a circuit of wall and ditch.

Kherá, as seen in Páli-kherá, Awa-kherá, Pál-khera, Aira-kherá, Sarkand-kherá, and Sel-khera, invariably implies a state of comparative deprivation, which may be either of people or of land, according as it arises either from the emigration of the greater part of its inhabitants to some entirely different locality, or by the formation of a number of subordinate hamlets in the neighbourhood, which divide among themselves all the cultivated area and leave the old bazar merely as a central spot for common meeting.

Patti ordinarily implies a comparatively modern partition of family lands: thus the villages, into which the old township of Magora was divided by the four sons of the Tomar founder, are called after their names, Ajít-patti, Ghátam-patti, Jájan-patti, and Rám-patti: and similarly Bájana was divided by the Játs into three villages known as Dilu-patti, Sitú-patti, and Sultán-patti. The other four places in the district that have this affix do not, however, bear out the above rule. They are Lorha-patti, Nainu-patti, Patti Bahrám, and Patti Sakti. Neither of these has any companion hamlet dating from the same time as itself; and Nainu-patti is a place of considerable antiquity, which long ago was split up into eleven distinct villages.

Another word of precisely similar import is *Thok*. This is used in the Mahá-ban pargana as an element in the name of five out of the six villages that constitute the Sonai circle, and which are called Thok Bindávani, Thok Gyán, Thok Sáru, and Thok Sumeru.

Khoh is an exceptional affix, which occurs only once, in Mangal-khoh, the name of a village on a 'creek' of the old stream of the Jamuná. *Tata*, a bank is similarly found once only, in Jamunata, which is a contraction for Jamuna-tata.

Of *Sarâe* as an affix we have examples in A'zamâbâd Sarâe, Jamâl-pur Sarâe, Mal Sarâe, Sarâe-'Ali Khân, Sarâe Dâúd, and Sarâe Salivâhan. Only at the two first is there any Sarâe actually in existence; both of these are large and substantial buildings erected by local Governors on the line of the old Imperial road between Agra and Lâhor. The others were probably mere ranges of mud huts, like the ordinary Sarâe of the present day, and have therefore long since disappeared.

The Persian terminations *âbâd* and *ganj*, which predominate so largely in some parts of India, have been little used in Hindî-speaking Mathurâ. Of *âbâd* there are only six examples, being an average of one to each pargana, viz., A'zamâbâd and Murshid-âbâd, each commemorating a local Governor in the reign of Aurangzeb; Aurang-âbâd dating from the same period; Sa'dâbâd, the chief town on the demesne of Shâh-jahân's minister Sa'dullah Khân; and Asaf-âbâd, Bir-âlî-âbâd, Gulshan-âbâd, and Salîm-âbâd, named after founders of less historical distinction.

Having thus passed in review every affix denoting 'place' that we have been able to identify, we proceed to consider the second class of names, viz., those in which the affix signifies 'possession.' The examples under this head are equally numerous and in a philological point of view of no less importance; but the whole series is traversed by a single clue, and if this is grasped at the beginning, it is found to lead so directly from one formation to another, that it precludes all necessity of pausing for lengthy consideration at any particular stage of the argument. Obviously, the simplest mode of expressing possession is by attaching to the name of the owner the grammatical particle, whatever it may be, which in consequence of its familiar use has been selected as the special sign of the genitive or possessive case. This in modern Hindustani is *kâ* or *kî*, which we find employed in the following ten words, viz., Barkâ, Mahanki, Berkâ, Marhâkâ, Bhartiyakâ, Bhûrekâ, Kânekâ, Marhuakâ, Salâkâ, and Sûrkâ. In the last six names on the list the former part of the compound, viz., Bhartiya, Bhûrá, &c., is known to be the name of the Jât founder of the village. Thus we have an indisputable proof that about a century ago it was not at all an uncommon thing to form names of places in this way. If no earlier examples of the formation occur, it is most reasonable to explain their absence by inferring, as in the case of *puri*, that in the course of time the rough

edges, that once marked the place where the word and its affix joined, have become so worn and smoothed down that they can no longer be felt. Now by eliding the *k*—a very simple proceeding and one quite in accordance with rule—an amalgamation would be effected between the two elements of the compound which would totally alter their original appearance; and we have only to reinsert it to discover the meaning of many names otherwise unintelligible. Thus Bhálai, a settlement of Bhál Thákurs, is seen to represent *Bhál-ki* (*basti*); Bāghai is for Bāgh-ki; Madanai, for Madan-ki; Ughai, for Ugra-ki; Mahpai, for Mahípa-kí; Jonai, for Jamuná-kí (Jauna being mentioned by Vāraruchi as the Prákrit form of Yamuná) and Semri with its ancient temple of Syámalá Devi, for Syámalá-kí. Similarly, Indau is for Indra-ká, and Karnau for Kar-na-ká: the representation of *a + a* by *au* rather than *á* being almost an invariable practice, as we see in *ráu*, a contraction for *rāja*, *pāuw* for *pada*, *nau* for *nava* and *táu* for *tāta*.

Ká, *kí*, however, are not the only signs of the genitive case in use; for in the Márwári dialect their place is occupied by *rá*, *rí*. Of this form, too, there are abundant examples, as might have been anticipated; for some centuries ago, migrations from Rájputáná into Mathurá were very frequent and in a less degree continue to the present day. Thus, we have Umraurá, Lohrári, Ganesará, Bhurári, Púthri (from *púth*, a sand-hill), Bhainsára, Garumrá (for Garuda-rá) and Bāgharrá, &c. At the last named place the old village site is called *Sher-ká-kherá*, which puts the meaning of the word Bāgharra beyond a doubt; the reduplication of the *r* being purely phonetic. In other names the consonant has not been reduplicated, but the same effect has been produced by lengthening the vowel. Such are Kunjera (where is Kunj-ban), Ráhera, Ránera (founded by Sissodia Thákurs, who named it after the *Rána* of Chitor, whence they had migrated), Maghera, Nonera, and Konkera, &c.

The origin of the two particles *ká* and *rá* has been much disputed. I would suggest that they both represent an original *kara*, or *kan*. This we find used occasionally by Tulsí Dás as a substantive; as in the line *tabkaras; vimohabhukhin*; 'then the matter was so; now there is no delusion.' More frequently it occurs as the sign of the genitive; and even in the line quoted it might be regarded in that light, by supposing an ellipse of some such word as *kál*, or *vyápár*. The transition from the one use to the other being so easy, it can scarcely be doubted that the particle and the substantive are really the same identical word. The loss of the final *r* would naturally cause a lengthening of the vowel and thus *kar* becomes *ká*.

The alternative form *rá* may be explained by the elision of the initial *k*, which would ordinarily take place whenever *kara* was made the last member of

a compound. Thus Ráná-kara, becomes Ránára or Ránera ; and the lengthening of the final *a* is not at all an exceptional phenomenon.

Not unfrequently, however, instead of being lengthened, the final *a* of the affix *kara* is dropt as well as the initial consonant. There consequently remains only the letter *r*, which we see appearing as a final in such words as Kámar, Sahár, Udhar, and Surír. Of these, Kámar (for Kám-rá) is probably an offshoot from the neighbouring town of Kám-ban in Bharatpur territory, a famous place of Vaishnava pilgrimage ; while Sahár and Udhar must have been named after their respective founders, who in the one case is known to have been called Udho, or Udhan, and in the other was probably some Sabhá. In Surír, which presents peculiar difficulties, we fortunately are not left to conjecture. For a local tradition attests that the town was once called Sugriv-ká Kherá. The resemblance between the two names is so slight that the people on the spot and the unphilological mind generally would not recognize any connection between them : but according to rules already quoted Sugriv-rá would pass naturally into Surír, and the fact that it has done so is a strong confirmation of the truth of the rules.

Another particle that is commonly used for investing substantives with a possessive force is *wálá*, or *wára*. Of this, as a component in a village name, we have two illustrations in the district, viz., Kápalwára and Bhadanwára. No satisfactory attempt has hitherto been made to explain the derivation and primary meaning either of this affix *wálá*, or of the somewhat less common *hárá*, which is used in a precisely similar way. I take the latter to represent the Sanskrit *dhára* (from the root *dhri*) in the sense of 'holding' or 'having,' as in the compounds *chhattra-dhára*, 'having an umbrella,' *danda-dhára*, 'having a stick.' The elision of the *d* is quite according to rule, as in *bahira*, 'deaf,' for *badhira*. *Wálá*, again, as I consider beyond any doubt the Sanskrit *pála*, with the same signification of 'keeping' or 'having.' The substitution of *v* for *p* is prescribed by Vararuchi in Sutra II., 15, who gives as an example the Prákrit *sávo* for the Sanskrit *sápa*, 'a curse.' Thus we have from *go-pála*, 'a cow-keeper,' *govála* and finally *gwála* ; from *chaupál* the alternative form *chauwára*, and from *kotta-pála*, 'the governor of a fort,' the familiar *kotwál*.

For the formation of adjectives that denote possession, the affix most frequently employed, both in Sanskrit and modern Hindustani, is *í*. Thus from *dhan* 'wealth' comes *dhani*, 'wealthy,' and from *mála* 'a floral wealth,' comes *máli*, 'a florist.' Dr. Hunter, with much perverted ingenuity, has gone out of his way to suggest that the latter are an aboriginal and non-Aryan race and "take their name from the tribal term *for-man*, *male*, from which many hill and forest people of northern and central India, possibly also the whole

Malay race of the Archipelago are called." I am not aware that in this theory he has found any followers : what ever the origin of the Malays, there is no more reason to suppose a connection between them and the Mális of our gardens, than between man, the biped, and *man*, a weight of 40 sers. As the letters of the alphabet are necessarily limited, it must occasionally happen that combinations are formed which are quite independent of one another and yet in appearance are identical. Among examples of the *í* affix we find in Mathurá, from *dhímar*, 'a fisherman,' Dhímari, a fishing village on the bank of the Jamuná; from a founder Husain, a village Husainí; from Pál, the favourite title of a Thákur clan, Páli; from Pingal, Pingari; from *babúl*, the acacia, Babúri; from *Khajúr*, Khajuri; and from *kinára*, 'the river bank,' Kinári. A lengthened form of the same affix is *iya*, which we find in Jagatiya and Khándiya.

Another affix, which in ordinary Sanskrit literature occurs as frequently as *í*, and with precisely the same signification, is *vat*, *vati*. In vulgar pronunciation the consonant *v* generally passes into the cognate vowel; thus Bhagavati becomes Bñagoti, and Sarasvati, Sarsúti. I am therefore led to suspect that this is the affix which has been used in the formation of such village names as Kharot, Khatauta, Ajinothi, Bilothi, Kajirothi, Basonti, Báthi, Junsuthi, Sonoth, Bádauth, Barauth, Dhanoti, and Tatarota. All these places are presumably old, and nothing can be stated with certainty as to the period of the foundation, but the only one of them in any way remarkable is Báthi. Here is the sacred grove of Bahula-ban, with the image of the cow Bahula, who (as told in the Itihás*) addressed such piteous supplications to a tiger who was about to destroy her, that the savage beast could not but spare her life. A *melá* in her honour is still held on the fourth day of Kuwár, called 'Bahula chaturthi.' In every other instance where the *ban* is a place of any celebrity, it has supplied the foundation for the village name, and has probably done so here too. Nor is the transition from Bahulá-ban to Bathi at all an isolated one; the change of the dental into the cerebral consonant need present no difficulty, for the same has occurred in the Hindi *pattan* 'a town,' and in *murha* 'a fool' for the Sanskrit *mugdha*; the insertion of the aspirate is the only irregularity which it is not easy to explain.

A third affix which can be more appropriately noticed here than elsewhere, though it has a somewhat different force, is *a*. This implies primarily 'a product' or 'result.' Thus from *ber*, the fruit tree, comes the name of the village Bera, an orchard of *ber* trees; from Náhar, a man's name meaning

* A collection of stories supposed to have been related by Bhíma-sena while he lay wounded on the field of battle.

'lion,' Nahra; from Parsu, an abbreviation for Parasu-rám, Parsua; from Ráe [Sen], Ráya; from Paramésvar Dás, Pavésara; and similarly Bisambhara, Daudisara, &c.

We may now pass on to the first sub-division of class III., in which are included all such village names as originally were identical, without addition or alteration of any kind, with the names borne by the founders; though the original identity, it must be remembered, is no guarantee against subsequent corruption. One of the earliest examples in the district is afforded by the village Son, which is said to have been the capital of a Rájá Son—or more probably Sohan—Pál, a Tomar Thákur from Delhi. Sonkh, Sonsa, and Sonoth, all three places in the immediate neighbourhood, would also seem to be named after him and to prove that he was an historical personage of at least considerable local importance. Another interesting illustration, which must also be of early date, is found in the name Dham Sínha. Here Dham, which is the obsolete Prákrít form of *dharma* and is not understood at the present day, runs a great risk of being altered by people who aim at correctness but lack knowledge, into the more intelligible word *dhan*. In modern times this style of nomenclature has been so prevalent that a single Pargana—Mahá-bán—supplies us with the following examples, viz., Birbal, Gaju, Misri, Bhúra, Súraj, Báru, Rausanga, Nauranga, Mursena, Bansa, Bhojua, Blíma, and Súr. Of these, Rausanga for Rúp Sinha would scarcely have been recognizable but for the aid of local tradition. Occasionally, the names of two brothers, or other joint founders, are combined, as we see in Sampat-jogi, Chúra-hansi, Bindu-buláki, and Harnaul. The latter is a curious contraction for Harna Navala; and as 'the swing' is one of the popular institutions of Braj, the word not unfrequently passes through a further corruption and is pronounced Hindol, which means a swing. This will probably before long give occasion to a legend and a local festival in honor of Rádhá and Krishna.

Under the same head comes the apparently Muhammadan name Noh; which, with the addition of the suffix *jhill*, is the designation of a decayed town on the left bank of the Jamuná to the north of the district. At no very great distance, but on the other side of the river, in Gurgánw, is a second Noh; and a third is in the Jalesar Pargana, which now forms part of the Ágra district. So far as I have any certain knowledge, the name is not found in any other part of India; though it occurs in Central Asia; for I learn from Colonel Godwin Austen that there is a Noh in Ladak or rather Budok at the eastern end of the Pangang Lake, and on its very borders. The Yárkand expedition is also stated in the papers to have reached Leh viâ Khotan, Kiria, Polu, and Noh, by the easternmost pass over the Kuen-lun mountains. Upon this point

I may hope to acquire more definite information hereafter; the best maps published up to the present time throw no light on the matter, for though they give the towns of Kiria and Khotan, they do not show Noh, and its existence therefore requires confirmation. The three places in this neighbourhood all agree in being evidently of great antiquity, and also in the fact that each is 'close' to a large sheet of water. The lake, or morass, at Noh jhil spreads in some years over an area measuring as much as six miles in length by one in breadth. It is no doubt to a great extent of artificial formation, having been excavated for the double purpose of supplying earth, with which to build the fort, and also of rendering it inaccessible when built. The inundated appearance of the country combines with the name to suggest a reminiscence of the Biblical Deluge and the Patriarch Noah. But the proper spelling of his name, as Mr. Blochmann informs me, is Núh, with the vowel *u* and the Arabic *h*; Badáoní, who twice* mentions the town, spells it with the imperceptible *h*; but in the *Áin-i-Akbarí*, which herein agrees with invariable modern usage, the final letter is the Arabic *h*. Again, if a reference to the Deluge were intended, the word Noh would not have been used simply by itself; and standing as it does, it can scarcely be other than the name of the founder. But (again to quote Mr. Blochmann) "Muhammadans use the name Núh extremely rarely. Ádam, Músá, Yúsuf, and Ayúb are common; but on looking over my lists of saints, companions of Muhammad, and other worthies of Islám, I do not find a single person with the name Nuh; and hence I would look upon a connection of Noh with Noah as very problematical. I would rather connect it with the Persian *nih*, 'nine' which when lengthened becomes *nöh*, not *nüh*; as the Persian *dih*, 'a village,' becomes *deh*, not *dih*." But if we abandon the Semitic name, it will be better, considering the purely Hindu character of the country, to try and fall back upon some Sanskrit root, and I am inclined to regard the name as a Muhammadan corruption of *nava*—not the adjective meaning 'new' but a proper name—and with the *h* added either purposely to mark the distinction, or inadvertently in the same way as *rájá* is in Persian characters incorrectly written *rájah*. In the *Harivansa* (line 1677) mention is made of a king Ushinara, of the family of Kaksheya, who had five wives, Nrigá, Krimí, Navá, Darva, and Drishadvati. They bore him each one son, and the boys were named Nriga, Krimi, Nava, Suvrata and Sivi; of whom Nava reigned over Navaráshtram; Krimi over Kumilá-puri; Sivi, who is said to be the author of one of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* (X. 179), over the Sivayas, and Nriga over the Yaudheyas. In the *Mahábhárat* the Usinaras are said to be a lower race of

* Once as the scene of a fight between Iqbál Khán and Shams Khán of Báyána (A. H. 802), and again as the place where Mubárák Sháh crossed the Jamuná for Jalore.

Kshatriyas. They are mentioned by Pánini in a connection which seems to imply that they were settled in or near the Panjáb; and in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Usinara is collocated with Kuru and Panchála. Again, Drishadvati, the fifth of Usinara's wives, recalls to mind the unknown river of the same name, which is mentioned by Manu as one of the boundaries of Brahmāvarta, and in the Mahābhārat as the southern boundary of Kurukshetra. From all this it may be inferred that the Navarāshtra, over which Usinara's third son Nava reigned, cannot have been far distant from Mathurá and Gurgánw; and its capital may well have been the very place which still bears his name under the corrupt form of Noh or Nauh.

The second subdivision of Class III. is of an extremely miscellaneous character and admits of no grouping, each name having a separate individuality of its own. Some of the more obvious examples have been already quoted: such as are Basai, 'a colony,' for the Sanskrit *vasati* (which at the present day is more commonly abbreviated by the alternative mode into *basti*); Chauki, 'an outpost' on the Gurgánw road; Nagariya, 'a small hamlet'; Baghá 'a removal'; Garhi, 'a fort'; Mai, 'an estate'; Khor, 'an opening' between the Barsána hills; Ányor, 'the other end' of the Gobardhan range; Pura, 'a town'; Kheriya, 'a hill'; and Toli, 'an allotment.' Others require more detailed explanation on account either of their intrinsic difficulty, or of the mythological disguise put upon them by the local pandits, who think there is no place in the whole of Braj which does not contain some allusion to Krishna. Thus they connect the word Mathurá with the god's title of Madhu-mathan, forgetting that the country certainly existed, and, for all that is known to the contrary, bore the same name as now for ages prior to the incarnation in which that title was acquired. The more natural derivation is from the root *math* direct, in its primary sense of 'churning'; an exact grammatical parallel being found in the word '*bhidura*, breakable', a derivative from the root *bhid*, 'to break.' The name thus interpreted is singularly appropriate; for Mathurá has always been celebrated for its wide extent of pasture-land and many herds of cattle, and in all poetical descriptions of the local scenery 'the churn' is introduced as a prominent feature. I observed that Dr. Rajendralála Mitra in a learned article on the Yavanas, published in the Calcutta Asiatic Society's Journal, has incidentally remarked upon a passage in the Sánti Parva of the Mahābhārat, in which the word Madhurá occurs, that this is the ancient form of Mathurá. Now I should hesitate to dispute any statement deliberately made by so eminent a scholar, but this appears to be a mere *obiter dictum*, and I strongly doubt whether in the whole range of early Sanskrit literature the capital of Braj is ever designated Madhurá. In the particular

passage which he quotes, Lassen regards the word as the name of a river, and that the well-known city in the Dakhin is in the vernacular always spelt Madhurá in no way affects the argument; for even if the two names are etymologically identical, which is probable but not certain, the dislike shown by all the languages of the south to the use of hard consonants is quite sufficient to account for the alteration.

Similarly, the name of the country, Braj, or Vraja, has nothing to do with the Vajra Sena, the son of Aniruddh, who is said to have been crowned king of Mathurá on Krishna's death; but comes immediately from the root *vraj*, 'to go,' and is thus a highly appropriate designation for a land of nomadic herdsmen. Equally at fault is the mythological derivation of 'Bathen,' the name of two large villages in the Kosi Pargana, where Balaráma, it is said, 'sat down' (*baitthen*) to wait for Krishna. Here, again, the real reference is to the pastoral character of the country, *bathan* being an archaic term to denote a grazing-ground. A still greater and more unnecessary perversion of etymological principles is afforded by the treatment of the word Khaira. This is popularly derived from the root *khedna*, 'to drive cattle,' which was Krishna's special occupation as a boy: but it is in fact the regular contraction of the Sanskrit *khadira*, the *Acacia Arabica*, more commonly known as the *babúl*; as is proved by the contiguity of the village to the *Khadira-ban*, one of the twelve sacred groves. Other indigenous trees have contributed in like manner to the local nomenclature; thus the *lodhra*, or *Symplocos*, would seem to have furnished a name for the village of Lohi in the Mát Pargana: the Tinduk Ghát at Mathurá is probably so called not in honour of any pious ascetic, but with reference to the *pasendu*, or *Diospyros*, the Sanskrit *tinduka*, one of the most common trees in the district; and in the Sakra-ban, which gives its name to the village of Sakaraya, it would seem that the *sakra* intended is the tree, the *Terminalia Arjuna*, and not the god Indra, though he too is known by that title, which primarily means the strong or powerful.

The most interesting example of an elaborate myth based solely on the misunderstanding of a local name is to be found in the village of Bandi. Here is a very popular shrine, sacred to Bandi Anandi, who are said to have been two servants of Jasoda's, whose special employment it was to collect the sweepings of the cow-shed and make them up into fuel. But in the inscription over the gateway leading into the court-yard of the temple, which is dated *Sanbat* 1575, there is no mention of Anandi whatever. Part is illegible, but the first words read clearly as follow: *Svasti eri Sarvopari birijamán Bandi Ji. Tasya sevak, &c.* From this it may be inferred that Anandi has been added in very recent times simply for the sake of the alliterative jingle, and because there

happened to be a second old figure on the spot that required some distinctive name. The original word was Bandi alone. The Gokul Gosáins support their theory as to its etymology by making the Gobar Lila at Bandi one of the regular scenes in the dramatic performances of the Ban-játra ; but it is not accepted by the more old-fashioned residents of the village, who maintain that the local divinity was a recognized power long before the days of Krishna, who was brought there to offer at her shrine the first hair that was cut from his head. Their view as to the relative antiquity of the Bandi and the Mathurá god is certainly correct ; for both the images now believed to represent Jasoda's domestic servants are clearly effigies of the goddess Durgá. In the one she appears with eight arms, triumphing over the demon Mahishásur ; in the other, which is a modern fac-simile, made at Brindá-ban, of the mutilated original, she has four arms, two pendent and two raised above the head. Neither of them can represent a human handmaid ; and thus they at once disprove the modern story, which would seem to be based on nothing more substantial than the resemblance of the word *bandi* to the Persian *banda*, meaning 'a servant.' The real derivation would be from *bandya*, or *vandya*, the future participle of the verb *vand*, signifying 'venerable' or 'worshipful.' Thus, what was once an epithet of a particular image of Devi became after a time its distinctive name ; and eventually, being referred by the ignorance of the people to a more ordinary term of current speech, has originated a legend and a local festival for which in fact there is no foundation whatever.

The above is one illustration of a general rule that all presumably ancient local names are entirely different in origin and meaning from any terms of current speech with which they may happen to be identical in form. Thus, as we have already seen, the village Parson has no connection with *parson*, the common adverb of time ; neither is Paitha so named, as being near the mouth of the cave into which the people of Braj 'entered' (*paitha*). Again, Rál, a large village in the Mathurá Pargana, is not so called as being the scene of one of Krishna's 'battles' (*rár*), as local Pandits say ; nor because the extensive woods round about it abound in *rál*, or 'resin : ' but rather it is a contraction of Rája-kula, 'a king's house ; ' a compound of similar character with Gokul, 'a cow house,' the name of the town where Krishna was nurtured by the herdsman Nanda. Rával, a village in the same neighbourhood, the reputed home of Rádhá's maternal grandfather Surbhán, may be identical in meaning ; or it may even represent an original Rádhá-kula, in which case it would be curious as affording the earliest authority for Rádhá's local existence and pre-eminent rank. Koila, again, is evidently not the bird called in Sanskrit *Kokila* and in Hindi *Koil* ; for who would dream

of calling a place simply Cuékoo without any affix such as in the possible compound Cuékoo-town? Neither is it the exclamation *Koi lá*, uttered by Vasudeva as he was bearing the infant Krishna across the Jamuná; for whatever the language then in vogue, it certainly was not modern Hindí: nor again, and for a similar reason, does the word *Koila* mean 'charcoal' with a reference to the ashes of the witch Pútaná, washed across the stream from the town of Gokul. But it may be taken for granted that the final consonant stands for *rí* and has the possessive force of that particle, while the former member of the compound is either *Koi*, 'the water-lily,' or *Kol*, for *Krora*, 'a wild boar.' The extensive morass in the neighbourhood, well known to sportsmen as the *Koila jhíl*, renders either derivation probable and appropriate. If the fact were not now placed on record, a few more years and the philologists who look for the origin of Indian names in every language, saving only the vernacular of the country, would seize the opportunity of declaring *Koila* to be merely a mispronunciation of the English 'quail.' Similarly, it may reasonably be conjectured that *Kukar-gama* is not so called because a *Banjára* in his travels happened to bury beside the village pond a favourite dog (*kukar*), though the slab supposed to cover the dog's grave is still shown; but rather, as the village is certainly of ancient date and was colonized by *Thákurs* from *Chitor*, it is more probable that its name commemorates the otherwise unknown founder, since *Kukura* occurs in the *Mahábhárat* as the proper name of a king, and may therefore have been at one time in common use. To pass yet more rapidly over a few other illustrations of the same rule, that apparent identity is equivalent to real difference: *Kámar* does not commemorate Krishna's gift of a blanket (*kamal*) to the shivering hermit *Durvásas*, but rather implies a migration from the older town of *Káma*; '*Ainch*' does not refer to the 'stretching' of Krishna's tent-ropes, though the real derivation is doubtful; '*Jáu*' is not the imperative verb 'go,' but a corruption of *yáva*, 'lac'; *Marna*, now altered by office copyists to *Bharna*, has no relation to the 'death' of one of Krishna's enemies; and '*Jait*' is not simply an abbreviation for *jaitra*, but (as shown by the village pronunciation *Jaint*) represents an original *Jayanta*, which occurs in Sanskrit as the name both of a river and a country.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the application of this rule is restricted exclusively to local names of ancient date. Thus the name of the village *Sanket* is really identical with the Sanskrit word *sanket*, meaning 'an assignation' or 'rendezvous'; the place which lies half-way between *Barsána* and *Nandgánw*, the respective homes of *Rádhá* and *Krishna*, having been so called by the *Gosáins* of the 16th century with the special object of localizing the legend. Similarly, *Pisáya* with its beautiful forest of kadamb trees, to which the author of the *Vraja-bhakti-vilása* gives the Sanskrit title of *Pipása-*

vana, may really bear a name identical with the Hindi word *pisaya*, 'thirsty,' if the name was first assigned to the spot by the Gokul Gosáins as a foundation for a story of Rádhá's bringing a draught of water for the relief of her exhausted lover. But this is questionable, since it appears that there is a place with the same name, but without any similar legend, in the Aligarh district: both are therefore most probably far anterior to the 16th century and susceptible of some entirely different explanation. The Aligarh Pisáya is, I find, described as having the largest jungle or grazing ground in that district; and this suggests that the word may very well be a corruption of the Sanskrit *pasarya*, 'fit for cattle.'

In all these and similar cases it is impossible to arrive at sound conclusions without a large amount of local knowledge; while the absurdity of the explanations advanced by the local Pandits demonstrates the equal necessity for acquaintance with at least the rudimentary laws of philological science. Scholastic speculations made without reference to physical features or to the facts of village history are always liable to summary disproof; and no one with any respect for his own reputation should think of pronouncing off-hand upon the derivation of the name of any place regarding the circumstances of which he has not very definite information. For example, as the village Jati-pura is on the border of the Ját state of Bharatpur, what could be more plausible than to say that it is so called as being a Ját colony? but, as a fact, it has always been inhabited by Bráhmans, and its founder was the Vallabháchárya Gosáin, Bithalnáth, who was popularly known by the name Jatiji. Similarly, while the Naugáma in the Chhátta párgana really connotes the meaning which the form of the word most obviously suggests, *viz.*, new town, the Naugáma near the city of Mathurá stands for an original *nága-grama*, and commemorates its founder, Nága. As a parallel example in English topography take the town of Bridge-water; the latter member of the compound referring not to any stream, as would naturally be supposed, but to the Norman chief Walter, who built his castle there. Again, Lodhauri (in accordance with the principles stated in the earlier part of this chapter) might be at once set down as equivalent to Lodha-puri; but here, too, the caste of the residents forbids such a derivation, for they have always been not Lodhas, but Jádons; and the modern name is a perversion of Lalitá-puri. Phálen again and Siyára would be inexplicable but for the knowledge that they are built, the one on the margin of a pond, called Prahlád kund, and the other by the Chír Ghát, a very ancient and now comparatively neglected *tírath* on the Jamuná. The confusion between the letters *s* and *ch* is one of the peculiarities of the local dialect. Thus Amar Singh is frequently called Amarchu; the village of Parsua, in the mouths

of the villagers on the spot, is indistinguishable from Pilchua ; Chakri, after becoming Saki, gives a name to Sakitra, where is an ancient shrine of Chakresvar ; and so too Chira-hára becomes Siyára.*

Although it may safely be laid down as a general principle of Indian toponymy that the majority of names are capable of being traced up to Aryan roots, it is possible that the rule may have some exceptions. In the Mathurá and Mainpuri districts there is a current tradition that the older occupants of the country were a people called Kalárs. The name seems to support a theory advanced by Dr. Hunter in his Dissertation, where he quotes a statement from some Number of the Asiatic Society's Journal to the effect that the whole of India was once called Kolaria. On the strength of a number of names which he sees in the modern map, he concludes that the race, from whom that name was derived, once spread over every province from Burma to Malabar. He finds indications of their existence in the Kols of Central India ; the Kolas of Katwár ; the Kolís of Gujarát ; the Kolitas of Asám ; the Kalárs, a robber caste in the Tamil country ; the Kalárs of Tinnevely, and the Kolís of Bombay, &c., &c. Upon most of these names, as I have no knowledge of the localities where they exist, I decline to offer any opinion whatever, and can only express my regret that Dr. Hunter has not exercised a little similar caution. For he proceeds to give a list of town-names, scattered as he says over the whole length and breadth of India, which seems to me of the very slightest value as a confirmation of his theory. No one should be better conversant than himself with the vagaries of phonetic spelling ; and yet he gravely adduces as proof of the existence of a Kol race such names as Kulianpur and Kullian ; though it is scarcely possible but that, if correctly spelt, they would appear as Kalyánpur and Kalyán ; the latter being still a popular Hindi name and the Sanskrit for 'auspicious.' Moreover, if the race was ever so widely spread as he supposes, it is inconceivable that they should give their tribal name to the different towns they inhabited ; for such names under the supposed circumstances would have no distinctive force. For example, if the Hindus were suddenly to be swept out of India, the race that superseded them would not find a single village bearing such a name as Hindu-pur, or Hindu-gáaw. Obviously it is only a country that derives its name from a tribe, while towns and villages commemorate families and individuals. To ascertain who the Kalárs were is certainly an interesting question, but one upon which it is as yet premature to speak positively. My own impression is that the name denotes a religious

* *Chira* is itself a contraction for *chivara*, which shows that the elision of a simple consonant, which became the rule in Prákrit, was occasional also in pure Sanskrit. Similarly the Sanskrit word *vija*, 'seed,' which lexicographers derive from the root *jan* with the prefix *vi*, is I conceive, simply a colloquial form of *virja*, with which it is identical in meaning.

rather than an ethnological difference, and that they were—in this neighbourhood at all events—Buddhists or Jains. At many of the places from which they are said to have been ejected by the ancestors of the present Ját or Thákur families, I have found fragments of Buddhist, or Jain sculpture, which can only have been the work of the older inhabitants, since it is certain that the race now in possession have never changed their religion. It is, of course, possible that these Kalárs may have been non-Aryan Buddhists; but the old village names, which in several cases remain unchanged to the present day, such as Aira, Madem, Byonhín, &c., though of doubtful derivation, have certainly anything but a foreign or un-Indian sound.

These and a considerable number of other names yet require elucidation: but the words with which I prefaced the first edition of this work, in anticipation of the present argument, have now, I trust, been so far substantiated that I may conclude by repeating them as a summary of actual results. “The study of a list of village names suggests two remarks of some little importance in the history of language. *First*, so many names that at a hasty glance appear utterly unmeaning can be positively traced back to original Sanskrit forms as to raise a presumption that the remainder, though more effectually disguised, will ultimately be found capable of similar treatment: a strong argument being thus afforded against those scholars who maintain that the modern vernacular is impregnated with a very large non-Aryan element. *Secondly*, the course of phonetic decay in all its stages is so strictly in accord with the rules laid down by the Prákrit Grammarians, as to demonstrate that the Prákrit of the dramas (to which the rules particularly apply), even though extinct at the time when the dramas were written for the delectation of a learned audience, had once been the popular language of the country; and as Anglo-Saxon imperceptibly developed into modern English, so has Prákrit been transmuted into modern Hindi, more by the gradual loss of its inflections than by the violent operation of any external influences.” Thus the recognition of Persian or any dialect of Persian as the vernacular of the country implies an historical untruth as regards the past, and can only be verified in the future by the obliteration of all existing traditions.

The following list shows the changes of most frequent occurrence in the conversion of Sanskrit words into Hindi:—

1. *a + a*, after the elision of a consonant, generally becomes *au* or *ao*; thus from *pada* we have *páo*, or, by insertion of a nasal, *pánw*; from *rájá*, *ráo*; from *táta*, ‘father’, *táu*; from *gháta*, ‘a wound,’ *gháu*; and from *tadága*, ‘a pond’

(itself derived from *tata*, a slope), *taláo*. So too in the *Rámáyana* *Ráma* occasionally appears in the form *Ráu*.

2. Not unfrequently, however, *a + a* becomes *e*: thus from *badara*, the jujube, we have *ber*; and from *kadala*, a plantain, *kela*. A similar substitution of *e* for *á* takes place in *semal*, the cotton-tree, for *sálmali*; in *sej*, a couch, for *saya*; and in *terah*, thirteen, for *trayodasá*.

3. Conversely *e + a* is sometimes made equivalent to *a + a*: thus *deva*, after elision of the *v*, becomes *dáu*.

4. *bh* becomes *h*: thus from *abhíra* comes *ahír*, and from *Tirabhukti*, the name of a country, *Tirhút*.

5. *ch* is elided: thus *súchi*, 'a needle,' becomes *sú*.

6. *dh* becomes *h*: thus from *badhira*, 'deaf,' we have *bahira*; from *madhuka*, 'the *Bassia latifolia*,' *mahúa*; from *vadhú*, 'a female relation,' *bahú*; and, in the *Rámáyana*, for *krodhi*, 'angry,' *kohi*. So too the possessive affix *dhára* becomes *hára*.

7. *d* occasionally becomes *l*: thus from *bhadra*, 'good,' after elision of the conjunct *r*, we have *bhala*. This *l* again may be changed into *r*: thus from *Vidarbha*, the name of a country, comes *Birár*.

8. *k* is elided: thus *varāñaki*, 'a carpenter,' becomes *barhai*; *vrischika*, 'a scorpion,' *bichhua*; and *súkara*, 'a pig,' *súar*.

9. *k* may also become *h*: thus in the *Rámáyana* *aliha* stands for *alika*, 'false.' So also *kh*: thus *mukha*, after insertion of the nasal, becomes *munnh*.

10. *l* in a conjunct is elided: thus *valkala*, 'the bark of a tree,' becomes *bákal*. Occasionally also simple *l*; as in *okhla*, 'a mortar,' for *ulúkhala*.

11. *m* and *v* are interchangeable: thus *dhívara*, 'a fisherman,' becomes *dhimar*; *gauna* stands for *gamana*, *Bhamáni* for *Bhaváni*, and *kunvar* for *kumára*. Similarly *jún*, or *jaun*, in the sense of 'time,' stands for *jám*, the Sanskrit *yáma*, the nasal being an insertion. So also in the *Gítá* *Gobinda vámana* is made to rhyme with *pávana*.

12. A nasal can be inserted anywhere, as in *gánu*, 'a village,' for *gráma*, and in *kaun*, 'who,' for *ko*.

13. *p* simple is elided: as in *kíta*, 'a well,' for *kúpa*; *bhúila*, 'a king,' for *bhúpálú*; *kait*, the tree *Feronia elephantum*, for *kapittha*; and *aur*, the conjunctive particle, for *apara*. So also when standing first in a conjunct:

thus from *supta*, 'asleep,' comes *sota*. It may also be changed into *v*, as in *gwála*, for *gopála*, and *kotwál* for *kotta-pála*.

14. *r* becomes *n*: thus *karavira*, 'the oleander,' becomes *kanavira*, *kanera*, *kanel*.

15. *r* in a conjunct is elided: thus *grāma*, 'a village,' becomes *gām*, or *gānw*; *karma*, 'an act,' *kām*; *Srávan*, the month so called, *Sávan*; *vártta*, 'business,' *bát*; and *vartman*, 'a road,' *bát*, where the change of the dental into the cerebral *t* compensates for the loss of the final *man*.

16. *sh* is converted into *kh*, optionally, whenever it occurs. Similarly the Greek *Βροχη* represents the Sanskrit *varsha*, and in the modern Cretan dialect becomes again *vroské*.

17. Cerebral *t* occasionally becomes *r*: thus from *parkati*, 'the *Ficus venosa*,' we have *pákar*.

18. *t*, when simple, is elided: thus from *játi-phal*, 'a nut-meg,' comes *jai-phal*; and from *Sítalá*, the goddess of small-pox, *siyar*. Thus, too, in the *Rámáyana*, *Sítá* frequently appears as *Sia*, or *Siya*.

19. *v* when simple is elided: as in *upás*, 'a fast,' for *upavás*.

20. Simple *y* is elided: as in *mor*, 'a peacock,' for *mayútra*; *Prág* for *Prayág*; and *Ojha*, 'a particular caste,' for *Upádhyáya*.

21. The loss of one consonant in a conjunct receives compensation in the lengthening of the preceding vowel: thus we have *nín* for *nimba*; *náti*, 'a grandson,' for *naptri*; *áge*, 'before,' for *agre*; *ák*, the plant *Asclepias gigantea*, for *arka*; *ádhá*, 'half,' for *ardha*; and *ríta* empty,' for *rikta*.

PART II.

I.—PARGANA KOSI.

THE pargana of Kosi is the most northern of the three on the western side of the Jamuná and borders on the district of Gurgáon. It is the smallest of the Mathurá six, having an area of only 152 square miles, or 97,301 acres. It yields an annual revenue of Rs. 1,52,013. Its villages, sixty-one in number, with six exceptions, are all *bhaiyachári*, divided into infinitesimal shares among the whole of the community ; so that, barring a few shopkeepers and menial servants, every resident is to some extent a proprietor. In the ordinary course of events, all would be, not only members of the same caste, but also descendants of one man, the founder of the settlement ; but in many instances, in spite of the right of pre-emption, several of the subordinate shares have been bought up by outsiders. A fresh assessment is made privately every year ; and, according to the amount of land actually under cultivation, each tenant-proprietor pays his quota of the revenue at so much per bigha, and enjoys the remaining profits as his private income. The Government demand is realized through the head-men or *lumberdars*, of whom there are generally several in each village. As a natural result of this minute sub-division of estates, there is not a single landed proprietor in the whole pargana of any social distinction. The two wealthiest inhabitants are both traders in the town of Kosi,—Chunni Lal, son of Mohan Lal, and Kusháli Rám, son of Lal Jí Mall, with incomes of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 4,943, respectively. The former has no land at all, the other owns one small village.

Of the six zamindári villages, only two were so previous to the last settlement; viz., Pákharpur, the property of Kusháli Rám above mentioned, and Ján, a purchase of the Lálá Bábu. The other four have acquired their exceptional character only within the last few years; Garhi having been bought from the Játs by Sah Kundan Lal, of Lakhnau ; Majhoi and Rám-pur having been conferred, after the mutiny, on Rájá Gobind Sinh, of Háthras, and Chauki on Shiv Sahay Mall, of Delhi, at the same time. One mahál of Chaundras has also quite recently been constituted into a zamindári ; and two or three other villages, now in the hands of money-lending mortgagages, will probably become so before long.

The Muhammadans number only 8,668 out of a total population of 74,219, and, with the exception of a few scattered families, are almost confined to seven

places, *viz.*, Barha, Bisambhara, Dotána, Jalál-pur, Kosi, Mahroli, and Sháh-pur. At three of these, *viz.*, Bisambhara, Dotána, and Jalál-pur, they even slightly outnumber the Hindús.

The predominant Hindú castes are Játs, Jádons and other Gaurna, *i.e.*, *spurious*, Thákur tribes. There are also a considerable number of Gújars, though these latter have now in every place ceased to be proprietors. They muster stronger in the adjoining pargana of Chhátá, and were ringleaders of disaffection during the mutiny. In consequence, eight of their villages—Majhoi and Rám-pur in Kosi; Basáí, Husaini, Jatwári, Karahri, Khursi and Ujháni in Chhátá—were confiscated and conferred on Rájá Gobind Sinh. They had previously disposed of their four other Chhátá villages, Chamar-garhi, Dhímri, Gulál-pur, and Pír-pur, to the Lálá Bábu. The course of years has not reconciled the ejected community to their changed circumstances, and so recently as the 29th of September, 1872, the widowed Rání's agent, Jay Rám Sinh, was, in result of a general conspiracy, barbarously murdered at night while sleeping in the Jatwári *chaupál*. Six of the murderers were apprehended, and, after conviction of the crime, were sentenced to death, but one escaped from the jail before the sentence was executed.

In the year 1857, the period, during which there was no recognition of any government whatever, extended from the 12th of July to the 5th of December. With the exception of the Gújars, who assembled at Sher-garh and distinctly declared themselves independent, there was little or no ill-feeling towards the British Crown expressed by any class of the population; though many persons took advantage of the favourable opportunity for paying off old scores against ill neighbours, and especially for avenging themselves on their natural enemies—the *patwáris*, or village accountants, and *Bohras*, or money-lenders. Thus there was a pitched battle between Hathána and the adjoining village of Bánsua in Gurgáon; the *patwáris* at Barha and Bisambhara had all their papers destroyed; at Pákharpur, Gangá Dán, bohra, was plundered by the zamindárs of Kádona and Sirthala; at Kotban, Dhan-ráj, bohra, was only set at liberty on payment of a ransom; and at Little Bathán, Lekhráj, bohra, after seeing all his papers seized and burnt, was himself put to death. The Játs of Kámar, after plundering Moti Rám, bohra, proceeded to turn the police out of the place, and raised a flame which spread across the border into the adjoining district; but they afterwards atoned for this indiscretion by the assistance which they gave to the Deputy Collector, Imdád Ali, in suppressing the Gújars.

The trees most commonly found growing wild in the pargana are the *ním* and the *pílú*, while every piece of waste ground (and there are several such tracts of large extent,) is dotted with clumps of *karíl*. The soil is not suited to

the growth of the mango, and there are scarcely any considerable orchards either of that or indeed of any other fruit tree; the one at Sháh-pur being the only notable exception. Of the total area of 97,801 acres, there are 71,490 of arable land; the crops most extensively grown being *joár*, *chandá*, and barley. The wheat sold at the Kosi market comes chiefly from across the Jamuná. The number of wells has been much increased in late years and is now put at 1,379 of which 846 are of masonry construction. The Jamuná, which forms the eastern boundary of the pargana, is crossed by ferries at Sháh-pur, Khairál, and Majhoi. The new Agra Canal passes through the villages of Hathána, Kharot, Hasanpur Nagara, Kosi, Azíz-pur, Tumaula, and Dham Sinha, a length of ten miles, and is bridged at Kharot, Kosi, Azíz-pur, and Tumaula. The high road to Delhi traverses the centre of the pargana, passing through the town of Kosi and the villages of Kotban, Azíz-pur, and Dotána; and from the town of Kosi there is a first-class unmetalled road to Sher-garh, a distance of eleven miles. The *Halkabandí*, or Primary, schools are twelve in number, being one for every five villages, an unusually favourable average: the attendance, however, is scarcely so good as in some other parts of the district; as it is difficult to convince a purely agricultural population that tending cattle is not always the most profitable occupation in which boys can be employed.

In addition to the capital, there are only four places which merit special notice, *viz.*, Bathán, Dotána, Kámar, and Sháh-pur.

Kosi is a flourishing municipality and busy market town, twenty-six miles from the city of Mathurá, most advantageously situated in the very centre of the pargana to which it gives a name and on the high road to Delhi. As this road was only constructed as a relief work in the famine of 1860, it avoids all the most densely inhabited quarters, and the through traveller sees little from it but mud walls and the backs of houses. The Agra Canal runs nearly parallel to it still further back, with one bridge on the road leading to Majhoi and Sher-garh, and another at Azíz-pur, a mile out of the town on the road to Mathurá.

The zamindárs are Játs, Shaikhs, and Brahmans; but the population, which amounts to 12,770, consists chiefly of baniyas and Muhammadan *kasábs*, or butchers, who are attracted to the place by its large trade in cotton and cattle. It is estimated that about 75,000 *mans* of cotton are collected in the course of the year and sent on down to Calcutta.*

* The outturn of cotton for the whole district was estimated in the year 1872-73 at 225,858 *mans*; the exportation therefore must be very considerable.

The *nakhkhdas*, or cattle market, is of large extent and supplied with every convenience—a fine masonry well, long ranges of feeding troughs, &c. On every beast sold, the zamindárs levy a toll of two anas, and the Chaudharis as much; in consideration for which payment they are bound to maintain two *chaunkidárs* for watch and ward, and also to keep the place clean and in repair. Prices, of course, vary considerably, but the following may be taken as the average rates:—Well-bullocks from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 each; cart-bullocks from Rs. 50 to 75; a cow from Rs. 15 to 50; a calf from Rs. 10 to 30; a buffalo from Rs. 25 to 50; and a male buffalo calf from Rs. 2 to 10. There are two market days every week, on Tuesday and Wednesday; and in 1868-69, when a tax of one and a quarter ana was levied on every beast sold, it yielded as much as Rs. 2,188-13-0: the zamindárs' receipts at two anas a head and the Chaudharis' at the same rate amounted to Rs. 3,502-2-0 each. Taking Rs. 25 as an average price per head, which would be rather below than above the mark, the amount of money changing hands in the course of the year was Rs. 7,00,425. The exports of grain are put at 200,000 *mans* and there are in the town some 100 *khattás*, or cellars, ordinarily well filled with reserve stores for the consumption, not only of the residents, but also of the numerous travellers passing up and down the great thoroughfare on which the town stands, and who naturally take in at Kosi several days' supplies, both for themselves and their cattle. There is also a very considerable business done in country cloth; as all the villages in the neighbourhood are purely agricultural, and supply most of their wants from the one central mart.

As the town lies in a hollow, it is liable to be flooded after a few days' continuance of heavy rain by a torrent which pours in upon it from Hodal. This was the case in 1873, when much damage was done to house property; and the subsequent drying up of the waters—which was a tedious process, there being no outlet for their escape—was attended with very general and serious sickness. The only remedy lies in developing the natural line of drainage, and the necessity of some such operation has forced itself upon the notice of the canal department, but no definite steps have yet been taken in the matter.

The income of the municipality is about Rs. 12,000 per annum; but this sum is a very inadequate test of the actual trade done, since there is no duty either on cotton or on cattle, excepting beasts intended for slaughter.

The area of the parish is 2,277 acres, on which the Government demand used to be Rs. 6,700; but the assessment was proved to be too severe by the distress it caused to the zamindárs, and it was reduced to Rs. 4,790,

The principal annual *melas*, or fairs, are—1st, the Dasahara, only started between forty and fifty years ago by Lalu Singh, khattri, and Darbhari Singh, baniya; 2nd, the Muharram; and 3rdly, the Phul-dol, on *Chait badi* 2, which is a general gathering for all the Játis of the Denda pál from Dah-gánw, Kot-ban, Naki-pur, Umraura, and Nagara Hasan-pur.

In the centre of the town stands a large sarái, covering nine and-a-half bighas of land, with high embattled walls, corner kiosques, and two arched gateways, all of stone, ascribed to Khwájá I'tibár Khán, governor of Delhi, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. On the inside there are ranges of vaulted apartments all round, and the principal bazar lies between the two gateways. The building has been partially repaired by the municipality at a cost of Rs. 4,000, and if the inner area could be better laid out, it might form a remunerative property. At present it yields only an income of between Rs. 300 and 400 a year; even that being a considerable increase on what used to be realised. A large masonry tank, of nearly equal area with the sarái, dates from the same time, and is called the Ratnákár Kund, or more commonly the 'pakka taláo.' Unfortunately it is always dry except during the rains. The municipality were desirous of having it repaired, but it was found that the cost would amount to Rs. 3,500, a larger sum than the funds could afford. The enclosing walls are twenty feet high and the exact measurement is 620 by 400 feet. Three other tanks bear the names of Mayá-kund, Bisákha-kund, and Gomati-kund, in allusion to places so styled at the holy city of Dwáráká, or Kusasthali—a circumstance which has given rise to, or at least confirms, the popular belief that Kosi is only a contraction of Kusasthali. The Gomati-kund, near which the fair of the Phul-dol is held, *Chait badi* 2, is accounted the most sacred and is certainly the prettiest spot in the town. The pond is of considerable size, but of very irregular shape and has a large island in the middle. There are two or three masjudy gháts, constructed by wealthy traders of the town, and on all sides of it there are a number of small shrines and temples overshadowed by fine kadamb, pipal, and bar trees, full of monkeys and peacocks; while the tank itself is the favourite haunt of aquatic birds of different kinds. There are a few handsome and substantial private houses in the quarter of the town called Baladeva Ganj; but as a rule the shops and other buildings have a very mean appearance; and though there are a number of Hindú temples and four mosques, they, too, are all quite modern and few have any architectural pretensions.

A little beyond the town on the Delhi side close to the new canal and not far from the Idgáh is a *tirath* called Mábbhai, with a masonry tank and temple, which is looked after by a Pandit of the Rádhá Ballabh sect, called Bál-mukund.

When I went to see him, he would only talk in Sanskrit and derived the name of the place from *Mā bhāishih*, 'Fear not,' the exclamation of Krishna to the herdsmen when the forest was set on fire. But there was an old fort of the same name in the Bulandshahr district near the town of Khurja, where no such legendary explanation would be applicable. The word is a peculiar one, and I am unable to offer any suggestion regarding it.

The Sarāugis, or Jainis, have three temples at Kosi, dedicated respectively to Padma-Prabhu, the sixth of the Jinas or Tirthānkaras; Nem-nāth, or Arishtanemi, the twenty-second; and Mahāvīra, or Varddhāmāna, the twenty-fourth and last of the series,* who is supposed to have died about the year 500 B. C. A festival is held at the temple of Nem-nāth, which is the smallest and most modern of the three, on the day after the full moon of Bhādon, when water is brought for the ablution of the idol from a well in a garden at some little distance. Any processional display, or beating of drums, or uttering of a party cry is so certain to result in a riot that extra police are always told off to prevent anything of the kind, and to confine every religious demonstration strictly within the walls of the temple. The antipathy to the rival faith on the part of the Vaishnava Hindus is so strong that it is ordinarily expressed by saying that it would be better, on meeting a mad elephant in a narrow street, to stand still and be trampled to death than to escape by crossing the threshold of a Jaini temple.

As regards the essential matters of conservancy, water supply and road communication, the condition of the town is satisfactory and has been much improved by municipal action. Most of the streets are either metalled or paved, and lighted by lamps at night. A neat dispensary has been opened and is well attended, though as yet it has no accommodation for in-door patients. A small bungalow has been built for the meetings of the committee and for occasional use as a rest-house; the ground between it and the dispensary being laid out as a garden for the supply of fruit and vegetables and as a decorative feature at the entrance of the town. A new market was also designed with lines of substantial brick-built and stone-fronted shops of uniform character, arranged on three sides of a square, which was secured and levelled for the purpose. In order to further the speedy completion of a work which it was thought would so much improve both the appearance of the town and also the finances of the municipality, a loan of Rs. 12,000 was contracted, with the sanction of

* Each Tirthānkara has his own distinctive sign: Mahāvīra, a lion; Padma-Prabhu, a lotus; Nem-nāth, a conch; Chandra-Prabhu, a moon, &c.; and it is only by these marks that they can be distinguished from one another, as all are sculptured in the same attitude.

Government, to be repaid in the course of four years by half-yearly instalments, beginning from October, 1874. Before application was made for the loan, Rs. 6,000 had been already expended, and with a further allotment, to about the same extent, from ordinary municipal income, the market might have been completed by the end of 1878. But unexpected changes in the schedule of taxation reduced the octroi receipts so considerably that the annual income was nearly all exhausted by the charges for establishment, repairs, and the repayment of the loan. Thus the work dragged slowly on; and since I have left the district has come, I believe, to a dead stand-still. At its commencement an illustration was afforded of the extraordinary mania with which the local baniyas are possessed for hoarding large quantities of grain. This they do in the hope that a year of famine will come when they will be able to realise a rapid fortune by selling their stores at enormously high rates. As the grain is simply thrown into a pit sunk in the ground, and no precautions taken to preserve it from the damp, in a few years the greater part of it becomes quite unfit for human consumption, and its sale would only increase the general distress by spreading disease. This, however, is a consideration which has no influence on the mind of a bania: he has a fixed method of squaring accounts with Providence, and holds that the foundation of a sumptuous temple, at the close of his life, is an ample atonement for all sins of fraud and speculation, and the only one which Divine justice is entitled to demand from him. Such a pit came to light after the heavy rains of 1873. Five of the shops then in course of construction began to settle and give way to such an extent that they had to be taken down. On digging a few feet below the foundations to ascertain, if possible, the cause of the accident, a subterranean granary was revealed with an invoice stating that it had been filled in *Sambal* 1898 (1841 A.D.), and contained in all 1,303 *mans* of different kinds of grain. The greater part of this was so much damaged that it had to be destroyed, and the sale of the remainder realised only Rs. 324, which did not cover the cost incurred in digging it out, filling up the pit, and rebuilding the shops.

The tahsili school was built by the Public Works Department at a cost of Rs. 6,000. The police, maintained by the municipality on an annual grant of Rs. 1,800, are located in a corner of the sarái, with an entrance made through the old wall directly on to the high road, opposite the paráo. The latter is the property of private individuals, who levy a toll on every animal or vehicle driven into its enclosure,—the rates being fixed by the municipality—and pay Rs. 10 a month for the monopoly.

On the 31st of May, 1857, the rebels on their march to Delhi stopped at Kosi and, after burning down the Customs bungalow and ransacking the police

station, proceeded to plunder the tahsili, but Rs. 150 was all that they found in the treasury there. The records were scattered to the four winds, but were to a great extent subsequently recovered. The Musalmáns of Dotána, the Játs of Azíz-pur, and the Gújars of Majhoi and Rám-pur lent a willing hand to any deed of mischief; but the townspeople and the inhabitants of the adjoining villages of Hasan-pur Nagara, Umraura, Dah-gánw and Nabi-pur, gave what assistance they could in maintaining order, and as an acknowledgment of their good behaviour one year's jama was remitted and a grant of Rs. 50 made to each lumberdár. The position of the town between Agra and Delhi and the strength of its fortified sarás have rendered it a place of some importance at other periods of local disturbance. Thus, in 1774, the Ját Rájá, Ranjít Sinh, on his retreat to Barsána, occupied it for some time; and again, in 1782, after the death of Najaf Khán, his nephew, Mirza Shañ, fled to it as a temporary refuge from before his rival Afrazyáb Khán. *

BATHAN, GREAT AND LITTLE, are two populous and extensive Ját villages (the former with a Halkabandi school) in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Kosi. According to popular belief, the name is derived from the circumstance that Balaráma here 'sat down' (*baitthen*) to wait for his brother Krishna; but like so many of the older local names, which are now fancifully connected with some mythological incident, the word is really descriptive simply of the natural features of the spot; *bathan* being still employed in some parts of India to denote a pasture-ground for cattle. In the same way Brindá-ban, 'the tulsi grove,' is now referred to a goddess Vrindá; Loh-ban, 'the lodhri grove,' to a demon Loha-jangha; and Kotban, 'the limit or last of the groves,' to a demon Kota, whose head was tossed to Sirthala, and his hands to Hathána. On the outskirts of Great Bathan is an extensive sheet of water, with a masonry ghát built by Rúp Rám, the Katára of Barsána; which, by its name Balbhadra-kund, has either occasioned, or at least serves to perpetuate, the belief that Balaráma was the eponymous hero of the place. Here, on *Chait badi* 3, is held the Holanga Fair, when some 15,000 to 16,000 people assemble and a sham fight takes place between the women of Bathan, who are armed with clubs, and the men from the neighbouring village of Jáv, who defend themselves with branches of the acacia. At a distance of two miles, between two smaller groves, each called Pádar Ganga, the one in Bathan, the other in Jáv, is Kokila-ban, the most celebrated in Hindi poetry of all the woods of Braj: so much so, indeed, that the word is often used as a synonyme for 'the garden of Eden.' It comprises a wide and densely-wooded area,* the trees becoming thicker

* It is 212 bighas in extent; 54 bighas being held rent-free by the Mahant of the Hermitage, who also has all the pasturage and fallen timber of the whole area, with a further endowment of 22 bighas of arable land in Jáv.

and thicker towards the centre, where a pretty natural lake spreads cool and clear, and reflects in its deep still waters the over-hanging branches of a magnificent banyan tree. It is connected with a masonry tank of very eccentric configuration, also the work of Rúp Rám ; on the margin of which are several shrines and pavilions for the accommodation of pilgrims, who assemble here to the number of some 10,000, *Bhadon sudi* 10, when the Rás Lílá is celebrated. There is also a walled garden, planted by a Seth of Mirzapur, who employed as his agent Ghan-pat Rám, one of the Kosi traders. It has a variety of shrubs and fruit trees ; but, like most native gardens, is rapidly becoming a tangled and impenetrable jungle. Adjoining it is a *bárah dari*, or pavilion, constructed in 1870, by Nem Ji, another Kosi baniya, out of money left for the purpose by his brother Bansidhár. A fair is held in the grove every Saturday and a larger one on every full moon, when the principal diversion consists in seeing the immense swarms of monkeys fight for the grain that is scrambled among them. The Bairagi belongs to the Nimbárák Sampradáya.

Between Kokila-ban and the village is another holy place, called Kabír-ban besides the Pádar-Gangá. The origin of the word Pádar is obscure : it is interpreted by *hará*, 'green,' and therefore may be a corruption of the Sanskrit *pádlapa*, 'a tree.'*

At Little Bathán, a curious ridge of rock, called Charan Pahár, crops up above the ground, the stone being of precisely the same character as at Barsána and Nand-gánw. It was once proposed to utilize some of it for engineering purposes, but such strenuous objections were raised that the design was never carried into execution. The name of the present hermit is Rádhika Dás. This, it is said, was one of the places where Krishna most delighted to stop and play his flute, and many of the stones are still supposed to bear the impress of his 'feet' *charan*. The hill is of very insignificant dimensions, having an average height of only some twenty or thirty feet, and a total length of at most a quarter of a mile. On the rock are several specimens of the tree called Indrayan (*Wrightia tinctoria*), which I have not seen elsewhere. In the cold weather it is almost entirely bare of leaves, but bears bunches of very long slender dark-green pods, each pair cohering lightly at the top. There is also an abundance of a scraggy shrub called Gauger, a species of *Grewia* (?) and a creeper with white sweet scented flowers which may be the zedoary. Its native name is *nirbisi*. In the small belt of jungle, which environs the hill, may also be found almost every variety of the curious inedible fruits for which Braj is noted, viz., the karíl, píldá, pasendu, hingot, barna, and anján-rúkh. A little beyond the neighbour-

* It is mentioned by name in the *Vraja-bhakti-vilása* as पादरवन

ing town of Kámar, just across the Gurgáon border, is a very similar ridge called the Bichor hill, from a large village of that name.

DOTÁNA is a Muhammadan village on the high road between Kosi and Chhátá with a number of old buildings which are sure to attract the traveller's attention. There are seven large tombs dating from the time of Sháhjahán and Aurangzeb, if not earlier (there are no inscriptions), three mosques of the same period, erected respectively by Ináyat-ullah Khán, Kázi Haidar Khán, and Ruh-ullah Khán; a modern mosque founded by Abd-ul Barkat, and four small gardens.

A masonry tank, which covers an area of 12 bighas and is in good repair, though dry for the greater part of the year, is said to have been constructed by the village founder Kabír-ud-dín Auliya. One of his most illustrious descendants was Sádullah Khán, from whom the town of Sádabad derives its name, the minister of Sháhjahán, in whose reign Dotána is said to have been a large town. Shernagar originally belonged to the same family, and three members of it are commemorated by the three Pattís, called respectively Lál, Ruh-ullah and Malak. A distributary of the canal runs within a few yards of the tank, which might easily be filled from it. Near it is the tomb of Kudús and Anwar, two of the village patriarchs.

Many of the large brick houses in the village are in a most ruinous condition, and the zamindárs are now in poor circumstances. In the mutiny they joined the rebels in plundering the Kosi Tahsíl, and part of their estate was confiscated and bestowed on Kunvar Shám Prasád, a Kashmíri, formerly Tahsildar of Mahá-ban, who has transferred it to his sister, Mahárání. The name Dotána is thought to be derived from Dánton, a tooth-brush, and if so, is rather suggestive of Buddhist legends. The place is mentioned by Bishop Heber in his Journal, who writes: "January 7th, 1825, traversed a wild but more woody country to Dotána. Here I saw the first instance of a custom which I am told I shall see a good deal of in my southern journey, a number of women, about a dozen, who came with pitchers on their heads, dancing and singing to meet me. There is, if I recollect right, an account of this sort of dance in Kehama. They all professed to be Gopis, or milk-maids, and are in fact, as the thánadár assured me, the wives and daughters of the Gwálá caste. Their voices and style of singing were by no means unpleasant; they had all the appearance of extreme poverty, and I thought a rupee well bestowed upon them, for which they were very thankful." There can be no doubt also that this is the place to which John de Laet, in 1631, alludes in his *India Vera*, though he calls it Akbar-pur, the name of the next village. "This was formerly a consi-

derable town ; now it is only visited by pilgrims who come on account of many holy Muhammadans buried here." Annual fairs are still held in honor of three of these holy men, who are styled Hasan Shahíd, Sháh Nizám-ud-dín, and Pír Shakar-ganj, *alias* Bába Faríd. The shrines, however, are merely commemorative and not actual tombs ; for the Hasan, 'the Martyr,' is probably Ali's son, the brother of Hussain ; Nizám-ud-dín Aulia is buried at Delhi ; and the famous Faríd-ud-dín Ganj-i-Shakkar lies at Pák Patan near the Satlaj.

KAMAR, six miles from Kosi on the Gurgáon border, is still a populous Ját town with a considerable trade in cotton ; but in the early part of last century was a place of much greater wealth and importance, when a daughter of one of the principal families was taken in marriage by Thákur Badan Sinh of Sahár, the father of Súraj Mall, the first of the Bharat-pur Rájás. On the outskirts of the town is a large walled garden with some monuments to his mother's relations, and immediately outside it a spacious masonry tank filled with water brought by aqueducts from the surrounding *rakhya*. This is more than a thousand acres in extent, and according to village computation is three kos long, including the village, which occupies its centre. For the most part the trees are exclusively the *pilu*, or *salvadora oleoides*, very old with hollow trunks and strangely gnarled and distorted branches. The fruit which ripens in Jeth is sweet and largely eaten by the poor, but as a rule not sold, though some is occasionally dried and exported. A Bairági of the Nimbárak Sampradáya, by name Mangal Dás, has a hermitage with a small temple of Bihári Jí, in the midst of some fine kadamb trees, which form a conspicuous group at one end of the *rakhya*. He has a great reputation for sanctity and the offerings made during the last 30 years have enabled him to have a fine masonry tank constructed, of great depth, at an outlay of Rs. 2,500 ; from its appearance it might be taken to have cost even more. It is filled to the brim in the rains, but soon becomes dry again ; a defect which he hopes to obviate by paving it at the bottom. It is about half a mile from the village and is a pretty spot. Had I remained in the district, I should have got the tank finished ; arrangements were being made when the order came for my transfer. At a rather greater distance in the opposite direction is a lake with unfinished stone gháts, the work of Rájá Suraj Mall ; this is called Durvásas-kund, after the irascible saint of that name ; but there is no genuine tradition to connect him with the spot ; though it is sometimes said that the town derives its name from a 'blanket' (*kamal*) with which Krishna persuaded him to cover his nakedness. Among the trees on the margin of the lake are some specimens of the *Khandár* or *Salvadora Punica*. This is less common

than the *oleoides* species, and is a prettier tree and blossoms earlier. Its fruit, however, is bitter and uneatable. In the town are several large brick mansions built by Chaudharis Jasavant Singh and Sítá Rám, the Rájá's connections, and one of them has a fine gateway in three stories, which forms a conspicuous land mark : but all are now in ruins. At the back of the artificial hill on which they stand, and excavated to supply the earth for its construction, is a third tank of still greater extent than the other two, but of irregular outline, and with only an occasional flight of stone steps here and there on its margin.

A temple of Súrāj Mall's foundation, dedicated to Madan Mohan, is specially affected by all the Játis of the Bahin-wár pál,* who are accounted its *chelas*, or sons, and assemble here to the number of some 4,000, on *Chait badi* 2 and the following day, to celebrate the *mela* of the Phúl-dol. The school, a primary one, is not a very prosperous institution. The Chaukidári Act has been extended to the town ; but it yields a monthly income of only Rs. 60, which, after payment of the establishment, leaves an utterly insignificant balance for local improvements. The only work of the kind which has been carried out is the metalling of the principal bazár.

SUKH-PUR, under the Játis the head of a pargana, is a large but somewhat decayed village on the bank of the Jamuná, some ten miles to the north-east of Kosi. It is one of the very few places in this part of the country where the population is almost equally divided between the two great religions of India ; there being, according to the census of 1872, as many as 1,205 Muhammadans to 1,341 Hindus. The total area is 3,577 acres, of which 2,263 are under the plough and 1,314 are untilled. Of the arable land, 612 acres are watered by wells, which number in all 63 and are many of masonry construction. The Government demand is Rs. 3,907. The village was founded towards the middle of the sixteenth century, in the reign either of Sher Sháh or Salím Sháh by an officer of the Court known as Mír Jí, of Biluch extraction, who called it Sháhpur in honour of his royal master. The tomb of the founder still exists not far from the river bank on the road to Chaundras. It is a square building of red sandstone, surmounted by a dome and divided on each side into three bays by pillars and bracket arches of purely Hindu design. By cutting off the corners of the square and inserting at each angle an additional pillar the tomb on the inside assumes the form of a dodecagon.

* *Pál* is the peculiar name for any sub-division of Játis. In the Kosi Pargana, the principal Ját Páls in addition to the Bahin-wár, who own Kámar and 11 other villages, are the Denda, Lokana, and Ghatona. Similarly, every sub-division of Mewáti is called a *chhat*.

On the other side of the village, by the road to Bukharári, is another tomb in memory of Lashkar Khán, a grandson of the village founder : it is solidly constructed of brick and mortar, but quite plain and of ordinary design. Nearly opposite is the hamlet of Chauki with the remains of a fort erected by Nawáb Ashraf Khán and Arif Khán, upon whom Sháh-pur with other villages, yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 28,000, were conferred as a *jágir* for life by Lord Lake. There is a double circuit of mud walls with bastions and two gateways of masonry defended by outworks, and in the inner court a set of brick buildings now fallen into ruin. This was the ordinary residence of the Nawáb, and it was during his lifetime that Sháh-pur enjoyed a brief spell of prosperity as a populous and important town. It would seem that the fort was not entirely the work of Ashraf Khán, but had been originally constructed some years earlier by Agha Haidar, a local governor under the Mahrattas, who also planted the adjoining grove of trees.

The village has continued to the present day in the possession of Mír Jí's descendants, to one of whom, Fázil Muhammad, the great grandfather of Natha Khán, now lumberdár, we are indebted for the large *bágh* which makes Sháh-pur the most agreeable camping place in the whole of the Kosi pargana. It covers some sixty or seventy *bíghas*, and, besides containing a number of fine forest trees, mango, *jáman*, *mukta* and *labera*, has separate orchards of limes and *ber* trees ; while the borders are fenced with the prickly *nág-phani*, interspersed with *nims* and *babúls*, having their branches overspread with tangled masses of the *amar-bel* with its long clusters of pale and faint-scented blossoms. The yearly contracts for the different kinds of fruit yield close upon Rs. 1,000. Though a mile or more from the ordinary bed of the river, it is occasionally, as for example in the year 1871, flooded to the depth of some two or three feet by the rising of the stream. The more extensive the inundation, the greater the public benefit ; for all the fields reached by it produce excellent *rabi* crops without any necessity for artificial irrigation till, at all events, late in the season. In the village are three mosques, but all small ; as the Muhammadan population, though considerable, consists, to a great extent, merely of *kasúbs* ; there is also a temple erected by the Mahrattas. The chief local festivals are the *Dasahará* for Hindus and the *Muharram* for Muhammadans, both of which are largely attended. There is a weekly market on Monday and a small manufacture of earthen *hándis*. The *hal-kabandi* school, which, for some years, maintained only a struggling existence, has been better attended of late, since the completion of the new building.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Ainch ...	593	5	598	Shiv Saháy Mall, Khatri of Delhi.	Gaurua ...	1,163
2	Aziz-pur ...	928	33	961	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,177
3	Bancháuli ...	1,080	6	1,086	Bráhmañ ditto,	Bráhmañ,	1,580
4	Barhá ...	781	266	1,047	Alhír ditto,	Alhír ...	1,728
5	Barháñá cum Pench-ghar.	869	20	889	Ját ditto,	Ját ...	1,438
6	Barká ...	869	11	880	Jádon ditto,	Jádon ...	1,797
7	Bathan (Great) cum Dhánót-khera and Koki-lá-ban.	2,649	70	2,719	Ját ditto,	Ját ...	5,266
8	Bathan (Little) cum Charan Pá-hár.	1,521	31	1,552	Ditto ...	Ját ...	1,272
9	Bisambhara ...	732	738	1,470	Mewáti ditto,	Mewáti ...	1,268
10	Bukharári ... Chacholi: the original name for Pilloi.	1,550	72	1,622	Jádon ditto,	Jádon ...	2,329
11	Chandauri ...	1,152	39	1,191	Ját ditto,	Ját ...	1,221

1. *Ainch*.—On the Gurgáon border. After the mutiny, part of the village was conferred on Khatri Shiv Saháy Mall, the son of Jay Rám Dás, who was the Manager of Joti Prasad's firm at Agra during the mutiny.

3. *Bancháuli*.—The original name is said to have been Banáuli.

4. *Barhá*.—The name given on removal of the people here from Tonda Kherá. The Phúl-dol melá is held on Chait badi 3. Bilúchis and Shaikhs once owned all the village, but have now sold a considerable part of it to Dhásars, Baniyas, and Játs. A bāgh of the Shaikhs and new mosque. A struggling halkabandi school.

5. *Barháñá*.—The Rás-lilá melá is held here, Bhádon sudi 8.

6. *Barká*.—Here is a new temple of Gobardhan-náth, built by Barsukh, baniya.

7 and 8. *Bathan*.—See page 338.

9. *Bisambhara*.—The Muhammadans have a melá here on the 5th and 6th of Rabi-us-sáñi in honour of two fakirs, Sháh Chet and Mír Viláyat Sháh. There is a new mosque.

10. *Bukharári*.—In the village is a substantial house, built about seventy years ago by a wealthy baniya named Bhika: there is also a bāgh that he planted. His descendants have still a share in the village and in Mahroli and Ráp-nagar. Halkabandi school. Temple of Siva Ji.

11. *Chandauri* is supposed to be a corruption of Chandrávali, the name of one of Rádhá's attendants, but is more probably for Chanda puri, after some Chanda, its founder. Here is a temple of Mahádev.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musalman.	Total.			
12	Chauki ...	167	25	192	Shiv Saháy Mall, Khatri of Delhi	Gaurua ...	933
13	Chaundras; 2 maháls.	121	8	129	Shaikh Shíádal, of one mahál.	Bráhmañ...	570
14	Dahi-gánw cum Rasoli.	2,107	45	2,152	Ját community ...	Ját ...	2,952
15	Dham Sinha ...	829	20	849	Bráhmañ community,	Bráhmañ...	1,252
16	Dhánota ...	851	3	854	Maya Rám, bohrá,	Jádon ...	1,748
17	Dotána ...	696	715	1,411	Musalman community.	Shaikh ...	2,400

12. *Chauki*.—So called from being an old 'out-post' (*Chauki*) on the Gurgáon road. The original zamindárs were Gauruas : on their falling into arrears, their estate was put up to auction and bought in by Government. In the mutiny, the mustáfir, Hidáyat Ali Khán, took part with the rebels and was accordingly dispossessed, and the village conferred on Khatri Shiv Saháy Mall, in recognition of his good services. There is a ruined fort, regarding which see page 343.

13. *Chaundras*.—The original Bráhmañ proprietors have sold part of their estate to the Shaikhs, who have formed it into a separate zamindári mahál.

14. *Dah-gánw*.—The original form of the name is Dadhi-gánw, from *dadhi*, 'coagulated milk.' This is one of the stations of the Ban-játra, the melá being held near the Dadhi-kund on the 6th of Bhádon sudi, when some 2,000 or 3,000 people assemble, and there is a sham fight with guns and matchlocks between Dah-gánw and Hasan-pur Nagara and other adjoining villages. There is a temple of some antiquity ascribed to Rájá Mán, dedicated to Krishna under his title of 'Braj-bhúkhan.' The boundary line between this and the adjoining village of Garbi in Gur-gánw has been the subject of violent contention for the last thirty years, and the dispute is not settled yet. The school has an attendance of no more than thirty boys; of whom only seven are sons of the Ját agriculturists. By the temple of Braj-bhúkhan, which is of considerable size, is a small pond called Bhánkra, with an old *kadam* tree, reputed sacred on account of a curious excrescence on the trunk resembling Krishna's *mukut* or 'crown.' The Dadhi-kund is 35 bighas in extent, and the total amount of *rakhya* 320 bighas, including Rásoli, or Rás-ban, which is uninhabited except by a Bairági.

15. *Dham Sinha*.—*Dham* is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *Dharma*, and, as it may be presumed, Dharma Sinha was the name of the founder. The road immediately below the village leading to the town of Kosi traverses the centre of a considerable *rakhya*, in which is a pond called Mohári-kund; a word of doubtful derivation, though it might be taken as equivalent to *chintáharan*. With the exception of one group of *pasendus* and *kadamb*s, and two large banyans near the pond, all the trees are *plus* and of very great age, with no young ones coming on anywhere. This curious fact is probably to be explained by the number of cattle that are turned out to graze; for in the rains they eat down the young shoots as soon as they appear above the ground. The villagers, however, look upon it as one of the many indications that they are fallen upon evil times and that the good old days are gone for ever. The Rás lilá is celebrated here on the 6th of Bhádon sudi.

16. *Dhánota*.—The Gújars had a share in the village, which they have sold to the bohra. Here is a mango grove planted by Jiya Rám, mortgagagee.

17. *Dotána*.—See page 340.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
18	Garhi Barwári ...	314	13	327	Sáh Madhuri Saran.	Ját ...	1,448
19	Gaunhári ...	502	9	511	Ját community ...	Ját ...	866
20	Giroi ...	2,239	47	2,286	Ját community ...	Ját ...	2,908
21	Goheta, 3 biswas, cum Bálu Garhi.	147	...	147	Ját community ...	Ját ...	394
22	Goheta, 7 biswas,	578	18	592	Ját community ...	Ját ...	904
23	Goheta, 10 biswas	712	...	712	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,302
24	Hathána ...	1,911	47	1,958	Ját community ...	Ját ...	2,289
25	Hasan-pur Nagara	1,006	29	1,305	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,191
26	ya and Sessai.	2,347	23	2,370	Ját community ...	Ját ...	3,450

18. *Garhi Barwári*—It is said that the first settlers were Bráhmans, who called the place Bráhmardári, and that it was afterwards refounded by a Ját named Udhma, who called it Udhma Garhi, the modern name being a confused combination of the two. It has now been bought by Sah Kundan Lal, whose son is the present proprietor.

19. *Gaunhári*—The Phúl-dol melá is celebrated here, Chait badi 5. There are two báhgs planted by Guláb Ját and Harideva, Pujári.

20. *Giroi*.—The zamindárs belong to the same *pál* as those of the adjoining village of Nand-gánw, and both in concert celebrate the Phúl-dol here on Phálgun sudi 13, near a pond called Gendokhar kund. There are two temples of Jugál-kishor and Murli Manohar, built respectively by Nand Dás and Gomati Dás. A halkabandi school.

24. *Hathána* is more commonly called Pápalwára. A melá in honour of Baladeva is held Bhádon sudi 6. There are two small modern temples. The halkabandi school is a substantial building to which the zamindárs contributed as much as Rs. 600.

25. *Hasan-pur Nagara*.—The old name was simply Nagara, till one Hasan Ali conferred his own name on the place. Since the mutiny, the Phúl-dol melá has been celebrated here on Chait badi 3. The people of Hasan-pur used to keep it at Bathian till they quarrelled with the zamindárs there.

26. *Hathána*.—One and-a-half biswa is owned by Gautam Bráhmans; all the remainder by Játs of the Sorot subdivision, who are very numerous in the neighbourhood. The *rakhyá* adjoining the village is 485 bighas in extent; but the trees are almost all *pálas*, and those of small size. The *dahar* of Nandban (365 bighas) lies on the other side of the canal near Sessai. This, though according to present arrangements accounted a hamlet of Hathána, is, properly speaking, an offshoot of Great Sessai in Gur-gánw, from which it is only parted by a few paces of waste land. A temple of some size and very considerable local celebrity, dedicated to Lakshmi Náráyan, stands on the margin of an extensive lake faced on the temple side with masonry gháts. This is known as the *Kshír Sagar*, or 'Milky Sea,' a name which the colour of the water renders not inappropriate. It is most unfortunate that the boundary line between the two Provinces should have been drawn where it is, as the exclusion of the Sanádh Swámis of Little Sessai from a share in the emoluments of the temple, enjoyed by their kinsmen living in the original village, has resulted in the most intense animosity, displayed in the mutiny by a pitched battle in which twenty-seven persons lost their lives. Much of the land attached to the hamlet of Saráy lies across the canal, greatly to the inconvenience of its cultivators, who have to go round a long distance by the Sessai Bridge to reach it. It was at one time an entirely distinct village; and hence to the present day Hathána is accounted to comprise forty biswas, being divided into two thoks, one of twenty-five, the other of fifteen biswas. There are seven lumberdárs. The school has an attendance of thirty-three boys of whom nineteen are Játs.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musalman.	Total.			
27	Jalál-pur ...	148	165	313	Musalman community.	Shaikh ...	616
28	Jáu ...	2,017	19	2,036	Heirs of Lalá Bábu	Ját ...	2,377
29	Kádona ...	1,076	9	1,085	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,112
30	Kámar ...	4,159	164	4,323	Ját community ...	Ját ...	3,509
31	Khairál, 3½ biswas, ...	...	...	...	Jádon community	Jádon ...	452
32	Khairál, 7½ biswas, ...	405	27	432	Jádon community	Jádon ...	916
33	Kharot ...	1,574	77	1,651	Ját community ...	Ját ...	3,441
34	Khatauta ...	618	24	642	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,295
35	Kosi ...	8,798	3,972	12,770	Ját, Shaikh and Bráhmán.	Baniya ...	2,277

27. *Jalál-pur*.—Founded by a Shaikh, Jalál. Játs and Bráhmans have also shares in the village.

28. *Jáu*.—A station in the Banjátra. There is no special Jávák-ban now recognized by that name; Jáva-bat or Jáva-ban, being regarded as the name of the village. There are four *rakhys*; Chir-kund and Jugál-kutti, both of small extent; Kishori-bat (36 bighas) with the Kishori-kund and *kunj* built by Rúp Rám, the Katára of Barsana; and the Pádar Gangá (15 bighas) with an orchard of mango and *khirni* trees planted by Súrma, a Bairági, who also built the temple of Rádhá-kánt out of grants he received from the chiefs of Rájwára. On his death the temple was deserted for a time till taken over by a Gosáin of Brindá-ban, who makes it an allowance of Rs. 10 a month. Not a stick can be taken from the *rakhys* for the use of the villages or the local temples without the express permission of the absentee landlords, the heirs of the Lalá Bábu. Two fairs are held here in the year; the Holanga, Chait badi 2, and the Rás-lila, Bhádon sudi 10.

29. *Kádona* was founded by the Mewátis. Here are two temples of Brikh-bhán and Mahádeva.

30. *Kámar*.—See page 341.

31. *Khairál* (3½ biswas).—The older name is Susar-garhi.

32. *Khairál* (7½ biswas).—There are two annual melás in honour of Baráhi Devi, held Chait sudi 14 and Kuwár sudi 14. There is a bāgh of Nem Sinh, Jádon. The remaining biswas form the village of Bher-nagar.

33. *Kharot*.—The Urs mela of a Fakír named Dost 'Alí Sháh is held here on the 11th of Rabi-us-sáni. A bāgh bears the name of Matláb Sháh, Fakír. In the village are four substantial houses, now in ruins, built by Chintá-mani a Bráhmán in the service of Rájá Súrāj Mall. Shaikhs and Bráhmans are part proprietors.

34. *Khatauta*.—Bráhmans and Jogis are also part proprietors. Here is a bāgh of one Mádhó Bigh, Haikabandí school.

35. *Kosi*.—See page 331. Tahsili, municipality, police station, imperial post-office, tahsili school, free school, customs bungalow, municipal bungalow available as a rest-house.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Kosi Pargana—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
56	Sher-nagar ...	686	75	761	Jádón community,	Jádón ...	2,018
57	Sirthala ...	583	25	708	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,378
58	Sujáuli ...	338	...	338	Jádón community,	Jádón ...	500
59	Surwári; 2 máhals	243	...	243	Ját community ...	Ját ...	540
60	Tumáula ...	1,755	25	1,780	Ját and Bráshman,	Ját ...	2,501
61	Umráura ...	353	* 5	358	Ját community,	Ját ...	605

56. *Sher-nagar*, originally called *Khairál*, derives its present name from its founder, *Sher Khán*. Here are four *bághs*, planted by *Mahá-ram*, *Indra* and *Maháráj*, *Gopál*, and *Pita*.

58. *Sujáuli*.—Named after *Suján*, a *Ját* of *Khairál*.

59. *Surwári*.—The two new *maháls* are respectively $18\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *biswas*.

60. *Tumáula*.—*Halkabandi* school, canal bridge. Just above the bridge the canal has been carried through a very large tank, which in the course of centuries had been partially filled up. When the excavations were in progress, a life-size statue was discovered, much defaced and with the head severed from the body. It has no very distinctive attributes, but might be intended to represent the god *Ráma*, or the *Rájá* who constructed the tank. The antiquity of the work is attested by the enormous size of the bricks used in the foundations. The site of the reservoir was so well selected that the Canal Engineers will probably have some difficulty in keeping up their embankments against the large body of water which collects on the spot in the rains.

61. *Umráura*.—Separated from *Dah-gánw* by the *zamindárs* of that village and given to one *Umráo*, after whom it is named.

II.—PARGANA CHHÁTÁ.

THE pargana of Chhátá, which lies immediately to the south of Kosi, has the same boundaries as it to the west and east, *viz.*, the State of Bharat-pur and the river Jamuná; and, further, resembles its northern neighbour in most of its social and physical characteristics. Being the very centre of Braj, it includes within its limits many of the groves held sacred by the votaries of Krishna; but, with the exception of these bits of wild woodland, it is but indifferently stocked with timber, and the orchards of fruit trees are small and few in number. The principal crops are *joár* and *chand*, there being 63,000 acres under the former, and 29,000 grown with *chand* out of a total area of 160,433. A large amount of cotton is also raised, the ordinary outturn being about 20,000 *mans*. But the crop varies greatly according to the season; and in 1873 did not exceed 1,500 *mans*, in consequence of the very heavy and continuous rains at the beginning of the monsoon, which prevented the seed from being sown till it was too late for the pod to ripen. The coarse limestone, which can be obtained in any quantity from the hills of Nand-gánw and Barsána, is not now used to any extent for building purposes, but it is the material out of which the imperial saráis at Chhátá and Kosi were constructed, and is there shown to be both durable and architecturally effective. The western side of the pargana is liable to inundation in exceptionally rainy seasons from the overflowing of a large *jhill* near Káma in Bharat-pur territory; its waters being augmented in their subsequent course by junction with the natural line of drainage extending down from Hodal. In 1861, and again in 1873, the flood passed through Unchá-gánw, Barsána, Chaksauli, and Háthiya, and extended as far even as Gobardhan; but no great damage was caused, the deposit left on the surface of the land being beneficial rather than otherwise.

The first assessment, made in 1809, was for Rs. 1,02,906. This was gradually increased to Rs. 1,77,876, and was further enhanced by the last settlement. Much land, formerly lying waste for want of water, was brought under cultivation on the opening of the Agra Canal. This has a total length of 11 miles in the pargana, from Bhadával to Little Bharna, with bridges at each of those places and also at Rahera and Sahár.

Till 1838 Sher-garh and Sahár were two separate parganas, subordinate to the Aring tahsíl: but in that year Sahár was constituted the headquarters of a tahsildár, and so remained till the mutiny, when a transfer was made to Chhátá. The latter place has the advantage of being on the highroad, and is

tolerably equi-distant from east and west, the only points necessary to be considered, on account of the extreme narrowness of the pargana from north to south. Thus, its close proximity to the town of Kosi—only seven miles off—is rather an apparent than a real objection to the maintenance of Chhátá as an administrative centre.

The predominant classes in the population are Játs, Jádons, and Gaurua Thákurs of the Báchhal sub-division; while several villages are occupied almost exclusively by the exceptional tribe of Ahivásis (see page 10) who are chiefly engaged in the salt trade. A large proportion of the land—though not quite to so great an extent as in Kosi—is still owned by the original Bhaiyáchári communities; and hence agrarian outrage on a serious scale is limited to the comparatively small area where, unfortunately, alienation has taken place, more by improvident private sales, or well-deserved confiscation on account of the gravest political offences, than from any defect in the constitution or administration of the law. The two largest estates thus acquired during the present century are enjoyed by non-residents, *viz.*, the heirs of the Lálá Báhu (see page 238), who are natives of Calcutta, and the Ráni Sáhíb Kunvar, the widow of Raja Gobind Singh, who took his title from the town of Háthras, the old seat of the family, though she now lives with the young Rájá at Brindá-ban. Of resident landlords, the three largest all belong to the Dhúsar caste, and are as follows: First, Kanhaiya Lál, Sukhvási Lál, Bhajan Lál, and Bihári Lál, sons of Rám Bakhsh of Sahár, where they have property, as also at Bharáuli and three other villages, yielding an annual profit of Rs. 3,536. Second, Munshi Nathu Lál, who, for a time, was in Government service as tahsildár—with his son, Sardar Singh, also of Sahár, who have an assessable estate of Rs. 3,874, derived from Astoli, Tatár-pur, and shares in nine other villages; Nathu Lál's father, Giridhar Lál, was sometime Munsif of Jalesar, and was descended from one Harsukh Ráe, who received from Rájá Súraaj Mall the grant of Tatár-pur, with the title of Munshi, by which all the members of the family are still distinguished. Third in the list is Lálá Syám Sundar Dás, son of Shiw Saháy Mall, a man of far greater wealth—his annual profits being estimated at a lakh of rupees. He is the head of a firm which has branch houses at Kánh-pur, Agra, and Amritsar, and other places, and owns the whole of the large village of Naugúma, and half of Tároli. For many years he was on the worst possible terms with his tenants; but the dispute between them has at last been amicably arranged, and during the recent famine the eldest son, Badri Prasád, came forward as one of the most liberal landlords in the district.

The two places of most interest in the pargana, Barsána and Nand-gánw have already been fully described ; there remain Chaumuhá, Chhátá, Sahár, Sehi and Shergarh, which may each claim a few words of special mention.

CHAUMUHÁ, on the high road to Delhi, 12 miles from the Mathurá station, was included in the home pargana till the year 1816. It has the remains of a large brick-built saráe, covering upwards of four bighas of land, said to have been constructed in the reign of the Emperor Sher Sháh. It now brings in a rental of only some Rs. 20 a year, being in a very ruinous state. This fact, combined with the perfect preservation of the parallel buildings at Chhátá and Kosi, has given rise to a local legend that the work was bad in the first instance, and the architect, being convicted of misappropriating the funds at his disposal, was, as a punishment, built up alive into one of the walls ; the corpse, however, has not been discovered. Immediately opposite its upper gate, though at some little distance from it, stands one of the old imperial kos minars. Though in itself a clumsy erection, it forms a picturesque object as seen through the arch from inside the courtyard, and would make a pretty sketch. When Mádhó Ráo Sindhia was the paramount power, he bestowed the village as an endowment for educational purposes on a pandit by name Gangá-dhar ; to whose sons, Tika-dhar and Murli-dhar, it was confirmed in 1824. The settlement was made with the zamindárs at Rs. 5,000, now Rs. 4,974, of which sum three-quarters, *viz.*, Rs. 3,730, go to the Government College at Agra, and cover half its entire cost ; the remaining quarter, after some deductions, to Gangá-dhar's heirs, by name Nág-náth, Badrí-náth, and Gopi-náth. In the old topographies the saráe is described as situate at Akbar-pur, a name now restricted to the next village, since the discovery of an ancient sculpture supposed to represent the four-faced (chaumuhá) god Brahma. It is in reality the circular pedestal of a Jaini statue or column, with a lion at each corner and a nude female figure in each of the four intervening spaces ; the upper border being roughly carved with the Buddhist rail pattern. The inhabitants are chiefly Gaurua Thákurs. A weekly market is held on Tuesday. There is a primary school, and a bungalow occupied by an assistant patrol in the customs ; a small new mosque inside the saráe ; a temple of Bihári Jí, built by Kási Dás, Bafrági, some 200 years ago, and kept in repair by his successors ; and two ponds known as Bihári-kund and Chandokhar. As a punishment for malpractices during the mutiny, the village was burnt down and for one year the Government demand was raised to half as much again.

CHHÁTÁ, since the mutiny the capital of the pargana, is on the high road to Delhi, 19 miles from Mathurá, and has a camping ground for troops, about

46 bighas in extent. The principal feature of the town is its sarái (already noticed at page 28), which covers an area of 20 bighas, its walls measuring 732 feet by 694. Jacquemont, who saw it in the year 1829, describes it as "a large fortress, of fine appearance from the outside, but it will not do to enter; for inside there is nothing but misery and decay, as everywhere else, except perhaps at Mathurá and Brindaban." He would find matters improved now, for in 1876 I had a broad street laid out through the centre of it from the one gate to the other, and at the time of my transfer it had become the principal bazár in the town. I had also sent up an application to Government for a grant of Rs. 3,500 for the repair of the gateways, which possess considerable architectural merit. The repair of the side walls and cells I had already taken in hand and nearly completed by means of small annual allotments out of the chankidári fund.

In 1857 the sarái was occupied by the rebel zamindárs and, one of the bastions (now built up square) had to be blown down before an entrance could be effected. The town was subsequently set on fire and partially destroyed, and twenty-two of the leading men were shot. It was originally intended to confiscate the zamindárs' whole estate, but eventually the jama was only raised to half as much again for one year. The population are chiefly Játs, the next most numerous class being Jádons. The name is derived by the local pandits from the *Chhattra-dhavana-lila*, which Krishna is said to have held there; but there is no popular legend regarding such an event, nor any very ancient sacred place in its vicinity; though the *Vraja-bhakti-vilása* (1553 A.D.) mentions, it is true, a Chhattra-ban and a Súraj-kund. The latter is still in existence to the north-east of the town, and is a large sheet of water with one good masonry ghát built by a Bráhmaṇ, Bijay Rám, an officer of the Bharat-pur Ráj, who also built the very large brick house adjoining it, now in ruins. All round the tank are fine old trees and beyond it an extensive *rakhya* of *chhonkar*, *ptlu*, and *hingot*. There is another tank on the Mathurá road called Chandra-kund, which it would be an improvement to deepen and embank. The word Chhátá probably refers to the stone *chhatris* which surmount the sarái gateways, and form prominent objects in the landscape from a long distance. There is a tahsili school, and a weekly market on Fridays. The Hindús have nine small temples and the Muhammadans four mosques.

SAHÁR, seven miles from Chhátá and nine from Gobardhan, was, from 1838 to 1857, the headquarters of a tahsili. At the beginning of last century it was a place of considerable importance under the Játs, being the favourite residence of Thákur Badan Singh, the father of Suraj Mall, the first of the Bharat-pur Rájás. The handsome house which he built for himself is now unoccupied, and

to a great extent in ruins, and the very large masonry tank which adjoins it was left unfinished at his death and has never since been completed. The word Sahár would seem to have been originally either Sabhá-rá, or Sabhá-pur. Probably the latter; for in the Mainpuri District there is a place called Saháwar, which is clearly for Sabhá-pur, and from which to Sahár the transition is an easy one. The township is divided into two, *thoks*, the one of Bráhmans, the other of Muhammadans, and the latter have four small mosques and a dargáh. The Government demand under the present settlement is (including nuzúl) Rs. 5,392, collected by 16 lumberdárs. Part of the land has been transferred by the old proprietors to the two Dhúsar families that have been seated here for some generations and are really the principal people in the place. In the town are several old houses with carved stone gateways of some architectural pretension; also a tank with two masonry gháts called Mahesar-kund, another known as Mánik-Dás-wálá-kund, and a small ruined temple of Baladeva. There are a police station, a post-office, a weekly market held on wednesday and a very well-attended primary school. For the accommodation of the latter I had a large and substantial building erected, in the form of a double corridor, arched and vaulted, running round three sides of an open square, with a low wall and central gateway on the fourth side or front. The cost was Rs. 1,858.

The Agra Canal runs close to the town and is bridged at the point where it crosses the Gobardhan road. It would have been much better to have diverted the road and so brought the bridge, which is now a mile away, nearer to the town. As matters stand at present, the canal, instead of being a blessing, is an intolerable nuisance. On account of the depth of its bed and the absence of any distributary, no water can be had from it for irrigation, while some hundreds of acres that used to be close to their owners' doors can now be reached only after a circuit of some three miles, and are, of course, very much lowered in value.

In the mutiny there was no disturbance here except that the lock-up was broken open, a suspected rebel let loose, and the patwári's papers seized and destroyed.

A short time ago a dispute arose between the Muhammadans and the Hindús as to the possession of a site on which they wished to erect, the one party a mosque, the other a temple. The real fact, as afterwards more clearly appeared, was that the Hindús had originally a temple there, which the Muhammadans had thrown down and built a mosque over it. This, too, had fallen, and the ground had for some years remained unoccupied. The case, when brought into court, was decided in favour of the Hindús, who thereupon set to work and commenced the erection of a shrine to be dedicated to Rádhá Ballabh. In dig-

ging the foundations, they came upon the remains of the old temple, which I rescued and brought into Mathurá. They consist of 10 large pillars and pilasters, in very good preservation and elegantly carved with foliage and arabesques, and also a number of mutilated capitals, bases, &c., the whole series proving an interesting illustration of the mediæval Hindú style of architecture. Their value is increased by the fact that two of the shafts bear inscriptions, in which the date is clearly given as *Sambat* 1128 (1072 A. D.) The style that I call 'the mediæval Hindú,' and of which these pillars afford a good late example, began about the year 400 A. D., and continued to flourish over the whole of Upper India for more than seven centuries. It is distinguished by the constant employment in the capital, or upper half column, of two decorative features, the one being a flower-vase with foliage over-hanging the corners, and the other a grotesque mask. The physiognomy of the latter is generally of a very un-Indian type, and the more so the further we go back, as is well illustrated by a pillar in the underground temple in the Allahabad Fort. The *motif* is precisely the same as may be seen in many European cinque cento arabesques, where a scroll pattern is worked up at the ends, or in the centre, into the semblance of a human face. The fashion with us certainly arose out of the classic *renaissance*, and in India also may possibly have been suggested by the reminiscence of a Greek design. But it was more probably of spontaneous and independent origin; as also it was among our Gothic architects, in whose works a similar style of decoration is not altogether unknown. In the earlier examples, such as that at Allahabad, the face is very clearly marked; though even there the hair of the head and the moustaches are worked off into a scroll or leaf pattern. In later work, of which numerous specimens may be seen in my collection of antiquities in the Mathurá museum, the eyes are made so protuberant, and the other features so distorted and confused by the more elaborate treatment of the foliage and the introduction of other accessories, that the proportions of a human face are almost and in some cases are altogether destroyed. The tradition however exists to the present day; and a Mathurá stone-mason, if told to carve a grotesque for a corbel or stringcourse of any building, will at once draw a design in which are reproduced all the peculiarities of the old models.

SEHI is a place of some note, as being the centre of a clan of Gaurua, *i.e.*, *spurious*, Thákurs, who derive their distinctive name of 'Báchhal' from the Bachh-ban here. They are numerous enough to form a considerable item in the population of the pargana, where they once owned and where they still inhabit as many as 24 villages, *viz.*, Sehi, Chaumuha, Sihána, Akbarpur, Jaitpur, Bhau-gánw, Maí, Basai Buzurg, Gángroli, Jávali, Dalota, Siyára, Bahta, Kajiroth,

Agaryāla, Tárolī, Parsoli, Mangrolī, Nangāma, Undī, Gora, Rānera, Bharaulī and Barolī. The Bachh-ban is now a 'grove' only in name, and is accounted one of the hamlets of the town. In it is the temple of Bihārī Jī, to which the Bāchhals resort; the Gosains, who serve it, being accounted the Gurus of the whole community. The name Sehi is probably derived from *Sendhna*, 'to excavate,' as a great part of the village area (1,442 bighas) consists of broken ground and ravines (*khār* and *behar*). Other 106 bighas are occupied by tanks and ponds, one of which is called Rīthāro, another Bhābhardī, after the name of the Bāchhal, who dug it in the famine of 1837. In 1842 the village was put up to auction for arrears and bought in by Government. After being farmed for some years by Kunvar Faiz Ali Khān, it was sold in 1862 for Rs. 4,800 to Seth Gobind Dās, who, in the following year, sold it to Swāmi Rangāchārya, the head of his temple at Brinda-ban, for Rs. 10,000. The annual Government demand is Rs. 6,100. There are four other hamlets in addition to the Bachh-ban, called respectively Othūta, Garh, Devipura (in the *khādar*) and Little Hazāra. The old khera bears the name of Indraulī, and is said to have been at one time the site of a large and populous town. It was certainly once of much greater extent than now, as is attested by the quantity of broken bricks that strew the adjoining fields; but there are no ancient remains nor traces of any large building. It is still, however, a fairly well-to-do place, most of the houses in the bazār being of masonry construction, and a few of them partly faced with carved stone. The school has an attendance of about 40 boys. In the courtyard of the temple of Bihārī Jī is a square chhattī of red sand-stone with brackets carved in the same style as some in the Brinda-ban temple of Gobind Deva; and of those that support the eaves of the temple itself six are of the same pattern. The shrine has evidently been rebuilt at a much later period; and on one of the pillars is cut a rough scrawl with the date *Sambat* 1805, which is no doubt the year of its restoration. In the village is a small temple of Hanumān, recently rebuilt; and outside, a semi-Muhammadan shrine, erected by a chamār, Khumānī, about the year 1860. There are two annual melas held at it, in Baisākh and Kārtik, on the day of the full moon. They are attended equally by Hindūs and Muhammadans (as is the case with the shrine of the Bare Miyan at Jalesar) and of the two ministers one is a Brāhman, the other a Musalman Fakīr. A mosque which, seen from a little distance, looks rather an imposing structure, was built by two Pathāns, Kāsim Khān and Alam Khān of Panipat, who had a jagīr of 24 villages, 12 here and 12 about Sonkh. Their descendants were reduced to poverty under the Bharāt-pur Rāj; but one of the family, Gulāb Khān, has lately in part repaired the mosque.

SHER-GARRH, eight miles from Ohhátá, with which place it is connected by a metalled road, derives its name from a large fort, now in ruins, built by the Emperor Sher Sháh. The Jamuná, which once washed the foot of its walls, is now more than a mile distant from it. The Hindús would derive the name from *Sihra*, Krishna's marriage wreath; but though this is improbable, it is clear that there was a town here long before the time of Sher Sháh; for in taking down one of the towers of the fort, I came upon a stone carved with foliage of decidedly early Hindú or Buddhist character, with the trefoiled circle so common in the Kashmir temples. There were six towers to the fort and four gates, called the Dehli, the Madár, the Páni or water gate, and the Khirki or postern. By the latter, which is now the most frequented of all, is the school which I had built in 1875 at a cost of Rs. 1,933, in the same style as the one at Sahár. The original zamindárs were Patháús, but in 1859, in execution of a decree held by Kishori Lál, bohra, the whole of their estate, excepting $1\frac{1}{4}$ biswa, still held by the sons of the late Asaf Khán, a descendant of the old family, was put up to auction and sold for Rs. 16,200 to Muhammad Núr Khán of Merath, from whom it was purchased for Rs. 20,000 by Seth Gobind Dás. It now forms part of the endowment of the temple of Dwáarakádhís in the city of Mathurá. In the mutiny, considerable alarm was caused to the townspeople by the Gújars of the neighbouring villages, who made this their centre, and whose estates were afterwards confiscated and bestowed on Rájá Gobind Sinh of Háthras. The Hindús have twelve small temples; the Saráungis one, dedicated to Parsvanáth, and the Muhammadans three mosques. The weekly market is held on Thursday. There is a police station, a district post-office, and besides the school for boys there are two for girls, one of the latter having been supported till his death by Asaf Khán. The town is singularly well-supplied with roads, for, in addition to the one to Chhátá, it has three others (unmetalled) leading direct to Kosi, to Jait, and, across a bridge of boats, to Noh-jhál.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Adam-pur ...	580	...	580	Bráhmaṇ community.	Bráhmaṇ ...	979
2	Agaryálá ...	1,367	62	1,429	Gaurua community.	Gaurua ...	2,917
3	Ahori ...	66	...	66	Anand Kishor, Bráhmaṇ.	Gaurua ...	302
4	Ajhai, (Great) ...	37	...	37	Gaurua community.	Gaurua (Kachhwáha)	340
5	Ajhai, (Little) ...	2,413	* 16	2,429	Gaurua community.	Gaurua ...	2,424
6	Ajhnokhi ...	787	17	804	Jádon community.	Jádon ...	1,304
7	Ajinothi ...	381	2	383	Bráhmaṇ ...	Bráhmaṇ (Upádhya.)	791

1. *Adam-pur*.—On the Chhátá and Sher-garh road. In the mutiny the villagers joined the Gújars in plundering the Sher-garh bazár, for which they were fined 10 per cent. on the jama. Four lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,683. A temple of Bál-mukund.

2. *Agaryálá*.—Here is a large *rakhya* extending over more than 200 bighas. The greater part of it is only dotted with clumps of *hans karil* and the *acása* weed, but at the end furthest from the village is a dense growth of kadamb trees, of no great size, but so close together as to form a complete protection from the sun, and a rather more open space where the *dhák*, *sahora*, *pasenda* and *khutiyari* are intermingled with the kadamba. If there were only a well, it would be a very nice encampment-ground. There are two ponds called Phúshani and Táli; two bighas; four small shrines dedicated to Bihári Ji, Jugal Bihári, and two to Sitá Rám. Jama Rs. 3,957. Four lumberdárs. In the mutiny the villagers had a fight with the Gújars.

3. *Ahori*.—The Gaurua zamindárs in 1839 sold their estate to Gosáin Albheli Lál for Rs. 710, and his heirs, in 1859, resold it for Rs. 920 to Anand-kishor, Bráhmaṇ. In the mutiny this village joined in the attack on the Gaurua Bakhals of Senri. Jama Rs. 327.

4. *Ajhai (Great)*.—Conferred by sanad of Daulat Ráo Sindhia on Gosáin Mathurá Dás for support of the temple of Sitá Rám, which grant was confirmed to his chela in 1833. The zamindárs live at Little Ajhai.

5. *Ajhai (Little)*.—On the Delhi road. For wounding a regimental grass-cutter in the mutiny, the village was attacked and set on fire, 28 men being killed in the affair, and a fine imposed of Rs. 500. A kadamb and dhák *rakhya*. Jama Rs. 2,305. Eight lumberdárs. Temple of Bihári Ji.

6. *Ajhnokhi* derives its name from the *anjan síla* and *pokhar*, otherwise called the Kishori kund, where the Ras Látá is celebrated in Bhádon. Jama Rs. 2,000. Three lumberdárs.

7. *Ajinothi*.—Temple of Bihári Ji. Jama Rs. 1 000. Five lumberdárs.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No	Name.	Population.			Principal proprie- tors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal- man.	Total.			
8	Akbar-pur ...	2,424	60	2,484	Sáh Mádhuri Sar- an.	Gaurua (Bá- chhal)	2,607
9	Alwái ...	541	11	552	Jádon community,	Jádon ..	910
10	Astoli ...	310	22	332	Nathu Lál, Dhá sar, of Sahár.	Chamár ...	955
11	Badan-garh ...	709	4	713	Ját community ...	Ját ..	1,506
12	Badávali ...	78	71	149	Musalman com- munity.	Malakána ...	448
13	Bahtá ...	882	112	994	Sardár Sinh, Dhá- sar, of Sahár.	Gaurua	1,912
14	Bájana ...	55	...	55	Bhakt Kunwar ...	Ját	364

8. *Akbar-pur*—On the Delhi road. In the mutiny the zamindárs plundered the travellers on the highway and attacked the Jádons of Semri, in which affair they lost two men. For this, the jama of one year was raised to half as much again. Since the feud with the men of Semri the people of Akbar-pur have a melá of their own every year. Chait sudi 8, instead of going there, as before. Part of the village has been purchased by Sáh Mádhuri Saran, Jama Rs. 2,700. Five lumberdárs, Hukabandi school. By the roadside is a large and very deep báiá approached by a flight of 76 steps, once cased with stone, which has now been almost all stripped off and applied by the villagers to other purposes. Immediately adjoining, are the ruins of a mosque and tomb, and masonry tank 12 bighas in extent. The boundary walls of the latter are now for the most part broken down, and of the eight kiosques that crowned the extremities of the gháts only one remains. These extensive works are said to have been constructed some two centuries ago by a converted Thákur named Dhakmal. A rájbaha of the Agra Canal passes through the village lands, and a rest-house is being built at the point where it crosses the high-road.

9. *Alwái*—On the Chhátá and Gobardhan road. Temple of Rádhá-ballaph. Jama Rs. 1,150. Two lumberjárás.

10. *Astoli*.—On the Jait and Sher-garh road. Bought by the present zamindár from the Gújars. Jama Rs. 1,188.

11. *Badan-garh*.—So called after Thákur Badan Sinh of Sahár. Jama Rs. 2,550. Six lumberdárs.

12. *Badávali*, now in two maháls, of 5 biswas and 15 biswas respectively, was muáfi till 1836. A dhák rakhyá 62 bighas in extent. Jama Rs. 470.

13. *Bahta*—On the Jamuná. The village passed first from the Gaurua proprietors through a Káyanth mortgage to a Baníya of Sher-garh, who has still three biswas, while seven are held by Mewáris and ten by Sardár Sinh. There is a báz of fruit trees. Jama Rs. 2,131.

14. *Bájana*.—The old zamindárs were Gaurua Báchhals. After changing hands several times, the estate was sold in 1856 to Fatih Kunwar and Bhakt Kunwar, daughters of Rájá Nám Sinh of Bikanir. Jama Rs. 425.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
15	Bajhera ...	785	27	782	Gújar community,	Gújar ...	1,263
16	Barahra ...	399	...	399	Muhr-pál, Bráhmán	Gaurua (Bá-chhal.)	1,290
17	Baroli ...	503	4	507	Thákur communi-ty.	Gaurua ...	756
18	Barsána ...	2,598	182	2,780	Heirs of Lálá Babú	Gaurua ...	2,140
19	Basal (Sher-garh,) ...	286	5	271	Ráni Sáhíb Kunwar.	Gújar ...	1,367
20	Basai (Great) ...	611	...	611	Madan Gopál, Ká-yath.	Bráhmán ...	695
21	Basai (Little) ...	167	...	167	Muna Lal, mort-gagee.	Gaurua ...	726

15. *Bajhera*.—On the Jait and Sahár road. Was given by Alá-ud-din to a fraternity of Jogis, of whose descendants a moiety, in the time of Muhammad Sháh, became converted to Muhammadanism. Nearly half the estate is now owned by Gújars. There is a dharin-sáls, also two small temples, and a rakhya of chhonkar trees.

16. *Barahra*.—Nine biswas were sold by the Gauruas to one of the Gosains of the temple of Rádhá Ballabh at Brindá-ban, and his widow has mortgaged the property to Muhr Pál, Kayath. A temple of Rás Bihári, which stands on the verge of the low lands, has 58 bighas attached to it, and is all subordinate to the temple of Syám Sundar at Brindá-ban. The rakhya on the road from Sehi to Sakraya, is a pleasant and picturesque spot, but unfortunately the nearest drinking water is a mile away; for though there is a well (with a piyao) in the rakhya itself, by the roadside, the water has lately become brackish. The trees are chiefly chhonkar, remja and babúl. Jama Rs. 905. Two lumberdárs.

17. *Bároli*.—Two thoks of ten biswas each. Jama Rs. 775. Three lumberdárs. In the mutiny the villagers joined in the attack on Semri, and were in turn attacked by Chhátá and Semri combined.

18. *Barsána*.—See page 288. Jama Rs. 3,109. Halkabandi school, police station, and district post-office.

19. *Basai by Sher-garh*.—On the Kosi and Sher-garh road, and adjoining the Jamuná. One of the confiscated Gújar villages. A small rakhya of babúl and chhonkar trees. The name 'Basái,' so common in this district, corresponds precisely to the English 'Thorp.'

20. *Basai (Great)*.—The original proprietors were Gaurua Báchhals, who now own only eight biswas, and Káyaths the other 12. Jama Rs. 1,051.

21. *Basai (Little)*.—On the Jamuná. A muáft village granted by Mádho Ráo Sindhia and confirmed by order of 1848 in favour of the Pujáris of the temple of Atal Bihári. The Gaurua zamindárs have sold three biswas to Bráhmans and mortgaged other 15 to the muáft lárs. For the last ten years the river has been retreating, and the land recovered from its bed now amounts to 364 acres, which have been constituted into a separate muhál and assigned to Daya Rám, a Thákur of Mathurá. The village zamindárs, who had the offer of the land when the increment first began, and then declined it, now bitterly regret their error of judgment, as the estate is yearly increasing in value.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
22	Bázid-pur ...	88	...	88	Bráhmaṇ community.	Bráhmaṇ (Sañádh.)	206
23	Bhadával ...	1,119	11	1,130	Ahivási community.	Ahivási ...	1,824
24	Bharáuli ...	462	33	495	Sukhvási Lal, and brother, Dhúsars,	Gújar ...	1,574
25	Bharna (Great)...	1,459	35	1,494	Ahivási community.	Ahivási ...	2,179
26	Bharna (Little)...	1,954	38	1,992	Ahivási community.	Ahivási ...	2,900
27	Bharokar ...	479	21	495	Hirá Sinh, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,130
28	Bhartiya ...	364	9	373	Lachhman Sinh, Kachhwáhá.	Gaurua (Báchchal).	535
29	Bhau-gánw ...	563	12	575	Sáh Mádhuri Saran,	Gaurua ...	869

22. *Bázid-pur*.—On the Jamuná. Jama Rs. 199. Two lumberdárs.

23. *Bhadával*.—This was a muáfi grant on the part of Daulat Rao Sindhia to Diwán Chanpá Rám, but was resumed by Government in the time of his son Sarb-Sukh, and the jama fixed at Rs. 2,869. Dhir Sarwar, the ancestor of the Bajrávat clan of Ahivásis, and sole zamindár, gave 16 biswas to the Sañádhs, his purohita. Of the four biswas that he retained, part has passed out of the hands of his descendants. There are eleven lumberdárs. A bridge here on the Agra Canal and first-class rest-house.

24. *Bharáuli*.—On the Chhátá and Sher-garh road. The original Gújar proprietors sold or mortgaged almost all their estate to Rám Bakhsh, Dhúsar, whose sons are the present proprietors. Jama Rs. 1,678. Two lumberdárs. Shrine of Gopál Ji. A small rakhya of pasendu trees.

25. *Bharna (Great)*.—More commonly called *Marna* in supposed allusion to a demon 'slain' by Krishna. Jama Rs. 3,656. Fourteen lumberdárs. In the mutiny the people being members of the Jadon *guhár*, or confederacy, joined the Jádons in their fight with the Gauruas. Three temples and two tanks called Natha and Murári.

26. *Bharna (Little)*.—Or, as best known by the people, *Marna Lohra*. On the Agra Canal, with a bridge. Jama Rs. 4,800. Twelve lumberdárs. The melá of the Phál dol is held here Chart badi 2, near a pond called the Suraj-kund, where is an old temple of Suraj Náráyan, re-founded by Rúp Rám, the Kátára. This kund has two masonry gháts; there is another called Karahia. Halkatandi school.

27. *Bharokar*, in the mutiny joined the Kámar guhár in an attack on Nand-gánw. Jama Rs. 1,736. Five lumberdárs.

28. *Bhartiya*.—The original zamindárs were Gaurua Báchhals of 15 biswas and Sañádhs of five biswas; but the whole estate was bought for Rs. 850 by Saladeva Sinh, Gaurua Kachhwáhá, of Briudá-ban, whose son is the present proprietor. Jama Rs. 750.

29. *Bhau-gánw*.—On the Jamuná and liable to diluvion. It is divided into two thoks of ten biswas each. Part has been sold and other part mortgaged to the Sáh. Present jama Rs. 1,131. Nand-ghát with its temple of Nand Rái, is one of the stations in the Ban-játra, and the name is popularly derived from the terror (*bhag*) felt by the inhabitants when Nanda was swept away by the flood while bathing. More probably the Bhau in Bhau-gánw referred originally to Bhava, i.e., Mahadeva and the Nand in Nand-ghát to Mahadev's bull, Nándi.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No	Name.	Population.			Principal proprie- tors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal- man	Total.			
30	Bijwári ...	728	...	728	Ahivási commu- nity.	Ahivási ...	632
31	Bilonda ...	28	140	168	Sukhvási Lál, Dhú- sar.	Malakána ...	418
32	Bilothi ...	379	...	379	Sukhdeva Dás and Hari Deva Dás.	Mina ...	545
33	Chaksauli ...	503	...	503	½ Bráhmán (Gaur) ½ Jádón.	Jádón ..	1,142
34	Chamar-garhi ...	70	...	70	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Dhímar ...	226
35	Chaumuhá ...	2,648	219	2,867	Gosáin Giridhári,	Gaurua ..	4,970

30. *Bijwári*.—Seven lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,125.

31. *Bilonda*.—The old zamindárs were Gaurua Malakáns. Their estate passed in 1847 to Kanhaiya Lál, Dhúsar, who sold it to Lachhman Sinh, Bráhmán, of Gobardhan, for Rs. 200, and he re-sold it, in 1860, for Rs. 991, to Sukhvási Lál and Bihári Lál, brothers of Kanhaiya Lál. Jama Rs. 700.

32. *Bilothi*.—On the Mathurá and Delhi road. This was a grant from Nawáb Najaf Khán to one Premnand, to whose grandsons, Bál-mukund and Bihári Lál, it was confirmed in 1819. In 1827 they sold the property for Rs. 5,600 to Sukh-deva Dás, and Baladeva Dás; the latter being now succeeded by his son Harideva Dás.

33. *Chaksauli*.—At the foot of the Barsána hill, and separated from that town by the narrow pass called the 'Sánkari khor.' Two melás are held here, Bhádón sudi 9 and 13, at the Mor-kutti, one of the pavilions on the ridge overlooking the gorge. The *rakhya* adjoins the Gahrvar-ban, which is accounted part of Mán-pur, and with it extends over an area of all but 108 bighas, exclusive of the hill-side, which also is densely wooded, being covered from top to bottom with *dho* trees. These latter, however, are always perfectly bare of foliage except during the rains. In the *rakhya* is the Bihár-kund, a natural pond; and also a masonry tank, four acres in extent, known as the Dohani-kund, which is at all seasons of the year quite dry, and must have been so for a great length of time, as it is filled with large *kadam* trees, some of which would seem to be not less than a hundred years old. The quaint seclusion of this spacious stone basin, buried in the midst of the green woods, with the ruined courts and palaces of Barsána, though out of sight, almost within a stone's throw, and the range of rocks in the back-ground, with some temple or pavilion crowning each prominent peak, renders the spot one of the most pleasant and picturesque that can be found in the district. The building on the western ridge is the Mán-Mandir, on the eastern the Bilás-Mandir, while those on the central range are the Mor-kutti, the Dán-Mandir and the temples of Lálí Ji. There are 2 thoks of 10 biswas each, four lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,425.

34. *Chamar-garhi*.—The original zamindárs were Gájars, but after being farmed by different people for many years, the estate was at last purchased by the widow of the Lálá Bábú in 1864. Jama Rs. 350.

35. *Chaumuhá*.—See page 353. Halkabandi school. Customs bungalow.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhātā Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musal man.	Total.			
36	Chhātā ...	5,654	1,070	6,724	Jāt community ...	Jāt and Jādon.	...
37	Dāhrolī ...	607	...	607	Ahivāsī community.	Ahivāsī ...	931
38	Dalota ...	790	...	790	Thākur community.	Gaurua (Bāchhal).	1,085
39	Daraulī ...	558	1	559	Jādon community.	Jādon ...	848
40	Deva-pura ...	445	...	445	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	710
41	Dhīmari ...	409	16	425	Heirs of Lālā Bābū	Gūjar ...	827
42	Dibhālā ...	523	11	534	Gūjar community,	Ditto ...	1,534
43	Gāngrolī ...	543	...	543	...	Gaurua (Bāchhal).	1,185.

36. *Chhātā*.—See page 353. Tahsīlī, police station, post office, tahsīlī school, girls' school, road bungalow available as a rest-house.

37. *Dāhrolī*.—Two thoks of three biswas each. Three lumberdārs. Jama Rs. 1,090. The Phūl-dol melā is kept Chait badi pariwā. In the mutiny the Ahivāsī proprietors, who belong to the Jādon gūhār, joined that confederacy in their attack on the Gauruas of Pālī.

38. *Dalota*.—Jama Rs. 1,150. Six lumberdārs. Halkabandī school.

39. *Daraulī*.—Two thoks. Three lumberdārs. Jama Rs. 1,084. Two temples of Rādhā Krishan and Rām Lālā, and a large tank.

40. *Deva-pura*.—Two thoks. Three lumberdārs. Jama Rs. 1,020. A temple of Gopāl and a Kachahri, built by Mukham Singh, the ancestor of the present Jādon proprietors.

41. *Dhīmari*, near the Jamunā, was sold by the old Gūjar proprietors in 1809 A. D. to the Lālā Bābū. The jama is now Rs. 1,050. After the mutiny, in which the villagers had taken part with their brother Gūjars at Ujhānī, three of the ringleaders were hanged. There are two ponds and groves of kadamb trees, called Bhūkhan-ban and Niwār-ban, both visited in the Banjātra. In Bhūkhan ban, which is close under Bāzīlpur, there are only a few straggling trees, labera, pīla, ber and pāpri. Niwār-ban, close to Gulālūr, is better wooded, with a small kadamb-khaudi, and a thicket of pīla trees with a Bairāgi's cell under a fine imli. The pond in the centre is much frequented by water-fowl and peacocks, which give it the usual picturesque aspect of Braj scenery.

42. *Dibhālā*.—Three lumberdārs. Jama Rs. 950. On the hill range which reaches from Unchā-gāuw and Barsana to Nāhra. On the ridge is a round tower built by the villagers in the mutiny as a stronghold for resort in case of an attack from the Mewāti. The Ratu-kund, a station in the Banjātra, lies at the back of the hill beyond a small temple and watch-tower built in earlier times to command the pass. Near the village is another pond, called Sūraj-kund, with a stone *chhattī* of some size, erected about thirty years ago in memory of one of the Gūjar zamindārs by name Banjit.

43. *Gāngrolī*.—Given at the end of last century by Mādho Rāo Sindhiā to Mohan Dās, Bairāgi, and confirmed in 1836 to Rām Ratu, still living for the use of the temple of Rādhā-kānt at Brindā-ban. The zamindārs, who are Gaurua Bāchhals, are allowed Rs. 7-8-0 per cent. on the muāfīdār's rental. There is also a jama of Rs. 18 on land lately recovered from the river.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
44	Garhi ...	645	...	645	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Gújar ...	234
45	Ghází-pur ...	427	3	430	Jádón and Bráhmán community.	Jádón ..	634
46	Gora ...	46	...	46	Udhá, Malakána,	Gaurua (Báchhal).	624
47	Gulái-pur ...	203	59	262	Heirs of Lálá Bábú	Gújar ...	1,417
48	Háthiya ...	1,329	796	2,125	Ditto ...	Mewáti ...	4,466
49	Hazára ...	430	22	452	Káyath mortgag- gee, Bráhmán mortgagors.	Máli ...	689
50	Husaini ...	461	49	450	Ráni Sáhíb Kun- war.	Gújar ...	1,794

44. *Garhi*.—Sold in 1812 A.D. to the Lálá Bábú for Rs. 500. The yearly jama is now Rs. 1,460. In the mutiny five of the Gújar community were hanged.

45. *Ghází-pur* by Barsana. —Two thoks of ten biswas each; owned, the one by Bráhmans, the other by Jádons. Jama Rs. 650. Five lumbordárs. Here is the sacred pond of Prema Sarovar, faced with stone by Rúp Rám, Katára; with three temples dedicated to Kishori Bal-labh, Lalitá Mohan and Gopál Jí, the two latter being foundations of Rúp Rám's. Opposite is a walled garden with a handsome stone chattri in memory of his brother Hem-ráj. In the adjoining *rakhya* is celebrated the Rás Lílá, Bhádón sudi 12.

46. *Gora*.—The old Báchhal zamindárs have sold 13½ biswas to Udhá, Malakána, of Undi, and Mohan Dás, Bairági, of Brindá-ban. There is a *rakhya* of chhonkar trees. Jama Rs. 600. Three lumbordárs.

47. *Guldápur*, on the Jamuná. Sold by the Gújars to the Lálá Bábú. The jama, which used to be included with that of Garhi, is now Rs. 900.

48. *Háthiya*.—Given with Rúp-nagar in 1792 A.D. by Ráo Sindhia, to Kripá Sankar Jotishi, and sold by his heir Gobind Lál. for Rs. 24,000 to the Lálá Bábú in 1814, who appropriated it to the use of his temple of Krishna Chandramá at Brindá-ban. After his death, in 1829, it was confirmed to his son Sri Náráyan. Of the zamindári, Gauruas had 14 biswas, Jádons and Bráhmans five, and Mewáti one, and they received a malikána of 5 per cent. on the muáfídar's rental; but now 17½ biswas have passed into the hands of the Lálá Bábú's heirs. There is a large mango grove, and a new mosque.

49. *Hazára* on the Jamuná, was held muáfí by one Chánd Siromani, and afterwards farmed by his chela Charan Dás, whose heirs have mortgaged it to Laraiti Lál, Káyath. Jama Rs. 960. The old zamindárs were Báchhals. There are two bághs.

50. *Husaini*, on the Kosi and Sher-garh road, derives its name from a Saiyid's dargáh. A *rakhya* of kadamb trees. Jama Rs. 1,590. One of the confiscated Gújar villages.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
51	Jait-pur ...	441	...	441	Thákur community	Gaurua (Báchhal).	373
52	Jamál-pur ...	15	...	15	Dhúsara ...	Garariya	950
53	Jatwári ...	790	28	818	Ráni Sáhíb Kunwar.	Gújar ...	1,496
54	Jávali ...	534	4	538	Gaurua (Báchhal),	Gaurua and Bráhma.	798
55	Kájiroth ...	390	25	415	Rájputs ...	Gaurua (Báchhal).	814
56	Kamai ...	2,416	49	2,464	Jádon community	Jádon ...	3,979

51. *Jait-pur*, on the Jamuná. Jama Rs. 776. Four lumberdárs. For the last five years the river has been making a dead set at the village, washing away its land to Bijauli and Bhadraban on the opposite bank. Two hundred and twenty-five bighas have been swept off these last rains, and the area, which in 1837 was 583 acres, is now reduced to 244; each of the two *thoks* (Sri Rám and Jag-rúp) having suffered about equally. A house or two has already disappeared, and there is scarcely a hope that any of the remainder will outlast another year. The people, however, so soon to be rendered homeless and landless, are making no provision against the impending calamity; probably in the hope that the wayward stream may yet relent and spare them by returning to its original channel. In default of such an event, they will be much to be pitied; for with their land, they lose also their social status, and even if they are able to rent fields in the adjoining villages, it can only be as tenants-at-will.

52. *Jamál-pur*, in Akbar's time, was part of the *jágir* of Nawáb Fatih Khán and Rahmat Khán, and was called Fatih-pur. The Dhúsar zamindárs live at Sahár. Three *thoks*. Five lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,300. There is a *kudamb-khandi* and a pond called Chandan-kund.

53. *Jatwári*.—Four *biswas* were sold by the Gújars before the mutiny to Lachman Dás, Baniya, Sítá Rám, Ahir, and some Bráhmans, and after the mutiny the other 16 *biswas* were conferred on Rája Gobind Sini, who has also bought for Rs. 1,190, the baniya's $\frac{1}{4}$ *biswá*. Jama Rs. 1,412. There is a mango grove.

54. *Jávali*.—A *muáf* grant of Aurangzeb's, confirmed by Sindhia, and subsequently by the English Government. The present Bairági *muáf*dárs are Lachman Dás, Bhagawan Dás, and Baladeva Dás. Jama Rs. 1,050. Four *thoks*.

55. *Kájiroth*. On the Jamuná. Given by the old Báchhal zamindárs to their purohits, Sanádhis; whose descendants have gradually transferred all but one *biswá* held by Gopál, Sanádhi, to Rájputs. These latter, about the year 1800 A. D., divided the village into two *thoks* called Káulha and Harsukh. There are three lumberdárs. Jama Rs. 1,126. A temple of Sítá Rám, and a tree called Akhai-bat are visited in the Ban-játra.

56. *Kamai*.—In the mutiny three of the Jádon zamindárs were killed fighting with their clansmen against the Gauruas. There is an unusually substantial and commodious village school recently built, chiefly at the cost of the inhabitants. This is one of the stations in the Ban-játra, and the Rás Lílá is celebrated, Bhádon sudi 6. The *melá* of the Phúl-dél is also kept, Chait badi 5, but this latter is of modern institution. There are four small temples and three sacred ponds called Hari-kund, Baladeva-kund and Piri-pokhar. The jama is Rs. 5,383. Fourteen lumberdárs.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
57	Kurahla ...	1,587	28	1,615	Heirs of Lálá Bábú	Jádon ...	1,540
58	Karáhri ...	176	29	205	Ráni Sáhíib Kunwar.	Gújar ...	718
59	Khaira ...	2,927	100	3,027	Ahivási communi-ty.	Ahivási ...	4,054
60	Khán-pur ...	776	9	785	Ahivási communi-ty.	Ahivási ...	1,046
61	Khandwái ...	161	...	161	Nathu Lál, Dhú-sar, of Sahár.	Gújar ...	412
62	Khursi ...	164	...	164	Ráni Sáhíib Kunwar.	Gújar ...	272

57. *Kurahla* was sold by the Jádon in 1811 A. D. to the Lálá Bábú for Rs. 300. The yearly jama is Rs. 1,900. There is a very extensive kadamb-khandi upwards of 460 bighas in area with a pond called Krishan-kund or Lalitá-kund, covering more than 11 bighas, where the Rís Lílá is celebrated, Bhádon sudi 7. On its margin is a *jhálá* with high and substantial masonry pillars, where, on feast-days, two little boys, dressed to personate Rádhá and Krishna, are seated and swung. Of three temples, only the one dedicated to Rádhá Raman is of masonry construction. The school has an attendance of thirty-one boys, all of whom are Bráhmans and Baniyas with the exception of only two Jádon -one of them, too, coming from the next village, Ajnók—thus showing that the agricultural community in the present generation are no wiser than their fathers, who parted with the whole of their birthright to the Lálá Bábú for about the value of a single field.

58. *Karahri*, till 1836, used to be assessed with Pingari. The separate jama is now Rs. 535.

59. *Khaira* consists of 18 biswas only, the other two having been cut off about 150 years ago to form the village of Nagariya in the Kosi pargana. The name Khaira is derived from the *Khádira-ban*, where is a pond called Krishan-kund, the scene of an annual melá. It has two masonry gháts and the same Rája of Bardwan, who constructed the Pán Sarovar at Nandganw, had commenced facing the whole of it with stone, but the work was stopped almost at its beginning by his death. On its margin is a temple of Baladeva with rather a handsome chattri in memory of one Rúp Rám, Bohra, built by his widow 30 or 40 years ago. Another temple with the title of Gopi-náth, is said to have been founded by the famous Todar Mall of Akbar's time. Three small shrines are dedicated respectively to Madan Mohan, Darsan Bihári, and Maháprabhu, and two other ponds bear the names of Bhawáni and Chintá-khori. There are several large but ruinous brick houses in the village; the largest built by a Bráhman in the service of Rája Jawáhir Sinh of Bharatpur. There is a halkabandi school, and a weekly market on Saturday.

60. *Khán-pur*.—On the Agra Canal. Two thoks. Five lumberdárs. Jama Rs 1,800. There is a pond called Syám-kund with a temple of Bihári Ji, near which the Phul-dol is held, Phálgun sudi 12, and is attended by all the people of the five or six adjoining villages. As in most places where there is a considerable Ahivási population, there are several large brick-built houses.

61. *Khandwái*.—On the Kosi and Sher-garh road. After being mortgaged for some years, the whole village has now been transferred outright—7½ biswas to Januná Dás, 12½ to Nathu Lál, Dhúsar. Jama Rs. 497. A garden of mango and jánan trees.

62. *Khursi*.—On the Chhátá and Sher-gárh road. One of the confiscated Gújar villages. Jama Rs. 493.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
63	Konkera ...	449	...	449	Ját community ...	Ját (Kuntel)	338
64	Lahrwári ...	245	...	245	Gújar community	Gújar ...	573
65	Lár-pur ...	892	37	929	Kalua, Gújar ...	Gújar ..	1,680
66	Lodhauri ...	215	...	215	Jádón community	Jádón ...	410
67	Mahrána ...	2,336	103	2,439	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,732
68	Mai ...	337	8	345	Godha, Gaurua...	G a u r u a (Báchhal).	1,400
69	Mandoi ...	214	...	214	Bunche Lal, Bráhma- man.	Jádón ...	452
70	Mángroli ...	118	...	118	Nathu Lal, Dhú- sar, of Sahár.	G a u r u a (Báchhal).	368
71	Mán-pur ...	210	7	217	Rájput community	R á j p u t (Kachh- wáhá).	481

63. *Konkera*.—Some Kuntel Játs from Sonkh were settled here by Thákúr Badan Sinh, and held the village first as a jágir, but were afterwards constituted by Nizám Khán joint zamindárs with the former Thákúr proprietors. • **Jama Rs. 550.** Three lumberdárs.

64. *Lahrwári*.—Some 500 years ago the then Gújar proprietor had four sons, Bhúm, Patam, Rasmal and Shera, who divided the village into as many thoks of five biswas each. About the year 1700 A. D., Shera's descendants removed to Mahá-ban, and their lands were divided between the three other thoks. **Jama Rs. 750.** Three lumberdárs.

65. *Lár pur*.—Two thoks, of ten biswas each, called Purbaiya and Pachhaiya, the latter subdivided into four bahris, the former into two, called Ganga Bishan (mortgaged in 1860 for Rs. 1,000) and Kalua. **Jama Rs. 1,949.** Eight lumberdárs. In the mutiny the villagers, joining the Báchhals and other Gauruas against the Jádons, lost two men. A small temple of Bihári Jí built about a century and a-half ago.

66.—*Lodhauri*.—A rakhya of kadamb trees with a pond called Lalitá-kund. **Jama Rs. 650.** Three lumberdárs.

67. *Mahrána* belongs to the Kámar confederacy. A rakhya of chhonkar trees. **Jama Rs. 3,300.** Seven thoks. Fourteen lumberdárs.

68. *Mai*—Part sold and part mortgaged to Baijnáth and Kunj Bihári Lal, Káyaths, of Brindá-ban, and Godha, one of the original Báchhal proprietors. **Jama Rs. 1,063.** Three lumberdárs. Here is an extensive karil jungle with a piyao on the road from Agrayala to Sehi.

69. *Mandoi*.—**Jama Rs. 558.** Three lumberdárs. Part has been sold to Bráhmans. A bég, planted by Jusi, Rásdhári, and a pond called Achárya-kund.

71. *Mán-pur* by Barsáua.—Here is the temple called Mán-mandir, lately restored by Rám Dayál of Khúrja, where the Mán-dilá is held Bhádon sudi 12, and Gahvar ban and kund (see page 291). **Jama Rs. 270.**

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
	Náhra ...	241	7	248	Thákur community.	Gaurua (Jasávat).	815
73	Nand-gánw ...	3,887	129	4,016	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Ját ...	5,236
74	Nari ...	1,462	80	1,492	Jádons and Sanádhs.	Jádon ...	2,020
75	Nau-gáma ...	729	1,306	2,035	Syám Sundar, Dhúsar.	Malakána,	3,584
76	Páli ...	674	10	684	Jádon community.	Jádon ...	690
77	Parkham ...	725	21	746	Gújar community.	Gújar ...	1,616
78	Parsoli ...	746	...	746	Chaudhari of Rál.	Gaurua ...	1,408

72. *Náhra*.—At the end of the Barsána ridge. In 1839 the Jasávat zamindárs mortgaged their estate for Rs. 425, and some years later the sole surviving mortgagee, Gunga-dhar, sold his interest for the same sum to Bhoja, baniya. This latter was murdered in 1862 by Nand-kishor and Bani Sinh, Bráhmans, hereditary purohits of the old Jasávat family. Bhoja's three sons are now absolute proprietors of the whole village, but the feud continues, and an affray having occurred this year (1873) when they happened to meet at a melá at Barsána, all parties have been bound over to keep the peace: before the twelvemonths had elapsed they forfeited their recognizances. The jama is Rs. 448. There is a rakhya of kadamb trees.

73. *Nand-gánw*.—See page 291.

74. *Nari* was the jágir of a Begam till 1830, in which year it was first assessed. The jama is now Rs. 2,650. There are four thoks, each subdivided into two pattis, and eight lumberdárs. A halkabandi school, two small temples, and three ponds called Bisákhá-kund, Súraj-kund and Baladeva-kund. On the margin of the last is a small two-towered temple with a partially defaced inscription over the door of the cella, recording its erection in the Sambat year 1790, by Daya Ram, baniya, the Diwán of Thákur Badan Sinh of Bharatpur, in honor of Baladeva Ji. Here is a bridge over the canal distributary.

75. *Nau-gáma*.—(i. e., New-ton) On the Jait and Sher-garh road, bought at auction from the Báchhal Malakána zamindárs in 1840 by Shiw Saháy, Dhúsar, whose son, Syám Sundar Dás, is the present proprietor. A temple of Mall Bihári, built a century and a half ago. Two bághs. Jama Rs. 4,976. This village was part of Tárolí, till separated by those of the zamindárs who adopted the faith of Islam. In a small jungle of hingot, chhonkar and karil, about a mile away on the road to Sehi, are some fine large khirni trees, apparently growing wild, which is unusual.

76. *Páli* on the Chhátá and Gobar-dhan road: was held muáfi by Mahant Pitámbar Dás and his chela Salagrám till 1839, when it was settled with Mahant Bál Mukund at Rs. 950. The whole has now been sold to Jádons and others. A temple of Murli Manohar and a rakhya of karil and chhonkar trees.

77. *Parkham* was in the Mathurá pargana till 1834. There are three thoks, called Bráhma-nán 5 biswas, Bakhshi 7½, and Chúra 7½ biswas. The jama is Rs. 1,500. Seven lumberdárs. There are four ponds called Pokhar, Pokhar Kalan, Kund, and Samokhar.

78. *Parsoli*, on the Jait and Sher-garh road, was first put up to auction in 1840, and sold for Rs. 1,031, but the purchaser fell into arrears and absconded; and, after being farmed for some years, the estate was conferred on Chaudhari Daulat Sinh. Jama Rs. 1,139. There is a pond called Manasá-kund, where a melá is held Bhádon sudi 6.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhātā Parganā—(continued).

No.	Name	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Bindūs.	Musalman.	Total.			
92	Sanket ...	965	17	982	Heirs of Lālā Bābū.	Jādon ...	1,174
93	Sānkhi ...	782	7	789	Jādon community,	Jadon ...	1,607
94	Sawāl ...	1,241	20	1,261	Gōjār community,	Gūjār ...	2,276
95	Sehi ...	9,343	206	2,549	Temple of Rangji,	Gaurua (Bāchhal).	4,936
96	Semri ...	1,131	38	1,169	Jādon community,	Jādon ...	2,750

92. *Sanket*.—‘The place of assignation,’ between Nand-gānw and Barsāna, was sold in 1812 for Rs. 301 to the Lālā Bābū. The jama is now Rs. 1,642. There is a large temple dedicated to Rādhā Rāman, which was built by Rūp Rām, of Barsāna. It is in precisely the same style as the one at Nand-gānw, though on rather a smaller scale. The exterior has an imposing appearance, and is visible from a considerable distance, but there is nothing worth seeing inside, the workmanship being of a clumsy description, and the whole of the cloistered court-yard crowded with the meanest hovels. There is, however, a pretty view from the top of the walls. The original shrine, which Rūp Rām restored, is ascribed to Todar Mall, Akbar’s famous minister. The little temple of Bihārī (otherwise called Sija Mahal), built by a Rājā of Bardwān, seems to be accounted much more sacred. It stands in a walled garden, all overgrown with *hūs* jungle, in which is a high *jhulā* with several *baithaks* and other holy spots marked by inscribed commemorative tablets set up by one of Sindhia’s Generals (as at Paitha and other places in the neighbourhood) in *Sāmbat* 1885. It is here, on the occasion of any *jātra*, that the spectacle of Krishna’s marriage is represented as a scene in the Rās Līlā. The Krishan-kund is a large sheet of water, fifty yards square, with masonry steps on one of its sides. In the village are three large and handsome dwelling-houses, built in the reign of Sūraj Mall, by one of his officials, Jauhari Mall of Fatihabad, and said to have been reduced to their present ruinous condition by the succeeding occupant of the Bharat-pur throne, the Rājā Jawāhir Sinh. The Vihvala-kund is a few hundred yards from the village on the road to Karahla. It is of stone, and has on its margin a temple of Devi, built by a Mahārājā of Gwalior. The Doman-ban is within the boundaries of Nand-gānw, but is about the same distance from that town as it is from Bijwāri and Sanket. It is a very pretty spot, of the same character as Pisāya, and of considerable extent; the name being always explained to mean ‘the double wood,’ as if a corruption of *do van*. At either extremity is a large pond embosomed in the trees, the one called Pūran-māsi, ‘the full moon,’ the other Runkki jhundki, ‘jingle jingle.’ A few fields beyond is the Kamāl-pur grove.

93. *Sānkhi*, on the Chhātā and Gobardhan road. The Rās Līlā is kept here on the full moon of Bhādon. Jama, Rs. 1,650. Two thoks.

94. *Sawāl*, on the Jait and Sahār road. Jama Rs. 2,594. Four thoks. Seven lumberdārs. A *arkhya* of *kudamb* trees.

95. *Sehi*.—See page 356.

96. *Semri*, on the Delhi road, was part of the jāgīr of the Begam Sāhib till 1836. The jama is now Rs. 2,930. Eleven lumberdārs. About 100 years ago two hamlets were formed, Birja and Devi Sinh, and somewhat later a third, Garhi Dadhi. In the mutiny the Jādon zamindārs and their clansmen had a pitched battle with the Gauruas. The word *semri* is corruption of *Syāmalā-ki*, with reference to the ancient shrine of Devi who has *Syāmalā* for one of her names (com-

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús	Musalman.	Total.			
97	Senwa ...	1,413	6	1,419	Bráhmén community.	Bráhmaṇ (Sauádh.)	1,499
98	Sher-garh ...	3,560	1,741	5,301	Seth Raghunáth Dás	Pathán ...	3,424
99	Siháwa ...	1,157	15	1,172	Bihári Lál, Bráhmán.	Gaurua (Báchhal).	1,601
100	Siyárá ...	1,075	10	1,085	Bholánáth, Bráhmán, mortgagee.	Gaurua (Báchhal.)	1,827

pare *simika*, 'an ant-hill,' for *syamika*) The present temple is a small modern building, with nothing at all noteworthy about it. It stands on the margin of a fine large piece of water, and in connection with it are two small *dharma-dás*, lately built by pilgrims from Agra. A much larger building for the same purpose was commenced by a baniya before the mutiny, but the work was stopped by his death. The offerings ordinarily amount to at least Rs. 2,000 a year, and are enjoyed in turn by three groups of shareholders, *viz.*, the zamindárs of Senri old village, of Birja-kana-gara and of Devi Sinh-ka-nagara, to each of whom a turn comes every third year. They had always spent the whole of the money on their own private uses, but at my suggestion they all agreed to give an annual sum of Rs. 150 to expend on conservancy during the fair time and on local improvements. The first work to have been taken in hand was the completion of the baniya's rest-house. I estimated the cost at Rs. 1,050 and had begun to collect bricks and stone and mortar, when my transfer from the district took place, and the project immediately fell through. If the work had once been started, the pilgrims would have gladly contributed to it; and in addition to the *dharma-dás*, which was of very substantial construction, so far as it had gone, there would soon have been a masonry ghát to the pond, and a plantation of trees round about the temple. But *Dis aliter visum est*. The principal fair begins on the new moon of Chait, and lasts for nine days. On the 1st there is a very large gathering at a rival shrine of the same goddess at Sanchault; but during all the remainder of the time the Agra and Delhi road is crowded day and night with foot passengers and vehicles of every description. Fortunately none of the visitors for religious purposes stay more than a few hours; and thus, though it is the most popular metá in the whole district, there is never any very great crowd at any one particular time, for as one set of people comes, another goes. Special days are even assigned to particular castes and localities; thus the Agra people have one day, the Játans of the neighbourhood another, the Gauruas a third, and so on. The second fair is held on the Akh-tij, the third day of the bright fortnight of Baisákh.

97. *Senwa*.—Four thoks separately assessed; 18 lumberdára; jama, Rs. 2,400. A sacred pond, called *Syam-kund*, indicates the probable derivation of the name. A halkabandi school.

98. *Sher-garh*.—See page 358.

99. *Sihána*, on the Jait and Sahár road. Given by Mádhó Rao Sindhia to Mahant Gobardhan Dás for the use of the temple of Itasik Bihári Lál at Bindaban and confirmed in 1841 to his heir, Nirottam Dás, who has now been succeeded by Mahant Bannuál Saram. Jama, Rs. 2,200. A mango orchard and a large brick house bear the name of Rám Bal, a Bharat-pur Ját, who lived about two centuries ago. Two ponds are called respectively Kahir-Ságar and Dhaukhar. A halkabandi school.

100. *Siyára*, on the Jamuná, which is crossed by a ferry, was held muáf by Bihári Lál, Bráhmán, till his death in 1841, when it was first assessed. The present jama is Rs. 1,474. Five lumberdára. There are two thoks of ten biswas each, called Siyára Khás and Nazaila; the former is still held by the old Báchhal zamindárs; the latter has been partly sold to Seth Roshan Lál, and the remainder mortgaged for Rs. 1,150 to Bholánáth, Bráhmán. A báh of Randhir, Thákur. There are three small temples, one built by Mádhó Rao Sindhia; and the Chir Ghát on the river bank is one of the most noted stations in the Ban-játra. The Phúl-dol is kept Phálgun sudi 11.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
101	Tárolí ...	3,170	228	3,398	Syám Sundar Dás and Durgá Prasád.	Gaurua (Báchhal.)	4,514
102	Tatárpur ...	253	...	253	Sundar Lál, Dhú-sar	Ahivási ...	608
103	Uba ...	373	...	373	Kishori Lál ...	Jádon ..	880
104	Ujhání ...	491	12	503	Ráni Sáhíab Kunwar.	Gújar ...	1,667
105	Umráo ...	584	30	614	Gújar, Káyath and Jádon community	Jádon ...	1,304

101. *Tárolí*, for *Tará-purí*, is a very extensive parish a little off the Jait and Sher-garh road. Having been put up to auction for arrears on the part of the old Bichhal zamindárs, it was first farmed for some years and eventually, in 1862, sold for Rs. 5,700 to Syám Sundar Dás and Har Nárayan, Dhúars, whose son and daughter had married. Har Nárayan's son sold his half for Rs. 15,000 to Bábu Durgá Prasád of Brindá-ban, and, in 1867, there was a complete separation of the two estates. *Jama*, Rs. 5,382. A halkabandi school. A market on Monday. There is an annual melá on the full moon of Kártik and the two preceding days in honour of one Swámi Báru Kábú, who is supposed to be particularly efficacious in the cure of skin diseases. In the village is a large temple dedicated to Kádha Gobind, recently built out of subscriptions collected by a Bairági, which has a front of carved stone; and there are several substantial shops and houses belonging to well-to-do bairiyas. The old zamindárs state that their ancestor came from Chitor some 700 years ago, and that they have borne the inferior title of Gauruas only of late years since some of their number adopted the practice of *kirao* or *kiraya*, that is, of marriage with the widow of a deceased elder brother.

103. *Uba*, on the Jamuná, was given by Mádhó Ráo Sindhia to Sesh Mall, Mísar, for *Sadávrat*, i. e., for the perpetual maintenance of a dole-house, and confirmed to his heirs for the same use in 1838. The muáfídár's *jama* is Rs. 875; the Government also receiving a *jama* of Rs. 130 for alluvial and resumed land. The zamindárs were originally Gantam Bráhmans of one moiety, Jádots of the other. Their dissensions first gave Kishori Lál a footing in the village, of which he took such good advantage that he now owns the whole of it, with the exception of a fractional part of one biswa. There is a temple of Baladeva, built by Rúp Rám of Barsána, where two annual fairs are held; the Phál-dol, Chait badi 5, and the Hmdol, Sáwan sudi 5. It stands on the edge of the high bank, and some 10 years ago the main stream of the Jamuná flowed immediately below it. It is attached to the temple of Gobind Jí at Brindá-ban, and the G-wan there makes the Pujári an allowance of Rs. 2 a month. There was a small muáf grant of 50 bighas, conferred by Sindhia but resumed at the last settlement, which had been made prior to the grant of the whole village to Sesh Mall. His present representatives, Sálagrám, Bansidhar and Bál Mukund commenced some years ago a temple of Baladeva and a large *Dharmasála* at Sher-garh, which form the most prominent feature in any bird's-eye view of that town, but a quarrel among themselves caused the work to be stopt before it was completed, and it has never been taken in hand again since. The name *Uba* is said to be derived from *Utara*, the north, and *vah* to flow, the river at this particular point having a northward course. A mango grove perpetuates the name of its planter, Mohana, Bráhmán.

104. *Ujhání*, on the Jamuná. One of the confiscated Gújar villages. *Jama*, Rs. 1,441. A mango orchard.

105. *Umrao* on the Agra Canal, given by Mádhó Ráo Sindhia to Bál Kishan, Shástri, and in 1862 confirmed to his heirs. The original zamindárs were Gújars, who sold 12½ biswas to

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Chhátá Pargana—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
106	Unchá-gáuw ...	823	13	836	Gújar community.	Gújar ...	1,742
707	Undi ...	376	559	926	Musalmán community.	Malakána..	895
108	Háji-pur by Basai (Great).	...	...	...	Madan Gopál, Káyath; Duli Rám, Gaurua.	Uninhabited,	278
109	Kamál-pur, by Nand-gáuw.	...	...	...	Játs. ...	Ditto ...	179
110	Khor by Barsána,	...	...	...	Temple of Lárli Jí at Barsána.	Ditto ...	292
111	Lohrári by Basai (Great).	...	...	...	Bráhmans ...	Ditto ...	234

Káyaths; but both the old and new proprietors fell into difficulties and to a great extent abandoned the village, whereupon it was occupied by a Jádón from Dig, named Parsá. Subsequently the Gújars returned, partially dispossessed the Jádons and gave some of the land to Rám Bál, a Ját of Undi. There are now three thoks, one for each of the specified castes. A hamlet called Umar-pur is occupied by the zamindárs of Ranwári, who have 5 per cent. on the musáfidár's rental; the zamindárs of Umrao have 7 per cent. There is a rakhya of chhoukar trees, an ancient temple of Bihári and a pond called Kishori-kund.

106. *Unchá-gáuw*, by Barsána. Here is a temple of Baladeva, built by Rájá Todar Mall, Khatri, Akbar's minister, and a pond called Deva-kund, where a fair is held on the forenoon of Bhádón sudi 12 by the pilgrims of the Ban-játra on their way to Barsána. Jama, Rs. 1,325. Four lumberdárs.

107. *Undi*.—Given by Mádhó Ráo Sindhia to the temple of Kesava Deva at Mathurá. There are four thoks of ávo biswas each. Jama, Rs. 1,000. A sacred pond is called Prem-kund. In the mutiny the villagers, fighting with the Chhátá people, had two men killed.

108. *Háji-pur* was formerly assessed with Lohrári. The separate jama is now Rs. 100. The old zamindárs were Bachháls; now Daulat Rám, Gaurua of Bhau-ganw, has eight biswas, and Madan Gopál, Káyath, of Mathurá, the other 12.

109. *Kamál-pur* is held by the Játs of Nand-gáuw. Jama, Rs. 210.

110. *Khor* (i. e., khol, an 'opening' between the hills) lies under the Barsána range. It was given by Mádhó Ráo Sindhia to the temple of Lárli Jí and confirmed in 1843. The zamindárs have an annual allowance of Rs. 20.

111. *Lohrári* used to be united with Háji-pur. The separate jama is now Rs. 250. The Bráhmans of Basai have 12½ biswas; Moti Rám and Bnadeva, sons of Manasá Rám, the other 7½.

III.—PARGANA MATHURÁ.

THE Mathurá pargana is the last of the three lying to the west of the Jamuna. It is the largest in the district, comprising as many as 247 villages and townships. Under the Ját and Mahratta Governments of last century its present area was in five divisions—Aríng, Sonkh, Sonsa, Gobardhan, and Farrah; Aríng being the *jágr* of Bájá Báí, the queen of Daulat Ráo Sindhía, who (if local traditions are to be believed) inherited all the ferocious qualities of her infamous father Ghatgay Shirzi Ráo, the perpetrator of the massacre of Púná. In 1803, when the country was ceded to the Company, two parganas were formed, Mathurá and Aríng, which were put under a single Tahsildar, who was stationed at the latter place; and this arrangement continued till 1868, when his office was transferred to its present more appropriate location at the capital. The 84 villages, that had previously constituted the Farrah pargana of the Agra district, were added in 1878.

The first settlement was assessed at Rs. 5,149 for Mathurá and Rs. 98,885 for Aríng, making a total of Rs. 1,04,034, which was gradually increased to Rs. 2,14,336; the actual area also having undergone considerable change. For, in 1828, after the conclusion of the war with Durjan Sál, 15 villages on the Bharatpur border were annexed, and about the same time several *muáfi* estates in the neighbourhood of Mathurá were resumed. The first contractor for the Government revenue was a local magnate, whose name is still occasionally quoted, Chaube Rudra-man, who, after one year, was succeeded by Khattri Beni Rám.

In addition to the City, it includes within its limits some of the most notable places in the district—such as Brindá-ban, Gobardhan, and Ráthá-kund—as also several large and populous villages which are of modern growth and have no special characteristic beyond their mere size, as Parson, Phondar, Usphár and others, each with two or three thousand inhabitants. The principal landed proprietors are the trustees of the Seth's temple at Brindá-ban: Gosáin Purushottam Lál of Gokul; the Rájá of Awa; the heirs of the Lálá Bábu, in Calcutta; and Seths Ghansyám Dás and Gobardhan Dás of Mathurá; not one of whom resides immediately upon his estate.

The predominant classes of the population are Játas, Bráhmans, and Ganrua Kachhwáhás. The ancestor of all the latter, by name Jasráj, is traditionally reported to have come at some remote, but unspecified, period from Amber, and to have established his family at the village of Kota, whence it

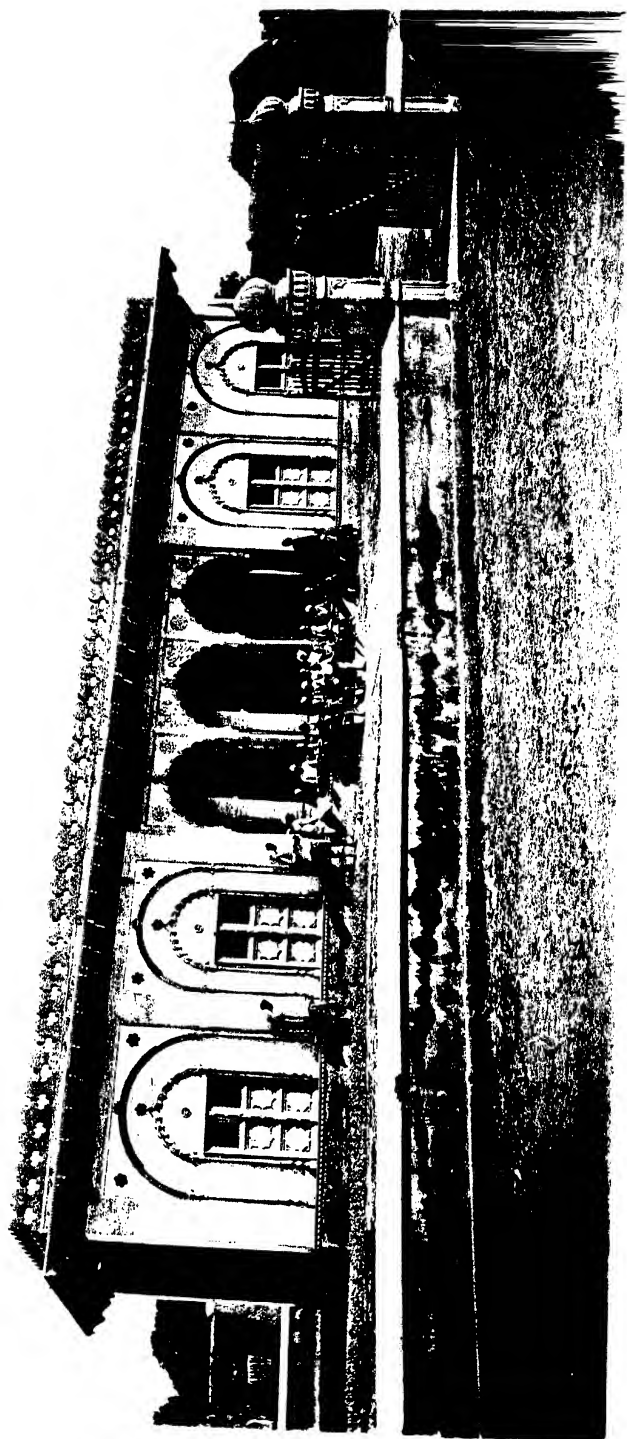
spread on the one side to Jait, and on the other to Satoha, Giridhar-pur, Pálí-khera, Maholi, Nahrauli, Naugáma, Nawáda, and Tarši; which at that time must have formed a continuous tract of country, as the villages which now intervene are of much more modern foundation. The estates continued for the most part with his descendants till the beginning of the present century; but seventy years of British legislation have sufficed to alienate them almost entirely.

The most common indigenous trees are the *ním*, *babúl*, *renjā*, and *kadamb*; and the principal crops tobacco, sugar-cane, *chaná*, cotton, and barley; *bájrā* and *joár* being also largely grown, though not ordinarily to such an extent as the varieties first named. Wheat, which in the adjoining parganas is scarcely to be seen at all, here forms an average crop. The cold-weather instalment of the Government demand is realized principally from the outturn of cotton. An average yield per acre is calculated at one *man* of cotton, seven of *joár*, three of *bájrā*, six of wheat, eight of barley, five of *chaná*, eight of tobacco, and ten and a half of *gur*, the extract of the sugar-cane. The cost of cultivation per acre is put at Rs. 7 for the *kharíf* and Rs. 10 for *rabi* crops. The river is of little or no use for irrigation purposes; but after the abatement of the rains it is navigated by country boats, which are always brought to anchor at night. Water is generally found at a depth of 49 feet below the surface of the soil; and it is thus a matter of considerable expense to sink a well, more especially as the sandiness of the soil ordinarily necessitates the construction of a masonry cylinder. The Agra Canal has proved a great boon to the agriculturist: it has a length of 16 miles in the pargana, from Konai to Sonoth, with bridges at Basonti, Aríng, Sonsa, Lál-pur, and Little Kosi.

ARÍNG, nine miles from Mathurá, on the high road to Díg, was, from 1803 to 1868, the head of a Tahsili, removed in the latter year to the Civil Station. Near the canal bridge, the navigation channel to Mathurá branches off on the one side and on the other a distributary, that runs through the villages of Usphár and Little Kosi. Till 1818 the town was a *jágír* of a Kashmir Pandit, by name Bába Bisvanáth. On his death it was resumed and assessed at Rs. 6,447, which sum has subsequently been raised to Rs. 10,000. In 1852, the old Gaurua zamindárs' estate was transferred at auction to Seth Gobind Dás, who has made it part of the endowment of his temple at Brindá-ban. In the mutiny the rebels marched upon the place with the intention of plundering the treasury, but were stoutly opposed by the zamindárs and resident officials, and driven back after a few shots had been fired. Lálá Rám Bakhsh, the hereditary patwári, who also acted as the Seth's agent, was conspicuous for his loyalty, and subsequently received from the Government a grant of Rs. 1,000

and the quarter jama of the village of Kothra, which he still enjoys. The Tahsildár, Munshi Bhajan Lal, also had a grant of Rs. 1,200, and smaller donations were conferred upon several other inhabitants of the town, chiefly Bráhmans. It is much to be regretted that a misunderstanding with regard to the management of the estate has arisen within the last few years between the Seth and his agent, the Lálá, which threatens to sever entirely the latter's connection with the place. Aríng is generally counted as one of the 24 Upabans, and has a sacred pond called Kilol-kund, but no vestige of any grove. Various mythological etymologies for the name are assigned by the local pandits; but, as usual, they are very unsound; probably the word is a corruption of Arishta-gráma; Arishta being the original Sanskrit form of *ritha*, the modern Hindi name of the Sapindus detorgens, or soap berry tree. The Gosáins would rather connect it with Arishta, the demon whom Krishna slew. There is a school of the tahsili class (which hitherto has been liberally supported by Lálá Rám Bakhsh), a post-office, a police-station in charge of a Sub-Inspector, and a customs bungalow, recently moved here from Satoha. Three small temples are dedicated respectively to Baladeva, Bihári Ji, and Pipalesvar Mahádeva; and the ruins of a fort constructed last century preserve the name of Phundá Rám, a Ját, who held a large tract of territory here as a jágír under Rájá Suraj Mall of Bharat-pur. The Agra Canal passes close to the town, and is bridged at the point where it crosses the main road. The market day is Sunday. The avenue of trees extending from Mathurá through Aríng to Gobardhan was mainly planted by Seth Sukhánand.

AURANGABAD, originally a walled town, four miles from the city of Mathurá on the Agra road, derives its name from the Emperor Aurangzeb, who is said to have made a grant of it to one Bhim Bhoj, a Tomar Thákur, with whose descendants it continued for many years. For some time previously to 1861 it was however held rent-free by a Fakir, commonly called Bottle Sháh, from his bibulous propensities, a grantee of Daulat Ráo Sindhia. On his death it was assessed at Rs. 691, which was subsequently raised to Rs. 898. The place is frequently, but incorrectly, called Naurangábad. It also has the subsidiary name of Mohanpur, from one Mohan Lal, a Sanádh, a man of some importance who came from Mát and settled there last century. On the bank of the Jamuná is an extensive garden, and on some high ground near the old Agra gate a mosque of the same age as the town, which presents rather a stately appearance, being faced with stone and approached from the road by a steep flight of steps. The weekly market is held on Friday, and is chiefly for the sale of thread and cotton. The Government institutions consist of a police-station and a school. For the accommodation of the latter, which for



some years past had borne an exceptionally high character, I had a handsome and substantial building erected, with pillars and tracery of carved stone, which now forms the most conspicuous ornament of the place. This was the last work that I completed before I left the district. A view is given of it as an example of the way in which the indigenous style of architecture can be adapted to ordinary modern requirements. A reach of sandy and broken ground extends from the town to the river, where a bridge of boats affords means of communication with Gokul and Mahában on the opposite bank. Aurangábad is the chief place for the manufacture of wicker chairs and couches, which find a ready sale among the English residents of the adjoining station.

SONKH, on the road from Mathurá to Kumbhir, is a very thriving and well to do place, with a large number of substantial brick-built shops and houses, many of them with carved stone fronts. Under the Ját it was the head of a local Division. It is said by the Gosáins—with their usual absurdity—to derive its name from the demon Sankhásur; but, according to more genuine local tradition, it was first founded in the time of Anang Pál, the rebuildder of Delhi, probably by the same Tomar chief, who has left other traces of his name at Son, Sonsa and Sonoth. The ancestor of the present community was a Ját, by name Ablád, whose five sons—Ása, Ajal, Purna, Tasiha and Sahjua—divided their estate into as many separate shares, which still bear their names and are to all intents and purposes distinct villages, with the Sonkh bazar as their common centre. This lies immediately under the Khera, or site of the old fort, of which some crumbling walls and bastions still remain. It was built by a Ját named Hati Singh, in the time of Suraj Mall of Bharatpur, or Jawahir Singh; but the *khera* itself must be many hundreds of years older. There are two market places in it, the one belonging to the Sahjua, the other to the Purna zamindárs. The market day for the former is Thursday, for the latter Monday. But a considerable amount of business is transacted every day of the week; there being as many as 200 banyas' shops and almost enough local trade to justify the incorporation of a Municipality. In Sahjua there are several extensive orchards of mango and *ber* trees, with an octagonal stone chhatti (commemorating the grandfather of the present lumberdar), and three masonry wells of exceptionally large dimensions; all attesting the greater wealth and importance of the Ját proprietors during the short period of the Bharat-pur Hegemony. About a mile from the bazár, just across the Bharat-pur border, at a place called Gunsára, is a very fine masonry tank, worthy of a visit from any one in the neighbourhood, being on the same scale and in much the same style as the Kusum-Sarovar near Gobardhan. This was the work of the Ráni Lakshmi, the consort of Rájá

Randhír Sinh, who also built the beautiful *kunj* that bears her name on the bank of the Jamuná at Brindá-ban. The tank was not quite completed at the time of her death, and, according to native custom, has never been touched since. Adjoining it is an extensive walled garden overgrown with *khirni* and other trees that are sadly in need of thinning. In the centre is an elaborately carved stone plinth for a building that was designed but never executed. Though the population of Sonkh exceeds 4,000, the school has an attendance of no more than sixty pupils, of whom only six are the sons of the Ját zamindárs. The five pattis stand as follows:—

Name.	Thoks.	Lumberdars.	Wells.	Population.	
Ajal	4	2	3	195	The Ajal thoks are called Bhág-mall, Jagráj, Sirmaur, and Kunja.
Ásc	2	5	7	380	Ásc is now divided into two distinct maháls.
Púrna	2	2	6	1,104	The Púrna thoks are named Kisana and Isvar.
Sahjua	2	4	15	2,017	The Sahjua; Biluchi and Bewal.
Tasiha	3	3	2	415	The Tasiha; Táj, Urang and Manohar.
Total	13	16	33	4,111	

Where the road branches off to Gobardhan is a towered temple of Mahádeva, with a masonry tank of no great area but very considerable depth, which was commenced twenty years ago by a Bairági, Rám Dás. It is now all but completed, after an outlay of Rs. 1,300, which he laboriously collected in small sums from the people of the neighbourhood, with the exception of Rs. 200 or 300, which were granted him from the balance of the Chaukidári fund. The avenue of trees along the road between Sonkh and Gobardhan was almost entirely planted by another Bairági by name Sálagrám, who began the work out of a donation made him by the deceased Rájá of Bharat-pur on the birth of his son and heir.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
1	Ahalyá-ganj ...	318	7	325	Bijay Lál, Saráugi,	Chamár ...	964
2	Ahmal (Great) ...	847	26	873	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	729
3	Ahmal (Little) ...	472	...	472	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	769
4	Ajal ...	195	...	195	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	296
5	Ajit Patti ... Akrúr, a hamlet of Bhaurera.	471	...	471	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	1,035
6	Alha-pur ...	80	...	80	Chunni Lál, Ját...	Bráhmañ (Gautam).	390
7	Anyor ...	874	769	1,643	Malakáñas and Bráhmañs.	Malakána...	2,034
8	Arázi Shámilat ...	4	...	4	Játs ...	Bairági ...	40
9	Arhera, or Arakra,	245	86	331	Baladeva S i n h . Bráhmañ o f Gokul.	Malakána and Chamár.	904

1. *Ahalyá-ganj*, on the road to Brindá-ban, was so named by Tuka Ji Holkar (who died 1759 A. D.) after his wife Ahalyá. A Bairági by name Rám Dás held it with the neighbouring village of Bhaurera as a free grant from Siudhia for some years, but it was resumed before the mutiny. The original zamindárs were Kachhwáhas, but now one biswa is held by Gautam Bráhmañs, the remainder by Bijay Lál, Saráugi, son of Diwán Sarb-sukh, whose ancestors were Diwáns to the Mahárájá of Jay-pur. There is some khádar land, but no irrigation from wells.

2. *Ahmal (Great)* is so called after the village founder, Ahmal, who came from Sonkh.

3. *Ahmal (Little)* was founded from Great Ahmal by one Sis Rám. After the mutiny it was conferred for a time upon Chaudhari Daulat Singh of Rál, who transferred it to Seth Gobind Dás; but it was eventually restored to the old proprietors.

4. *Ajal*.—See Sonkh. Jama, Rs. 575.

5. *Ajit Patti*.—See Mangotla. Jama, Rs. 2,100.

6. *Alha-pur*, on the Delhi road, was settled some 200 years ago by one Lálman, Gautam, who named it after his son Alkha. His descendants have now parted with almost all the estate to Játs and Khattris. The village is held muáfi by the Gautams of the temple of Lakshmi Náráyan at Brindá-ban. Present jama, Rs. 400.

7. *Anyor*, on the Gíri-ráj, but 'at the other end' (*any or*) from Gobardhan. Here are two ancient temples dedicated to Gobind Deva and Baladeva, and a sacred tank, called Gobind kund, ascribed to Ráni Padmavati, the waters of which are supposed to be very efficacious in the cure of leprosy. The Pind-dán, or offerings to the dead, in the ceremonial of the Sráddh, have as much virtue here as even at Gayá. There are 40 acres of woodland. The original occupants are said to have been Kírás. After the mutiny the village was conferred for a time on Chaudhari Daulat Singh, but eventually restored to the existing zamindárs. Jama, Rs. 2,653.

8. *Arázi Shámilat*.—One of the eleven maháls into which the original village of Nainu Patti has been divided; the other ten being Saida, Nagara Kalán, Nagara Bháñ, Nagara Bhúñchha, Nagara Ghaniya, Nagara Chauthaiya, Daum-pura, Jangali Bári, Khilu, and Nagara Kanku.

9. *Arhera* was founded some 300 years ago by Bhoja, Malakána, and the family of Ram Chand, Gujar, from the neighbouring village of Kota. Their descendants continued to be the proprietors till recently, when their estate was put up to auction for arrears, and has finally passed

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal- mans.	Total.			
10	Aring ...	3,981	190	4,171	Temple of Rang Ji,	Gaurua, Ját, and Bráh- man.	5,508
11	Arúki Múmin-pur,	1,203	28	1,231	Ganes P a n d a , Gujarátí.	Chamár ...	1,489
12	Ásé ...	380	...	380	Ját community ..	Ját, (Kun- tel).	470
13	Átas ...	854	353	1,207	Akalánand Gosáin	Malakána...	3,612
14	Aurang-ábád Mo- han-pur.	1,745	541	2,286	Bráhmans ...	Baniya and Musalmán.	916
15	Azam-ábád Saráe,	334	9	343	Thákur community	G a u r u a (Kachh- wáhá).	135
16	Azam-pur ...	96	...	96	Gújar community...	Gújar ...	255

into the hands of Baladeva Singh, Bráhman, of Gokul. The jama, now Rs. 1,500, was for some years previous to 1811 enjoyed as a free grant.

10. *Aring*.—See page 377.

11. *Arúki Múmin-pur*, founded some 600 years ago by Nizám, Gújar; Malúk, Bráhman Sanádá and Dayá Rám, Gaurua, who came from across the Ganges and dispossessed the former occupants, who were Kalúls. The founders' descendants have now sold part of the village to a Gujarátí Pánda, living at Mathurá, by name Ganes. The jama (Rs. 1,949) was granted by Sindhia to Chaubes Kesava Deva, Sukh Deva, and Ratn Lál, of whom the last mentioned only survives, and his interest, which is only for life, has been transferred to Sáh Kundan Lál.

12. *Ásé*.—See Sonkh. Jama, Rs. 1,073.

13. *Átas*, on the bank of the Jamuná, is divided into three Nagaras,—*Átas Miyan*, *Átas Hindu*, and *Átas Devi*. The founder, Mahta, Tomar, who expelled the Kirárs from the place, had two sons, Mákhu and Samar, of whom the former turned Muhammadan and took as his share the half of the estate, thence called *Átas Miyan*, while his brother and his descendants kept *Átas Hindu*. 2½ biswas known as *Átas Devi*, on account of a temple that bears that name, were originally conferred on one Chúra, a Gújar servant, but have passed through various hands to Akalánand, Gosáin of the temple of Sríngár Bat at brindá-ban, who is also the muáfádar.

14. *Aurangábád Mohanpur*.—See page 378.

15. *Azam-ábád Saráe*, outside the city of Mathurá, on the Delhi road, derives its name from a very large saráe ascribed to Azam Sháh, son of the emperor Aurangzeb (see page 30). It covered a wider area even than the one at Chhátá, and was most substantially built, the foundations being sunk to an enormous depth, but there was little or no architectural decoration. It is now a ruin, and the materials have been largely employed in paving the streets of the city. As it stands at some distance from the new road, it had ceased to be of any use to travellers. The land was taken from the adjoining villages of Jay-Sinh-pur and Gobind-pur, and conferred on Mádhó Singh, whose descendants still retain the greater part, though three biswas have passed to Durgá Prasád, Khattri. Jama. Rs. 359.

16. *Azampur*, near Aurangábád, was founded in the reign of Aurangzeb by Azam Khán, the Governor of Mathurá from 1642 to 1645 A.D., who gave it to a servant, Guláb, Gújar. After the mutiny it was temporarily conferred on Seth Roshan Lál. Jama, Rs. 316.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
17	Babúri ...	115	77	262	Gosáin Purushottam Lál.	Malakána,	640
18	Bachh-gánw ...	2,024	20	2,044	Ját community,	Ját, (Kuntel).	3,694
19	Bájana ...	373	12	385	Seth Ghansyám Dás, mortgagee.	Gújar and Chamár.	419
20	Bákir-pur ...	209	4	213	Gosáin Purushottam Lál	Sanádh ...	586
21	Barhota ...	750	27	777	Thákur community.	Gaurua (Kachh-wáha).	1,739
22	Basál ...	140	...	140	Gújar community,	Gújar ...	307
23	Basonti ...	540	23	563	The Rája of Awa,	Gaurua (Jasávat).	1,234

17. *Babúri*, 'the *babúl* grove,' near the Agra road, was originally occupied by Kaláls, who were ejected by one Mál, a Tarkan Gaurua. One of his descendants turned Muhammadan, adopting the name of Fatih Mubárak, and is the ancestor of the present Malakána family. The village has been divided into two maháls, called Pachhwaiya and Purwaiya, of seven and three biswás respectively; the latter was sold to Pachauri Ballabh Singh of Mahában, and has passed from him to Gosáin Purushottam Lál. Babúri was part of the jágír of Baija Bai, wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia, and was originally included in the Sonsa, and later in the Aríng pargana. After the mutiny the Malákana mahál was confiscated for a time and conferred on Seth Roshan Lál. The jama is Rs. 686.

18. *Bachh-gánw*, on the Bharat-pur border. The predecessors of the present Ját zamindárs were Kirárs. The place is said to derive its name from, and to have been the scene of, a famous incident in Krishna's life, who, when the jealous god Brahma took away the calves (*bachhe*) from his herd, at once created others to supply their place. The legend, however, has no ancient connection with the locality, and is referred to it simply in explanation of the village name. There is a weekly market on Monday, a halkabandi school, and four small temples. Jama, Rs. 6,300.

19. *Bájana* was founded by two Gújars, Mohan and Báka, whose descendants transferred it to Chaubes, by whom it has been mortgaged to Gaur Sahay Mall (deceased) and Ghansyám Dás. The jama (now Rs. 548) was enjoyed by Ilakím Nám-dár Khán till 1817, when it was resumed.

20. *Bákir-pur* is so called after Azam Khán Mir Muhammad Bákir, governor of Mathurá, who changed its name from Kalyán-pur and bestowed it upon two Brahmans; named Lálman and Lorha, that were in his service. It is now divided into five maháls, of which the largest one—being eleven biswás—is owned by Gosáin Purushottam Lál; in the smaller the old Sanádh family still retain some interest. Jama, Rs. 727. Close to the junction of the boundaries of Bákir-pur, Giridharpur, and Mathurá, may be traced a large ancient tank with a number of Buddhist *stupas* on its margin.

21. *Barhota*—The predecessors of the present Gaurua zamindárs were Kirárs. There is a *hadamb-handi* of 166 bighas, with a temple of Buddhanand Lakshmi Náráyan, built by Mangal Das, Bairági, about a century ago. Jama, Rs. 1,600.

22. *Basál* was settled by Gújars in Akbar's reign. In 1868 it was divided into two equal maháls called Uda and Kánha.

23. *Basonti*, on the Agra Canal, with a bridge and rest-house. The old Jasávat family now own only 21 biswás, the Rája of Awa 15, and Bráhmans the remaining 2½. Jama, Rs. 1,360.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
24	Báthi ...	1,759	139	1,898	Mahant Gobind Dás.	Gaurua (Kachhwáhá).	2,990
25	Berká ...	283	6	289	Thákur community.	Ditto and Ját ...	235
26	Bhadál ...	853	21	874	Bráhmaṇ community.	Sanádh ...	1,670
27	Bhadár ...	264	...	264	Ját community ...	Ját ...	520
28	Bhagosa ...	617	...	617	Bráhmaṇ community.	Sanádh ...	1,637
29	Bhavanpura	963	1	979	Ját community ...	Ját (Kuntel) ...	388

24. *Báthi*, on the customs line between Satoha and Channuhá, has long been held *muáfi*, by the Gurus of the Rájá of Bharatpur, for the use of the temple of Sítá Rám, of which they are the hereditary mahants. The shrine stands within the walls of the village fort, built by Mahant Rám Kishan Dás in the time of Súraj Mall. The first zamindárs were Kaláls, but more recently Bráhmaṇs and Kachhwáhás. They have sold 8 biswás of their estate to the *muáfi*dár, which have now been made a separate mahál. The sacred grove of Bahulá-ban, from which the place derives its name (originally Bihulavati) is separated from the village by a large pond, which has three broad flights of masonry steps in front of the little cell called the Go Mandir. In this is a bas-relief of the famous cow and its calf with their divine protector (see page 78). Close by is a modern temple of Rádhá Krishan or Bihári Ji. On the other side of the water is a ruinous temple in the old style of architecture, dedicated to Murli Manohar, with a *sikhara* of curvilinear outline over the god, and a *mandap* with three open arches on either side to serve as the nave. The buildings in the fort are of substantial character and comprise, besides the temple and ordinary domestic offices a court-room with stone arcades, the roof of which commands a very extensive view of the country round as far as Mathurá, Brindában, and Nandgánw. The front of the temple of Sita Rám is an interesting and successful specimen of architectural eclecticism: the pillars being thoroughly Hindu in their proportions, but with capitals of semi-Corinthian design; not unlike some early adaptations of Greek models found in the ruined cities of the Euzúfzai. The Gosáin belongs to the Sri Sampradáya. The *ban* is one of the stations of the Ban-játra, and the mela is held in it on Bhádon budí 12. A halkabandi school.

25. *Berká*, 'the *ber* tree grove,' was originally held by Kirárs, but refounded by one Bakarám, the ancestor of the present zamindárs. Jama Rs. 597.

26. *Bhadál* was divided in 1851 into two maháls, the one of 11½, the other 8½ biswas, and this latter has been again subdivided into four. Both were long mortgaged to Jugal Dás, Buirági, and Sita Rám Khattri, but have now been redeemed with the exception of a small share, of which the Buirágis have acquired absolute possession. Jama, Rs. 1,900.

27. *Bhadár*, founded by Indra and Lálmán, Bhadauriya Thákurs, whence the name. There is a fort built by Mán Singh, Ját, and a masonry tank due to Incha, zamindár. 224 biswas are occupied by a *dahar*. Jama, Rs. 710. In the mutiny the zamindárs were attacked by the people of Singá and had to flee to Phenchri.

28. *Bhagosa*.—The jama (Rs. 1,659) is appropriated to the maintenance of the temple of Harideva at Gobardhan (see page 282). The old zamindárs were Kirárs; are now Sanádhás.

29. *Bhavanpura*.—One of the villages conferred for a time, after the mutiny, on Chaudhari Daulat Singh. Jama, Rs. 1,009. Bráhmaṇs are now shareholders to a small extent.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
30	Bijapur ...	459	26	485	Prasádi Lál, Chaube.	Chsmár ...	815
31	Boripa ...	728	50	778	Ját community ...	Ját (Kuntel) ...	1,496
32	Brindá-ban	20,160	836	20,996	...	Bráhmans and Gosáins.	2,027
33	Cabatikra...	667	23	690	Banmáli Charan Dás, Mahant.	Gaurua ...	1,364
34	Chhirora ...	394	13	407	...	Lodha ...	746
35	Datiya, 5 biswas.	71	...	71	Bráhma community.	Sanádh ...	160

30. *Bijapur*, founded 250 years ago by Bijay Singh, Rájput, who took half of the village of Narlauli and called it after his own name. Till 1841 it was all muáfi, and 403 bighas are so still, held by a Chaube, who also owns 15 biswas of the zamindári. The Government jama is Rs. 203.

31. *Boripa*.—The old zamindárs were Kirárs; the present are Játs and Dhúsars. Jama, Rs 2,107.

32. *Brindá-ban*.—See chaps. VIII. and IX. For some unexplained and inexplicable reason, office clerks generally prefer to write the name of this town in Persian characters as Bindrabad.

33. *Chhutkra*, on the Delhi road, was founded by Manu, Jama, and Ror, three Kachwáhas, who are said to have come from Ráj, fourteen generations, i.e., about 300 years ago. Their descendants now retain only 1½ biswa, the rest having been sold to the mahant of the temple of Syám Sundar at Brindá-ban, who is also muáfi. They say that the name of the place, when their ancestors first occupied it, was the same as now, and that it refers to the six (*chha*) sakhis, or companions of Rádhá, whose *gupt bhavan*, or unseen abode, is one of the sites visited by pilgrims. Another local explanation of the name is that it refers to the six villages, each of which had to cede part of its land to form the Kachhwáhas' new settlement. There is a *rakhya*, wherein the trees are chiefly kadaubs of small growth, though old, mixed with dhák, ním, karil, and hins, and in it is a highly venerated shrine, dedicated to Garúr Gobind. The present building, which is small and perfectly plain, enshrines a black stone image of the god Gobind mounted on Garúr. Close by is a cave with a longish flight of winding steps simply dug in the soil, but no one can penetrate to the end on account of the fleas with which the place swarms. On Sávan Sudi 8, during what is called the *punch tirath ka mela*, the temple is visited by a large number of pilgrims; the other four holy places being Madhuban at Maholi, Santanu-kund at Satoha, Gokarnesvar at Mathurá, and the Brahmá kund at Brindá-ban. There is a second fair on the day after the Holi, and a third on the full moon of Jeth. The revenue of the village all goes to the temple of Syám Sundar at Brindá-ban. The local shrine has no endowment. In a field immediately adjoining the homestead are some fragments of Buddhist rails. These were probably brought from the Gobind-kund, about a mile away, where some ancient building must once have stood. For digging the foundations of the small masonry ghát there, some 20 years ago, it is said that some large sculptures were discovered; but as they were mutilated, no one took the trouble to remove them. I told Kúrha—the Pujári,—to let me know when the tank was dry enough to allow of excavations being made, but I left the district before any such opportunity occurred.

34. *Chhirora* (Chhitara-pura), founded by Mán and Manohar, two Lodhas, who came with Rája Jasaráj, Kachhwáha, from Amber, and settled first at Kota, and thence removed to Chhirora, which they named after a relative Chhitara. The zamindárs are now Buirágis, Khattris, Baniyas, and Dhúsars. The jama (Rs. 1,420) till 1817 was enjoyed by a Chaube named Nand Lál. There is a stone *bauli* dating from the time of the Delhi Emperors. In the present map of the district this place is spelt Juhrewruh.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal- mans	Total.			
36	Datiya, 15 biswas.	258	29	287	Bráhmaṇ community	Gaurua and Ját ...	502
37	Daulatpur...	151	279	430	Mewáti community	Mewáti ...	403
38	Daumpurá	158	...	158	Ját community ..	Ját (Kuntel) ...	68
39	Dhan gánw	1,047	28	1,075	Gujaráti Bráhmaṇ	Gaurua ...	1,522
40	Dhaurera ...	96	...	96	Gosáin Purushot- tam Lál.	Bráhmaṇ ...	1,267
41	Dyoscras ...	1,132	494	1,626	Widow of Har Pra- sád, purohit.	Ditto and Mewáti,	2,804
42	Ganesara ..	745	3	748	Bráhmaṇ commu- nity	Bráhmaṇ ...	1,145

37. *Daulatpur* derives its present name from Daulat Sinh, Mewáti, to whom it was given by Rájá Suraj Mall. The old name was Lechorá, and the zamindárs Jasávats. Jama, Rs. 550.

38. *Daumpurá*.—See Nainu Patti.

39. *Dhan gánw*, founded by Ati-bal, a Tarkan Gaurua, who came from Sarsa and expelled the Kirárs. Till 1825 the village was included in the Farrah pargana of the Agra district. Jama, Rs. 2,199.

40. *Dhaurera*, on the Jamurá, between Mathurá and Brindá-ban, was also called Shahabad. The village founders were Kachhwáhas, from whom the estate has passed to Gosáin Purushottam Lál. At the small hamlet of Akrur, which is populated entirely by Gosáins, is the ancient temple of Bihári Ji, better known by the name Bhatroná, where a mela is held on the full moon of Kartik. (See page 114.) Jama, Rs. 1,000.

41. *Dyoscras*.—The name is said to be derived from the Rishi Durvása, and the pond is shown whence he is said to have practised penance: but the derivation does not appear very probable. The old zamindárs were Bráhmaṇs and Jasávats; the present proprietor is Rádha, widow of Har Prasád, the purohit of the Rájá of Bharat-pur. Jama, Rs. 3,003. There is an old rock fortress in Juypur, on the road from Agra to Ajmer, with a somewhat similar name, Dyonsa; there may be some historical or etymological connection between the two. Possibly the last syllable represents an original *rásht*ra. It occurs in two other village names in the district, Chaundras and Murseras, which might be corruptions of Chamunda-rásht^{ra} and Mursan-rásht^{ra}. But ? for Suráshtra becomes Surat.

42. *Ganesara*, founded by one Gur Deva from Rasiya in Bharat-pur, whose descendants still retain 16 biswas. With the exception of 316 bíghas 18 biswas, assessed in 1854 at Rs. 290

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste	Acreage
		Hindus.	Musal- mans.	Total			
43	Gántháuli ...	1,467	23	1,490	Har Phúl, Báh- man, Roshan Lál Khattri.	Sanádh ...	2,360
44	Ghátam Patti ...	228	2	230	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel),	572
45	Giridhar-pur ...	210	...	210	Mahant Kishan Dás.	Gaurua ..	435
46	Gobardhan (Bráh- manáa).	1,750	8	1,758	...	Bráhma. *	
47	Gobardhan (Gau- rua).	2,244	195	2,439	...	Gaurua.	
48	Gobind-pur ...	56	1	57	Bráhmans ...	Chamár ...	455
49	Gopál-pur ...	17	...	17	Rám Bakhsh and Záhiriyu, Bani- yas.	Ját (Kuntel)	208
50	Hakím-pur ...	416	12	428	Ját community...	Ját ...	501
51	Indau ...	1,227	...	1,227	Ját community...	Ditto ..	1,319
52	Jachaunda ...	873	2	875	Temple of Rang Ji.	Gaurua ... (Kachhwáhá).	1,640
53	Jait ...	1,743	89	1,832	Heirs of Lálá Ba- bú	Gaurua ...	3,925

and called Mahál Rambhá Chaubin, after the name of the last grantee, the whole village is enjoyed muáfi by Raghu-náth, Bhát. There is a *jhári* of 31 bighas. A bridge across the navigation channel on the road to Báthi.

43. *Gántháuli*, on the road to Dig. Here is a sacred pond called Gulál-kund, with a temple and dharm-sálá. The old zamindárs were Gújars, Jasávats, and Bráhmans, of whom the last named still remain, while the others have been superseded by Khattris. Jama, Rs. 2,987.

44. *Ghátam-Patti*. See Mangotla. Jama, Rs. 1,730.

45. *Giridhar-pur* so called from Giridhar, a Kachwáhá, who came from Satoha. His descendants have sold the greater part to the muáfidar, the mahant of the temple of Dán Káe at Brindá-ban. There is an old temple of Devi.

46-47. *Gobardhan*.—See page 278.

48. *Gobind-pur* has never been assessed, being held muáfi by the heirs of Jagannáth Bhat, who are at the present time Gobardhan-náth, Mathurá-náth, Gopi-náth, and Som-náth.

50. *Hakím-pur*.—So called after the founder, a physician at the Emperor's court. The zamindárs were Kirárs, are now Pachandra and Kudár Játs and Baniyas. Here is a dharm-sálá built by Sobha, Chaube. The village, divided by recent Batwára into three maháls, of 12, 6, and 2 biswas respectively, was after the mutiny confiscated for a time and bestowed on Chandhari Paulat Singh.

51. *Indau*.—So called after the founder, a Ját, from Bachh-gánw, who expelled the old occupants, Kirárs. Seven of his descendants have given their names to as many *nagaras*, Sabala, Deviya, Shera, Gulál, Marúf, Harpál, and Shaál. Jama, Rs. 2,200.

52. *Jachaunda*, on the road to Dig. Purchased from the Gauruas by Saiyid Imdád Ali, Deputy Collector, and sold by him to Swámi Rangácharya. Jama, Rs. 2,300.

53. *Jait*.—On the Delhi road. Police station, district post-office, and hal'ka'andi school. Was founded by Rájá Jasaráj, Kachhwáhá, from Kota, and transferred by his descendants in 1811

PARGANA MATHURÁ.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
	Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
Khámini ...	647	68	715	Tulsi Rám, Baniya	Gújar ...	846
Khilá ...	755	12	767	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel)	629
Koila 'Ali-pur,	667	17	684	...	Bráhmañ and Chamár.	1,638
Konai ...	954	21	975	The Rájá of Áwa,	Jádon ...	1,894
Kosi (Little) ...	737	30	767	Temple of Rang Jí	Gaurua (Parkars).	1,874
Kota ...	486	14	500	Jánaki Prasád of Itaya.	Gaurua and Chamár.	1,316

63. *Khámini*, on the road to Gobardhan, originally belonged to Kachhwáhas and Gújars, in whom it has passed to Tulsi Rám, *modi* of the Rájá of Bharat-pur. Jama, Rs. 1,600.

69. *Khilá*.—See Nainú Patil.

70. *Koila 'Ali-pur*, on the Jamuná opposite Gokul, was held *muafi* by Muniwar Ali Sháh of Gáwa, till his death in 1831, when it was resumed. The jama is now Rs. 1,617. It was once two distinct villages, Sanádh Upádhyaś being the zamindárs of Koila and Gauruas of 'Ali-pur. Part now owned by Gosáin Purnashottam Lal. There are a sarác and mosque, built by Bhúri gám in the style of those at Channuha and Chháta, but now all in ruins.

71. *Konai*, on the Agra Canal, was sold to the Rájá by Kesavánand, Gosáin of the temple of ingár-bat at Brindában. Jama, Rs. 1,550. There is a *rakhyá* of very considerable extent, with fine group of kadamb trees in the centre, on the margin of a large pond; the whole forming a very picturesque spot. On the outskirts of this *kadamb-khandi*, in addition to the usual bushes *híns* and *karil*, and many *ekhonkar*, *renja*, and *labera* trees, there are several of the rarer *akol* and the *shura*, and also by a second pond one venerable specimen of the *pilúkhan*, a variety of a fig genus, scarcely found anywhere else in the district, with foliage resembling that of the *pál* and fruit like the *gular*. There is a temple of Devi, a substantial brick-built pyramidal *wer*, partly in ruins, with elaborately carved jambs and lintel to its doorway and many fragments of sculpture of a somewhat earlier date. Also a small stone *ekhattri* in memory of Jasu, an officer in the service of the Bharat-pur Ráj, whose grandson, Pitambar, is still living in the place. Adjoining it is a very large and deep well, the water of which is so brackish that it is impossible to use it for any purpose whatever. The want of good water is general throughout the whole of the village, and in consequence 1,418 bighas of land are now lying waste out of a total area of 3,868. The canal will probably cause a great part of this to be brought under cultivation; but there is some difficulty in the matter, for 750 bighas, including 575 of waste, to the west of the canal, and can only be reached after going round either by the Basontí or tharna bridge, each being more than two miles distant from the village. The objection to founding a subordinate hamlet across the canal is that no water fit for drinking purposes can be obtained there. The inhabitants are petitioning for the construction of an additional bridge.

72. *Kosi (Little)*, on the Bharat-pur road, has a bridge over the Agra Canal and restaurant, a temple of Bihári Jí, and an old mud-built sarác. There is a market on Saturdays. Jama Rs. 3,000. The masonry wells, of which one occurs here and others at intervals along the road, were sunk at the expense of a Ráni of the present Bharat-pur Chief, a daughter of the Rájá of Patná. Near the bridge are two bungalows,—one for the canal, the other for the Customs Department.

73. *Kota*, on the Delhi road, is said to have been once called Katak-ban. The ancestor of the old Kachhwáha zamindárs was one Jasráj from Amber, whose descendants sold the estate to Hardeva Dás and Buladeva Dás, the heirs of Sárang Dás, who had been *muafidár* till his death in 1850. The Government assessment is now Rs. 1,815. Jánaki Prasád, Baniya of Itaya, now owns 19½ biswas, the remaining ½ biswa being administered by the Court of Wards on behalf of Hardeva Prasád, grandson of Durga Prasád.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musalmans.	Total.			
74	Kothra ...	329	...	329	Rám Bakhsh of Aring.	Ját (Kuntel)	612
75	Kunjera ...	704	25	729	Jádon community,	Jádon ...	1,627
76	Lál-pur ...	670	5	675	Katára Bráhmans,	Jogí ...	1,664
77	Lár-pur ...	282	66	348	Srídhhar, Chaube,	Bráhmañ and Malkána.	1,127
78	Lorha Patti ...	1,534	46	1,580	Ját community ...	Ját (Kuntel)	1,563
79	Madan-pura ...	108	5	113	Mír Madad Ali, road contractor.	Ahír ...	392
80	Mádhó-pur ...	227	16	243	Maháráñi, sister of Syáma Prasád, Tahsildar.	Malláh ...	228
81	Mádhuri-kund ...	1,112	221	1,333	Thákur community	Gaurua ... (Kachhwáhá)	1,545

74. *Kothra*—The jama is Rs. 1,000; but since the mutiny only Rs. 750 are paid to Government, the balance being a grant to the lumberdár for his good services.

75. *Kunjera*, or *Kunj-ban*, has a sacred pond called *Baladeva-kund*, with a small temple bearing the same title. *Jama*, Rs. 2,271. The old zamindárs were *Jasávats*, are now *Jádons*.

76. *Lál-pur*, on the Sonkh road, with a bridge over the *Agra Canal*, founded by one *Lalu*, *Gaurua*, was in the time of *Thákur Churá-mani* of *Bharat-pur* held as *jágir* by *Mumrez*, *Ját*. It was subsequently resumed, but the zamindári was confirmed to his heirs, who transferred it to a family of *Katára Bráhmans*. One of the latter, by name *Khumáni*, purohit of the *Raná* of *Dhol-pur*, was killed by the *Játs* in the mutiny.

77. *Lár-pur*, was founded by a *Tarkar* named *Láram*, who came from across the *Ganges*. Of his descendants, *Gangá*, the owner of 6 *biswas*, turned *Muhammadian*; other 5 *biswas* have been sold to *Sarwar* and *Paucham*, *Bráhmans*; the remainder continued with the *Hindu* portion of the old family till recently, when the entire village was purchased by *Srídhara*, *Chaubé*. He also owns $7\frac{1}{2}$ *biswas* of the hamlet of *Mani Rám*, while the other $12\frac{1}{2}$ *biswas* are held as a separate mahal by *Bráhmans* of a different family. *Lár-pur* was held muáf by *Baladeva*, *Gosáin*, a disciple of *Swámi Haribans*, by grant of *Mádhó Ráo Sindhiá*, till 1856, when it was assessed at Rs. 850.

78. *Lorha-Patti*, on the Sonkh road, is so called after its founder. The original zamindárs were *Kirárs*. *Jama*, Rs. 3,800.

79. *Madan-pura*, on the *Jamuná* and liable to diluvion, was founded by an *Ahír* from the neighbouring village of *Karnául*. His descendants have transferred it to contractor *Mír Madad Ali*. Till 1861 it was part of the *jágir* of *Fakír Bottle Sháh* of *Aurangábád*. *Jama* Rs. 350.

80. *Mádhó-pur*, on the *Jamuná* adjoining the cantonments, was formed out of *Mathurá*, *Jamálpur*, and *May Mirzapur* by *Salín Sháh* some 300 years ago, who gave it to a *Malláh*, *Chaina*. It was confiscated after the mutiny, and conferred, first on *Seth Roshan Lál*, but finally on *Pandit Durgá Prasád*, Deputy Collector. In consequence of diluvion, the jama has been reduced from Rs. 382 to Rs. 250.

81. *Mádhuri-kund*, on the *Agra Canal*, is now divided into three maháls, called *Rám-bal*, *Durbal*, and *Magol*. The kund is said to be named after one of *Rádhá's* companions; and bathing in it on a Wednesday is thought to be sure to bring as much good luck as a visit to 68 places of pilgrimage. There is a temple of *Mohau-jí* and a nameless *Chhatrí* in a garden. The old zamindárs were *Kirárs*, are now *Kachhwáhas*. For their good conduct in the mutiny they received a donation of Rs. 400, and one year's jama, Rs. 1,317, was remitted. A *halkabandi* school.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Muslimans.	Total.			
82	Maghera	788	3	791		Bráhmaṇ (Gautam)	1,290
83	Maholi	1,113	54	1,167	Heirs of Lalá Babú	Gauria	2,376
84	Mahráuli	1,507	46	1,553	Rádhá, widow of Har Prása, Purohit.)	Gauria (Jasavat.)	2,901
85	May Mirza-pur...	624	4	628	Seth Mangi Lal	Gauria and Chamár.	296
86	Malhá	977	14	991	Ját community	Ját Kuntel	992
87	Malsarée	600	1	601	Ditto	Ját	646
	Mangotla	...	...	...
88	Marora	335	324	659	Thákur community,	Mewati	1,258
89	Másúm-nagar	209	5	214	Paramánuand Mis	Gújar	390

82. *Maghera* is held muáf by Nand Kunwar, Bhát, of Brindá-ban. The zamindárs were formerly Kirárs, are now Ahivásis.

83. *Maholi*, i.e., Madhu-puri, was re-founded by two Kachhwáhas, Ráj-deva and Bhoj-deva, the sons of Jasráj of Kota. The estate continued with their descendants till 1812, when it was sold for the insignificant sum of Rs. 900 to the Lalá Babú. The jama is now Rs. 3,239. Though so close to the city the village was long the head of a pargana, and even subsequently was under a ring, not being included in the Mathurá pargana till 1833. The sacred grove of Madhu-ban is but a bare and dreary spot fringed with a single line of *kadamb* trees. The adjoining tank, which swarms with snakes—not of a venomous description—is enclosed with masonry walls and flights of steps; and let into one of the piers is a tablet with a defaced inscription, bearing apparently the date *Sambat* 1702. The work is said to have been repaired by the Mahatta Ráni Ráji Bii. The temple on the margin is known by the title of Kunwar Kalyán Rán, and adjoining it is a substantially-built Baithak, or rest-house, for the accommodation of the Gosáin on his annual visit in the month of Bhádon. On the other side of the village, encircled by a belt of *hins* jungle with a few *ramja* and *sahora* trees, is a steep hill, called Dhruva-fila, covered with broken bricks; and in front of the Bairáji's cell, on its summit, I noticed (January, 1874) the cross-bar of a Buddhist railing. From this point to the temple of Kesava Deva in Mathurá, the distance in a straight line across the fields can scarcely be much more than two miles. Without any leading question on my part the villagers repeated the tradition that the Jamuná used to flow immediately under the hill.

84. *Mahráuli*, probably a corruption of Maháthara-puri, has a kadamb-khandi of 18 bighas and two small temples. The old zamindárs were Jasávats; the present proprietor is the widow of Har Prasád, the Purohit of the Rájá of Bharat-pur. Jama Rs. 3,600.

85. *May Mirzapur*, on the Jamuná, adjoining the cantonments, was founded by Rána Bahá-dur, a Tomar from Delhi, who named it after his son Míya Rám. From his heirs it has passed to Seth Mangi Lal. For a few years it was held muáf by Hákím Nám-dár Khán. The present jama, liable to revision, as the stream affects the area, is Rs. 287.

86. *Malhá* and the village of Singa were founded by the two sons of one Mahá, who called them after their own names. On the road to Mathurá is a dharm-sála, built by Manasa Rám Sáhukár, of Kumbhír, about 35 years ago. Jama, Rs. 2,200.

87. *Malsarée* has passed from the old Kirár zamindárs to Siu-sinwár Játs. Jama, Rs. 1,287.

Mangotla, more commonly written and pronounced Magora, on the road to Bharat-pur, was, both under the Muhammadans and the Játs, the head of a local division, and is reputed a place of great antiquity. After being long deserted, it was re-settled by a family of Tomar Thákurs, who divided it into four estates, which they called after their own names Ghátam, Rán, Ajit, and Jajan. These four patts are now to all intents and purposes distinct villages with the Mangotla bazár as a common centre. There is a weekly market on Thursday and a halkabandi school.

88. *Marora*, held muáf by Nand-kishor and Zahiríya, Bráhmans. The old zamindárs were Kirárs, are now Jasávats and Chaurásiya Bráhmans; these latter being a branch of the Gaur tribe from Mewát. A pond bears the name of Bárakhar.

89. *Másúm-nagar*, originally called Haidar-pur, derives its later name from Masúm Ali, Amil of Mathurá under Najaf Khán. It was founded in the first instance by Bhoj-deva and

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus	Musal-mans.	Total.			
90	Mathurá (City)...	46,038	8,291	54,329	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	...	3,284
91	Mora ...	927	21	948	Seth Gobardhan Dás.	Gaurua ...	1,628
92	Muhammad-pur,	613	...	613	Bráhmaṇ community.	Bráhmaṇ...	563
93	Mukund-pur ...	420	23	443	Seth Mangi Lál...	Ját ...	492
94	Mukbaráí ...	582	9	591	Bráhmaṇ community.	Sanádh ...	971
95	Muresi ...	751	5	756	...	Bráhmaṇ...	964
96	Murseras ...	1,041	18	1,059	Gobardhan Sinh, Ját.	Gaurua (Jasávát) and Ját.	2,200
97	Murshid-pur ...	73	...	73	Bráhmaṇ community.	Bráhmaṇ...	168
98	Nabí pur ...	283	16	299	Heirs of Lálá Bábú.	Gaurua and Chamár	1,176

Ráj-deva, sons of Jatráj, Kachhwáhá, from Kots, who gave it to their foster-father, Buddhá, a Gújar. With his descendants it continued till 1810, when it was bought by Gújar Mall, son of Dayánand Misr, and father of the present proprietor. It was part of the jagír of Báija Báí till 1806, when it was first assessed at Rs. 450.

91. *Mora*, given muáf by Sindhia to Gopál Bhat, whose heirs retained the half jama till 1841, when it was settled with the Kachhwáhá zamindárs at Rs. 1,600. It has now passed to Seth Gobardhan Dás. In the mutiny one of the old zamindárs, Chhítar, took a prominent part, looting all the adjoining villages; he died in jail.

92. *Muhammad-pur*, known on the spot only by its older name of Parsoli, is so called after Muhammad Sháh, in whose time it was resettled by some Bráhmaṇs from the neighbouring town of Gobardhan. Here is the Chandra-Sarovar, a fine octagonal tank with a temple of Lachhman, both constructed by Rájá Náhar Sinh of Bharat-pur. Jama, Rs. 1,001.

93. *Mukund-pur*, so called from the founder, a Mahratta. Subsequently it was occupied by some Játs from Kámar, named Guláb Lál, Sísu, Bhoja, and Jawahir, with whose descendants it continued till after the mutiny. Jama, Rs. 1,047.

94. *Mukharáí*, is held muáf by Mahant Rám Bakhsh. The old zamindárs were Kirárs, are now Sanádh, Dhúars and Bahrágis. In 1868 it was divided into three maháls. Jama, Rs. 1,360.

95. *Muresi*, on the Bharat-pur road, is held muáf by the temple of Ganes at Jay-sinh-pura. The founder was a Bráhmaṇ from Kumbhir, named Bís. A police out-post.

96. *Murseras*, bought by the Játs from the old Gújar and Jasávát zamindárs. Jama, Rs. 1,900.

97. *Murshid-pur*, on the Jamuná, adjoining the city, derives its name from the local governor, Murshid Kulí Khán. It was first assessed in 1841. The jama, which varies according to the course of the river, is now Rs. 430. The descendants of Sat Rám, Sanádh, the village founder, still hold $7\frac{1}{2}$ biswas; Syám Lál and Máihó Lál, sons of Shankar Lál, the old Mukad-dam of the city, 5 biswas; Naud-kishor, Baniya, other 5, and Hardeva Prasád, Khattri, the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$.

98. *Nabí-pur* derives its name from Abd-ul-nabí, the founder of the mosque in the centre of the city. It was sold by the Kachhwáhá zamindárs to the Ráñí Kantáni, the widow of the Lálá Bábú. Jama, Rs. 1,700.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
99	Nagara Bháu ...	44	...	44	Baladeva Misr and Bhágirath.	Ját (Kuntel).	252
100	„ Bhúnehha,	227	...	227	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	120
101	„ Chauthaiya,	83	...	83	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	272
102	Nagara Jhinga ...	407	21	428	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	578
103	„ Gajú ...	413	4	417	Bráhmaṇ community.	Sanádh ...	239
104	„ Ghaniya ...	262	4	266	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	92
105	„ Kalán ...	418	...	418	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	231
106	„ Kanku ...	144	...	144	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	211
107	„ Kási ...	396	1	397	Seth Ghansyám Dás.	Gaurua (Kachhwáha).	920
108	„ Neta ...	163	...	163	Ját community...	Ját ...	280
109	„ Sámant	96	...	96	Bráhmaṇ and Ját community.	Ját (Kuntel).	208
Nainu Patti.							

99, 100, 101. *Nagaras Bháu, Bhúnehha, Chauthaiya.*—See Nainu Patti.

102. *Nagara Jhinga*—In the time of Thákur Churá-mani of Tóun in Barát-pur, a Kuntel Ját, by name Binárasí, held part of Sonsa and Boripa as jágir. His grandson founded this hamlet which he called after his own name. Juma, Rs. 1,109. A halkabandi school.

103. *Nagara Gaju* was first called *Nagara Bráhmaṇ*, after the caste of its founders, who came from Junsuthi. Juma, Rs. 594.

104, 105, 106. *Nagaras Ghaniya, Kalan, and Kanku*—See Nainu Patti.

107. *Nagara Kási*, so called after its founder, who came from Junsuthi, was sold by the Kachhwáhas to Seth Ghansyám Dás, son of Gur Saháy Mall. Juma, Rs. 1,204.

108. *Nagara Neta* was settled by Játs from Barhota, with whose descendants it still continues. Juma, Rs. 325.

109. *Nagara Sámant*, near Lál-pur on the Agra Canal, in the time of Thákur Churá-mani, of Tóun, was held muáf by one of his kinsmen named Mumrez. The settlement was subsequently made with the Játs, but now they have only five biswas, and Bráhmaṇs the other 15. Juma, Rs. 245.

Nainu Patti consists of 11 distinct maháls, viz., Arázi Shámilát, Daumpura, Jangali Bári, Khilu, Saida; and *Nagaras Bháu, Bhúnehha, Chauthaiya, Ghaniya, Kalán and Kanku*. These were formed by the sons and relations of the original Ját proprietor, Nainu, viz., Jangali Bári, Khilu and Saida, by his three sons so named; *Nagaras Bhúnehha, Ghaniya, Kalán and Kanku*, by the children of his fourth son, Kirat; and *Nagaras Bháu and Chauthaiya and Daum-pura*, by his kinsmen. A Bairági, Priya Dás, held 70 bighas 7 biswas muáf, and this land when resumed was constituted the Arázi Shámilát. The older zamindárs were Kirárs. There is a small temple of Braj-bhúkhan.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
110	Nabráuli ...	685	38	723	...	Chamar and Gaurua.	705
111	Naugáma ...	563	21	584	Bághchi Bohra, mortgagee.	Gaurua ...	1,265
112	Naugáma Mahál,	3	...	3	Harideva Dás, Bairági.	Gaurua ...	...
113	Nawáda ...	211	...	211	Kalyán Lumber-dár.	Gaurua ...	650
114	Nim-gánw ...	917	21	938	Thákur communi-ty.	Gaurua (Jasávat)	2,159
115	Paitha ...	1,614	98	1,712	Bráhmañ community.	Sanádh ...	3,080

110. *Nabráuli*, on the Bharat-pur road, was founded by Jasráj, Kachhwáhá, and named after Náhar, one of his relatives. His descendants still retain one-third, while Patti Baladeva has been acquired by Bháñ and Pratáp of Máñ, and Patti Sawái by Keval and others of Maholi. Jama, Rs. 1,079. To punish the people for the part they had taken in pillaging the civil station, their village was burnt down after the mutiny, and for a time given to Seth Roshan Lál. On a chabutara by the roadside is an ancient Mahádeva, sculptured with a head in relief.

111. *Naugáma* is said to derive its name from one Nág, a Kachhwáhá, who came from Maholi and ejected the Kalárs: in which case the original form of the name must have been Nágáma. Part has been mortgaged to Bághchi, Bohra, and part sold to Jánaki Prasad of Haya. The Jama, Rs. 1,942, is enjoyed muáf by Anand Lál and Mádhó Lál, Baldyas, a gift from Sindhia.

112. *Naugáma Mahál* was held muáf by Prahlád Dás, Bairági, and formed into a separate estate on his death, when it was settled at Rs. 35 with his chela, Chhabila Dás, who has now been succeeded by Harideva Dás. This latter has mortgaged it to Kundan Lál, Baniya, agent for two Mahratta ladies, Tápi Báñ and Jamuná Báñ.

113. *Nawáda*, like Naugáma, was formed by Nág, Kachhwáhá, the son of Sarang, and grandson of Jasráj, who came from Satoha and took 400 bighas out of each of the four adjoining villages, Aurangábád, Bija-pur, Arúki, and Tartora. His descendants are still in part possession. Jama, Rs. 872.

114. *Nim-gánw*, on the Chhátá and Gobardhan road, is so called after Gosáñ Manohar Dás of the Nimbárák Sampradaya, who built a small temple, still standing. Jama, Rs. 2,307.

115. *Paitha*, near Gobardhan, (Jama, Rs. 3,166), is held muáf by Misrs Baladeva Lál and Gangá Rám of Mathurá, of whom the former is accounted the most learned astronomer and astrologist in this part of India. The zamindárs of old were Kirárs; are now Bráhmañs and Gújars. The original temple of Chatur-bhaj is said to have been destroyed by Aurangzeb. Its successor, which also is now in ruins, was probably built on the old foundations, as it comprised a nave, choir, and sacrarium, each of the two latter cells being surmounted by a *sikhara*. It thus bore a general resemblance to the temples of Akbar's reign at Brindá-ban. The nave is unroofed, and both the towers partly demolished; what remains perfect is only of brick and quite plain and unornamented. It stands in the *kadamb-khandi* (107 bighas), which spreads over the low ground at the foot of the village *Khera*; its deepest hollows forming the Náráyan Sarovar, which is only a succession of ponds with here and there a flight of masonry steps. The school has an attendance of only twenty-five boys, fifteen of whom are sons of the Bráhmañ zamindárs. There are three thoks, Jasun, Bináyak, and Gújarán ká; and ten lumberdárs, of whom one is a Gújar, the other nine Sanádh. The closely adjoining *Khera*, called Garhi, is a hamlet of Jangal Báñi. A curiously twisted tree is known as the *Aintha kadamb*; and there is a natural

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
116	Páli (Bráhmañu)	195	..	195	Bráhmañ community.	Sanádh ...	242
117	„ (Gaurua) ...	48	...	48	Nathu Sinh, Kachh-wáhá	Máti ...	243
118	„ (Dungara) ...	149	...	149	Ját community.	Ját (Kun-tel)	196
119	„ Kherá ...	481	...	481	...	Ját (Kun-tel).	650
120	„ Mahta ...	413	27	440	...	Ját (Kun-tel).	528
121	Panna-pur ...	...	...	...	Mádhó Lál Chau-be.	Ját (Kun-tel)	398
122	Páral ...	583	64	647	...	Sanádh ...	1,861
123	Parson ..	2,416	29	2,445	Rájá Prithi Sinh of Kishan-garh	Ahivási ...	3,712

cave believed to reach the whole way to Gobardhan, and to be the one that the people of Braj 'went into' (*paitha*) to save themselves from the wrath of Indra. On the road to Gobardhan near Parsoni is the Moha-bun and in it a lingam called Mohesvar Mahádeva that is said to be sunk an immense depth in the ground, and will never allow itself to be covered over. Several attempts have been made to build a temple over it; but whenever the roof began to be put on, the walls were sure to fall in. This and several other of the sacred sites in the neighbourhood are marked by inscribed tablets set up last century by an officer under Sindhia.

116, 117. *Páli*, divided before the mutiny into two maháls, in one of which Bráhmans from Barhota; in the other Gaurua Jasávats are zamindárs. The jama of each is Rs. 330. The date of Anang Lal, the rebuilder of Delhi and founder of the Tomar dynasty at that city, is 736 A. D. The occurrence of the name here is in accordance with the tradition that his dominions extended as far south as Agra.

118 and 120. *Páli*, on the road to Sonkh, is said to have been named in honour of Anang Pál of Delhi, by a Tnákur, three of whose descendants, Dungara, Lorhá and Mahta, formed it into as many separate maháls. Lorhá, which is uninhabited, has a jama of Rs. 310, Dungara, Rs. 470, and Mahta, Rs. 150.

119. *Páli Khera* was founded by the sons of Jasráj, Kachhwáhás from Maholi, who named it after their sovereign lord, Anang Pál of Delhi. It continued with their descendants till above 100 years ago, when Nagara and Datus sold 17½ biswas to Dhan Sinh, Gújar, and Kripá, Ját. The remaining 2½ biswas were acquired by Gújars in 1813. Jama, Rs. 479. Here I found the curious Bacchanalian group, the companion to Col. Stacy's Silenus described at page 155.

121. *Panna-pur*, founded about the year 1725, by Panná, Khwájá, in the service of Sawái Jay Sinh, who took 200 bighas from Mathurá and as many from Nahráuli and Maholi. It was made over to Tulsi, Gújar, his foster father, who bestowed five biswas of it on Bráhmans. The present zamindárs are Chaubes, Gújars and Bairágis. Jama, Rs. 273. It is uninhabited.

122. *Páral*, on the Chhátá and Gobardhan road, was made into two maháls in 1842; Bráhmans having 12½, and Khattris 7½ biswas. Jama, Rs. 1,936.

123. *Parson*.—The absurd derivation of the name current on the spot, and gravely entered in the settlement records, is that Krishna, the third day after he had slain the demon Kesi, met some of his friends here, who asked him what day it was when the fight took place, and he answered *Parson*, 'the day before yesterday.' The true explanation is suggested by a large pond, with the remains of a *kadamb-khandi* adjoining it, which still bears the unmutated name

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathura Pargan—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
124	Phenchri ...	335	4	339	Zālim Sinh and Rām Chānd, Lumberdārs.	Jāt (Kuntel).	698
125	Phondar ...	2,989	81	3,070	Jāt community.	Jāt (Kuntel).	3,242
126	Pūra ...	452	6	458	Jāt community...	Jāt (Kuntel).	1,240
127	Pūrna ...	868	236	1,104	Jāt community...	Jāt (Kuntel).	508
128	Rādhā-kund ...	2,251	73	2,328	The Rājā of Āwa and temple of Rangji	...	2,778

of Parasurām-kund : Parsa being the ordinary abbreviation for Parasurān, the transition is an easy one from Parsa-gānw, through Parsa'an, to Parson. On the margin of the pond is a temple of some size dedicated to Rādhā Mohan, built by Girwar Dās, Bafrāgi, at a cost of some Rs. 2,000, opened last year on the feast of the Basant Panchami. In the village is an older shrine with the title of Rādhā Raman, and on a small *khera* toward Mahroli are some massive slabs of stone and sculptured fragments called Balbhadrā. Rājā Prithi Sinh of Kishangarh, in addition to the rent-free estate, owns the zamindāri also of nearly eighteen biswas, the greater part of which was purchased at auction in the year 1844. The muāfi grant was made to his ancestor, Rājā Bardh Sinh, in 1788 A.D., by Mādho Rao Sindhiā, for the maintenance of a dole-house at Brindā-ban, to which purpose the revenue is still devoted. At the time of the grant the *jama* was only Rs. 1,200 which has been gradually increased to Rs. 7,040. The Ahivāsīs, who now own only two biswas, represent themselves to be the descendants of Kishan kām, Dharm-jit, Jay Rām, and Fatih Rām, the sons of one Mahā Dās, who came from Sunakh in the ninth century, in the reign of Rājā Gangal of Amber. To their purohīts, who were Vyās Brāhman, they make a grant of one-fourth biswa, which their descendants still enjoy. The Ahivāsīs are found also in Hāthras and Mewāt, and recognize as many as seventy-two *goṣor* or sub-divisions among themselves. In Parson they are all engaged in the salt trade, and leave the cultivation of the land almost entirely to the women and children. Hence the only crops grown to any extent are *chaud*, *bājra*, and *joār*, which require little or no irrigation. There are twenty-seven masonry wells, and according to the census computation the village contains as many as 121 brick-built houses; but this gives rather a false impression, being the number not of separate houses, but of separate sets of rooms. The school has an attendance of forty-two boys, of whom exactly half are Ahivāsīs.

124. *Phenchri*.—The present Pahchandra, Dhūsar, and Brāhman zamindārs acquired from the Kachhwāhās. Jama, Rs. 1,093. Rāmchand, Brāhman, is only a fictitious owner on behalf of Bābū Pārvati Prasād.

125. *Phondar*, on the Bharat-pur border, has a kadamb-khandi of 20½ bighas, with a pond, from the flowering lotuses in which the name is supposed to be derived. There are as many as nineteen hamlets, named as follows: Ajit, Bhuchha, Dāriwāra, Andhukā, Bhāu, Gārhi, Jarpa, Thakura, Śrī Chund, Dalsāy, Gharu, Gola, Kharu, Hamā, Dabja, Sīha, Dhām Bari, Dhām Chhoti, and Khanā. There are eighteen lumberdārs, of whom one is a Chaube, and all the rest Jāts. The old *khera*, which is of considerable height and extent, is still inhabited, and on its slope are as many as a dozen wells all in a line only a few feet apart from one another and all working. Water is here 32 hands below the surface, in other parts of the village not less than 40, and under a stratum of sand, which falls in as soon as dug. Hence there are no wells at all except those on the *khera*, and from them the whole of the land round about is irrigated.

126. *Pura* is said to have been originally called Jogi-pura. The old zamindārs were Rāvat Jāh. Jama, Rs. 1,800.

127. *Pūrna*. See Sonkh. Jama, Rs. 1,215.

128. *Rādhā-kund*—For a description of its famous tanks, see pages 59 and 238. The old zamindārs were Gauruas; the present proprietors are Swāmī Rangachārya, the Guru of the Seth's temple at Brindā-ban, and Rājā Prithi Singh of Āwa who hold each in equal shares. Here is a large colony of Bengālīs, one of whom keeps a Sanskrit school. There is also a balkabandi school. The Kusum-sarovar and Chhattēri of Rājā Sūraj Mall are on the extreme border of the village land towards Gobardhan (see page 285).

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
129	Ráj-pur ...	339	...	339	Tíkam Sinh of Brindá-ban.	Bráhmañ ...	1,598
130	Rál ...	3,302	123	3,425	The Rájá of Áwa,	Th á k u r, Kachhwáhá.	5,110
131	Rám Patti ...	3,392	185	3,477	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel)	...
132	Rám-pur ...	898	50	948	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel) and Pahch- andra	784
133	Rasúl-pur ...	912	14	926	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel).	1,296

129. *Ráj-pur*, on the Jamuná, adjoining Brindá-ban, was first so called with reference to the Ráj-ghát, an old ford and reputed *tirtha*, by Bhagawán, a Sanádh from Kámar, who came and settled here. Before, it had been known as Malhu Kherá, after a Kachhwáhá named Malhu. Part of the village is still held by Gauruas and Bráhmans, descendants of the old stock. Here is a fine baul of red sandstone constructed by Mulhar Ráo Sindhia; another made by Gopál Ráo; and two very large walled gardens, the one near the temple of Bhatron, laid out by Parikh Jí, the grandfather of Seth Lakshmi Chand, the other by Bábu Kushál, Seth of Gujarát. The latter is tenanted by Bairágis and the village rental, Rs. 836, is devoted to their support and the maintenance of the garden.

130. *Rál*.—The old Gaurua zamindárs sold their estate to Kesavánand, Gosáin of the temple of Sríngár-bat at Brindá-ban, from whom it has been purchased by Rájá Prithi Sinh of Áwa. The principal resident in the town was the late Chaudhari Daulat Sinh, a descendant of the old family. He was the only Honorary Magistrate in the district, a gentleman of approved integrity, and one held in high esteem by all his neighbours. Under the Mahratta Government his ancestors are said to have enjoyed the *chaudharayat* of as many as 307 villages; but his larded estate had dwindled down almost to nothing, and consisted merely of the two small villages of Pasoli and Pillora, in the Chhátá Pargana, and some 500 bighas of freehold in the township of Rál. His good services in the mutiny were acknowledged by a donation of Rs. 7,000, to which was originally added a grant of 43 villages; but he only held them for six months, when they were resumed. Though his proprietary rights in Rál passed some years ago into the hands of the Rájá of Áwa, he continued to manage the estate in an ill-defined intermediate capacity between landlord and tenant; an anomalous position which naturally, but most unfortunately, engendered a feeling of jealousy which developed into the most bitter animosity. He died in 1876, leaving five sons, of whom the eldest is named Fath Sinh. A younger brother, Jagat Sinh, is however the only son by the Chaudhari's head wife, and he in consequence advances a claim to be considered his father's representative. But there is no estate left to fight about; that has all been purchased by Lálá Syám Sundar. In a garden outside the town are three chhatris in memory of the Chaudhari's ancestors, Mahá Sinh, Gopál Sinh and Deví Sinh. The large mud fort was built by the last named. There are two extensive tracts of woodland, abounding in game, the one 324, the other 566 bighas in extent; a halkabandi school; and three small temples, dedicated respectively to Baladeva, Mohan Jí, and Kesava Deva. Half way between Rál and Báthi is a deserted site called Barsa Khara, held in much honour by all the Alivásis of the neighbourhood, who bring their children to it when their hair is to be cut for the first time. There are fragments of a sculptured stone doorway and a curious group of three seated female figures each with a child, at her feet, in her lap, or in her arms.

131. *Rám patti*.—See Mangotla.

132. *Rám-pur* derives its name from a sacred pond called Rám-tál. It is now divided into two maháls, owned, the one by Kuntel, the other by Pahchandra, Játs. Jama, Rs. 850.

133. *Rasúl-pur*.—Is the last village in the district on the road to Bharat-pur, and on that account has a police station and post-office. Jama, Rs. 2,400. Here is a masonry tank built by Rám Dás, a Bairági, who is still living, a dharnisála built by Náriyan Dás, bohra, and a temple of Baladeva founded by the Ját zamindár and bohra of that name who is the principal person in the village. The school has an attendance of about 30 boys. Between this and Mathurá there are as many as five bridges, one over the canal, the other four over distributaries. At Rára, a village a mile further on the road, just across the Bharat-pur border, is an extensive walled garden, and on the opposite side of the road a large masonry tank faced with stone, the work of a Ráni, one of the secondary wives of the late Muhárája Balavant Sinh, the present Rájá's *mausi*. On the village hill is an Idgah, the pillars being the spoil of an ancient Hindu temple which is said to have stood about a mile away. They resemble the pillars in the Chhatthi Pána at Mahá-ban, and are good specimens of the style of the time of Prithi Raj or thereabouts.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
134	Ratu ...	261	...	261	Ját community...	Ját (Kuntel),	412
135	Raunchi ...	59	16	75	...	Bráhmán ...	449
136	Sadr Bazar ...	5,684	1,873	7,557	...	"	...
137	Sahjua ...	1,894	123	2,017	Ját community...	Bráhmán ...	...
138	Saida ...	346	...	346	Ditto ...	Ját (Kuntel),	...
139	Sakaráya ...	972	5	977	Kishan S a h á y Bráhmán, Lum- berdar.	Gaurua and Chamár.	2,487
140	Sakarwá ...	1,108	...	1,108	Temple of Rang Ji.	Máli ...	1,599
141	Sakitra, 5 biswas,	241	...	241	Rájá Jasavant Sinh, of Bharat- pur.	Bráhmán and Gaurua.	273
142	" 15 biswas,	1,219	32	1,251	Gauruas ...	Chamár ...	771
143	Sakna ...	362	6	368	Nand Kishor, Ba- niya.	Bráhmán ...	605
144	Salim-pur ...	596	10	606	...	Ját ...	584

134. *Ratu* was formed into a separate village by Ratu, a Ját from Bachh-gánw. Jama, Rs. 700.

135. *Raunchi*, on the Jamuná, was founded by Hamír, a Kachhwáhá from Rál. Of his two sons, Míram and Ganea, the former turned Muhammánadan. Some of their descendants are still part proprietors, while other part is held by Seth Roshan Lál and Murlí and Tulsi, Bráhmáns, of Aurangabad. The muáfi estate has also been acquired by purchase from Gosáin Mathurá-náth by Seth Roshan Lál.

137. *Sahjua*.—See Sonkh. Jama, Rs. 1,500.

138. *Saida*.—See Nainu-Patti.

139. *Sakaraya*, founded by a Gaurua named Santokh, whose descendants still own a small share; the rest has been transferred to Bráhmáns. The jama, Rs. 1,404, is an endowment of the temple of Rádhá-kánt at Brindá-ban. Overlooking the Jamuná is an old mud fort. *Sakar-ban*, from which the village derives its name—*Sakra* being a title of Indra—is one of the places visited in the Ban-jáira, and extends over 340 bighas. A mahál of 118 bighas 6 biswas held muáfi by Gobardhan Dás and Ganga Dás, Bairágis of Brindá-ban, was resumed in 1855 and settled with their heirs at Rs. 63.

140. *Sakarwa*, also derives its name from *Sakra*. It was purchased by the Swámi from the old zamindárs, who were Bráhmáns and Jasávats. Jama, Rs. 2,364.

141. *Sakitra*, 5 biswas, comprises part of the town of Gobardhan, including all the most famous sites, viz., the Mánasi Gangá, the Chhatris of Rájás Ranjit Sinh and Baladeva Sinh, the Gwál Pokhar, the temple of Chakresvar Mahádeva built by Súraj Mall, the temple of Lakshmi Nárayan rebuilt by Seth Rádhá Kriehán and Swámi Nivásachári, the Chattris of Ránis Rúp Kunwar and Amrit Kunwar, and many other small shrines and monuments. The old zamindárs were Jasávats, but now the Rájá of Bharat-pur is both muáfidar and zamindár. There is a market on Saturday.

142. *Sakitra*, 15 biswas, has a jhári of 81 bighas. Jama, Rs. 1,123.

143. *Sakna* has a temple of Baladeva. The zamindárs were formerly Bráhmáns and Ahírs; are now Bráhmáns, Baniyas, and Malakánas. Jama, Rs. 900.

144. *Salim-pur* was founded by Bhoja, Ját, an officer of Salim Sháh's. The greater part of the estate has passed from his descendants to Baniyas. The village was formerly included in Pargana Sonas, and was part of the jagir of Báija Bai; later, it was attached to Pargana Sahár till 1833. Jama, Rs. 1,196.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Muslimans.	Total.			
145	Satoha Askarpur,	1,494	24	1,518	Thákur community.	Gaurua (Kachhwáhá)	1,305
146	Sehán ...	616	17	633	Dáni Rám ...	Ját (Kuntel,)	532
147	Schi ...	1,102	14	1,116	Ahivási community.	Ahivási ...	1,592
148	Sháh-pur Chain-pur.	277	11	288	Lálji, Chaube ..	Gaurua ...	793
149	Sháh-pur Játán ...	251	7	258	Ját community,	Ját ...	259
150	Singa ...	1,210	82	1,292	Ját community,	Ját (Kuntel,)	1,214
151	Son ...	1,256	42	1,298	Ját community,	Ját (Kuntel,)	1,502
	Sonkh ...	...	...	...	Ját community,	Ját (Kuntel,)	2,267
152	Sonoth ...	434	3	437	Bábú Harichandra and Randhir.	Gaurua ...	1,120

145. *Satoha* is on the road to Gobardhan. For a description of the *Sántanu-kund* see page 277. The old zamindárs were *Kachhwáhás*, the descendants of Surang, the son of Jasráj, of Maholi; they have now been partially superseded by *Biniyas* and *Dhásars*. There is a *halkabandi* school, and by the tank a bungalow occupied by a *Patrol* in the Customs Department. Two hamlets are called *Satoha* and *Askar-pur*: the latter has been purchased by Seth Raghunáth Dás.

146. *Sehán*, also called *Raghunáth-pur*, on the *Agra Canal*, has a temple of *Bihári'Ji*. This was one of the villages given temporarily after the mutiny to *Chaudhari Daulat Singh*. *Jama*, Rs. 1,150.

147. *Schi* was acquired by the *Ahivásis* from the *Kirárs*.

148-149. *Sháh-pur*, on the *Agra Canal*, with a bridge and bungalow, was founded by one *Sháhman*, a *Gaurua Kachhwáhá* from *Sonsa*; and *Chain-pura*, at first a separate village, by one *Chaina* from the same place; this latter is now deserted. Some years ago two maháls were formed, the one *Sháh-pur Chain-pura*, now owned by *Chaube* zamindárs with a *jama* of Rs. 1,078, the other *Sháh-pur Játán*, held by *Pahchandra Játs*, with a *jama* of Rs. 432.

150. *Singa*, on the *Sonkh* road, is so called after the founder, as the village of *Malhu* after that of his brother. In the mutiny the *Ját* zamindárs plundered the people of *Bhadár*, for which they had to pay Rs. 1,060 compensation. There are seven hamlets. *Jama*, Rs. 2,700.

151. *Son*, said to have been founded by a *Rájá* of that name, has been acquired in part by *Jánaki Prasád*, *Buniya* of *Raya*. *Jama*, Rs. 3,010. As the *khera*, or artificial hill, on which the village stands, is of great height and area, it is very probable that at some remote period the place was one of considerable importance, and (according to the tradition) the capital of a *Rájá*. It may plausibly be conjectured that *Sonsa*, *Sonkh*, and *Sonoth* were also part of his territory and named after him.

Sonkh. A police station, a district post-office, an establishment of town *chaukidars* under Act XX. of 1856, and a *halkabandi* school. A market at *Sahjua* on Thursday, at *Purna* on Monday. See page 379.

152. *Sonoth* is said to derive its name from *Sohan Pál*, *Tomar*. It has been divided into two maháls: *Janúbi*, held by *Bengali Kayaths*, with a *jama* of Rs. 800; *Shimáli*, held by *Gaurua Gaurs*, with a *jama* of Rs. 812. There is an old mud fort, built by one *Dabhal*, in ruins since the time of *Najaf Khán*, and a temple of *Devi*, built by *Sindhia*, where a *mela* is held on the full moon of *Baisákh*.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population*.			Principal proprie- tors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal- mans.	Total.			
153	Sonsa ...	934	34	968	Thákur com- munity.	Gaurua ...	1,145
154	Sunrakh ...	580	...	580	...	Bráhmaṇ ...	2,446
155	Társi ...	728	21	749	Seth Gobardhan Dás.	Gaurua ...	...
156	Tásiha ...	279	136	415	Ját community,	Ját (Kuntel),	513
157	Tehra ...	525	7	532	Lodha commu- nity.	Lodha ...	500
158	Tond ...	165	22	187	Kanhay and Pír Bakhsh.	Mewáti ...	615

153. *Sonsa*, on the Agra Canal, near the Sonkh road, has a *jhári* of 18 *bighas*, an old fort built by the *Mahrattas*, and a temple of *Mahádeva* built by *Manasá Rám*, *Sáhu*kár of *Kumbhír*. After the mutiny the *zamindárs* received some small rewards for good services done to the Government. In the time of the *Játs*, *Sonsa* was the head of a *pargana*. There is a *halkabandi* school.

154. *Sunrakh*, on the *Jamuná* between *Brindá-ban* and *Jait*, was the original seat of the *Ahivásis*, who were expelled some 300 years ago by *Lokman*, *Kachhwáhá* from *Báthi*, and *Rai Rám*, a *Gautam* from *Rál*, and the present *Gautam* and *Gaurua zamindárs* are their descendants. There is an old fort built by one *Hira Sinh* of *Rál*. *Jama*, Rs. 1,873.

155. *Társi*, on the *Bharat-pur* road, was founded by *Tára-chand*, a *Kachhwáhá* from *Satoha*. From his descendants the estate has passed to *Seth Gobardhan Dás* and *Syám Sundar Dás*, *Dhúsar*, of whom the first owns two-thirds and the latter one-third. *Jama*, Rs. 2,201. The bungalow, occupied by an assistant patrol in the Customs Department, was destroyed by the villagers in the mutiny, for which act they had to pay a compensation of Rs. 800s. The sacred grove of *Tál-ban*, where a *mela* is held *Bhádón sudi 11*, consists only of a few struggling *pipal* and *nim* trees, though a number of small orchards have been planted round about it during the last few years. Adjoining it is a pond called *Balbhadrá-kund*, or *Beṭra Gangá*, the latter name being explained by a legend that *Krishna* struck the ground with his stick (*vetra*) where he wished the water to appear. There is a little temple dedicated to *Balá-rám* under his title of *Dáu ji*, a brick *sikhara* in the *Brindá-ban* style, which is ascribed to *Sawae Jay Sinh*, and by it a fine masonry well sunk by a native of *Benares*, *Sambat* 1845. The shrine has an endowment of 20 *bighas* of land. There are no marks of antiquity about the village and some rationalizing natives say that *Tál-ban* is only the grove by the *tal*, or pond. But the pond is not of sufficient dimensions to be a distinctive feature, and there can be no doubt that the name dates from the time of *Naráyan Bhat*, who intended thereby to fix the site of the palm-grove where *Bala Ram* encountered the demon *Dhenuk*. (See page 56).

156. *Tastha*.—See *Sonkh*. *Jama*, Rs. 1,200.

157. *Tehra* was founded by *Arjun*, a *Lodha*, from *Amber*, who named it after his son. There is a *jhári* of 25 *bighas*. The village was held *muáf* by *Rám Náráyan*, *Chaube*, till 1863, when it was assessed at Rs. 915.

158. *Tond*.—The *zamindárs* were formerly *Kolis* and *Jogis*, are now *Játs*, *Baniyás*, and *Mewátis*. There is a *jhári* of 8 *bighas* with a shrine of *Kanya Deva*, where the *Kolis* hold a *mela* in *Bhádón*.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mathurá Pargana—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
159	Tosh ...	697	36	729	The Rájá of Awa.	Jádon ...	1,324
160	Uncha-gánuw ...	738	15	753	Amar Lal, Joti-shi.	Gaurua (Kachhwáhá.)	1,612
161	Usphár ...	1,032	1,206	2,238	Durga Prasád...	Malakána ...	...
162	Dhak-pura ...	...	...	...	...	...	2,005
163	Tartora ...	...	...	...	Seth Roshan Lal,	...	492

159. *Tosh*, bought by Thákur Pitambar Sinh of A'wa from the Kachhwáhá zamindárs. In the mutiny the people ranged themselves on the side of the Government under Chaudhari Daulat Sinh. Jama, Rs. 1,450.

160. *Uncha-gánuw* was sold by the old Kachhwáhá zamindárs to Amar Lal, Joti-shi, who is also the muáflár. Jama, Rs. 1,961. The sacred grove of Kumud-ban, where a mela is held Bhádon badi 11, is close to the seventh mile-stone on the Sonkh road, which runs between it and the village. Its full extent is 282 bighas, but it is mostly *karil* jungle, with only in the centre a small thicket of *kadamb*, *pápri*, *pasendu*, *chhonkar* and *sahora* trees, none of them being of very large growth. Adjoining it is an extensive pond with a hamlet of ten or twelve houses, occupied by Jogis. A field or two off is a garden of the muáflár's with an arched brick entrance gateway, and a small shrine of Mahádeva on a terrace in the centre. The water has lately become so brackish that the trees—chiefly mango, *jámun*, and *labera*—are all being destroyed.

161. *Usphár*, near the Sonkh road, was sold by the old Thákur zamindárs to Isvari Sinh, Baniya, who resold 15 biawas of it to Durga Prasád, Bengáli. Jama, Rs. 2,804. In the mutiny the representatives of the old proprietor made an attempt to eject their new masters. A halka-bandi school.

162. *Dhak-pura*, uninhabited, so called from the number of *dhák* trees. Jama, Rs. 750.

163. *Tartora*, another uninhabited village, was founded by Padam Sháh, a Tarkar Thákur from across the Ganges, whose descendants have sold it to Seth Roshan Lal, Khattri, Jama, Rs. 751. The old village Kherá immediately adjoins the regimental race-course, and by a well a little way beyond, towards Aurangábad, are arranged a number of sculptured stone fragments, some of them ornamented with the pattern known as the Buddhist railing.

PARGANA FARRAH.

The following is a list of the 84 villages, constituting the Farrah Pargana, which were transferred in 1878, from the Agra to the Mathurá district. I have not been able to procure much information about them.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Acreage.	Jama.
		Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total.			
1	Ol	371	3,000	3,371	Rasul-ud-din, &c. ...	3,211	Rs. 4,300
2	Aonla-Sultánpur	319	15	334	Bihári Lál ...	1,533	860
3	Anangpura	100	125	225	Rám Rúp ...	475	800
4	Ekdanta	243	...	243	Kalu and Natholi ...	352	510
5	Birona	514	...	514	Nathu &c. ...	633	970
6	Balarai	473	...	473	Jawáhir and Bálmukund.	641	830
7	Barári	600	57	657	Durga Prasád ...	969	1,550
8	Budharsá	925	17	940	Baladeva Singh ...	1,183	1,890
9	Bhai	675	400	1,075	Durga Prasád ...	1,468	2,550
10	Beri	2,118	160	2,278	Pandit Káshi Náth ...	1,899	3,310
11	Bisu	437	5	442	Uttam Kunvar ...	732	1,060
12	Baroda Musharrafpur,	940	28	968	Kalu ...	711	1,180
13	Bhadáya	837	2	839	Bishambhar Nath ...	1,945	1,711
14	Bhaderna	915	20	935	Dhunde ...	875	930
15	Bákirpur	294	...	294	Ghási Rám ...	470	700
16	Bánmoli	578	...	578	Tota ...	762	1,230
17	Begampur	99	...	99	Kunvar Kanhay Singh,	255	350
18	Parkham	653	25	678	Ati Rám ...	840	1,040
19	Piparota Murshidpur,	395	...	395	Thákur Prasád ...	752	1,110
20	Pilua Sadikpur	1,073	50	1,123	Kusháli ...	1,538	2,740

1. *Ol*.—Watered by the Fatehpur canal distributary. A weekly market.
2. *Aonla-Sultánpur*.—On the Agra Canal. An old masonry sarac.
3. *Anangpura*.—Founded by a Ját, who called it after his own name.
4. *Ekdanta*.—Watered by the Fatehpur canal distributary.
5. *Birona*.—A Gújar village.
7. *Barári*.—On the Agra and Mathurá road. A weekly market.
9. *Bhai*.—A kadam-b-khandi and jungle of 80 bighas.
10. *Beri*.—Confiscated in the mutiny and given to Diwán Mahendra Singh, from whom it was purchased by the present proprietor. A weekly market.
11. *Bisu*.—Watered by the Farrah canal distributary. Confiscated after the mutiny and given to Diwán Hira Singh, with the exception of 8½ biswas.
12. *Baroda*.—On the canal.
13. *Bhadaya*.—On the Jamuná. Founded by one Bhima Ját.
15. *Bákirpur*.—Founded by one Bákir from Gwalior about 150 years ago.
16. *Bánmoli*.—A Bráhma village, whence the name, for Bráhma-puri.
18. *Parkham*.—A fair in honour of Jakhaiya is held every Sunday in the month of Megh. A halkabandi school.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Acreage.	Jama.
		Hindus.	Muslimans.	Total.			
21	Tharauli ...	568	...	568	Navala ...	894	Rs. 1,200
22	Jāfirnagar ...	131	...	131	Indra ...	174	800
23	Jaroli ...	611	20	631	Dule Ram ...	644	920
24	Jalāl ...	194	...	194	Prāo Kunvar ...	245	500
25	Jamālpur ...	483	12	495	Talsi Rām ...	887	1,451
26	Jhundawai ...	3,733	19	3,762	Bishambhar Nath ...	2,492	6,800
27	Jhandipur ...	646	25	671	Shām Singh ...	984	1,220
28	Jogipur, Great ...	688	6	694	Parsa ...	666	1,140
29	Jogipur, Little ...	...	...	...	Prahlād ...	113	70
30	Churmura ...	636	...	636	Bakhtawar Singh ...	1,147	950
31	Chandra Bhān ...	465	...	465	Ati Rām and Mughāl Beg. ...	424	760
32	Chargānw ...	552	25	577	Chunni Lal ...	1,423	2,280
33	Hasanpur ...	17	...	17	Nanhua ...	113	150
34	Daulatpur ...	280	2	282	Genda Bibi ...	914	1,900
35	Dhāna Teja ...	457	5	462	Kehari ...	456	800
36	Dhāna Shamsābād ...	384	...	384	Dān Sahay ...	617	989
37	Dhāna Jivna ...	781	160	931	Nand Kishor ...	589	800
38	Dhāna Lāl Chaud ...	483	...	483	Lachhman ...	470	850
39	Dhāna Kheva ...	288	...	288	Kehari ...	667	720
40	Dhāna Wairān ...	...	...	...	Isvari ...	430	660
41	Pauri ...	158	...	158	Rām Lal ...	313	640
42	Pulwāra ...	588	1	589	Dina Nāth ...	772	860
43	Pinḡri Shāhjānpur, ...	1,509	34	1,543	Amir Ali Shāh ...	1,672	2,930
44	Rahimpur ...	248	23	271	Rājā of Āwa ...	358	640
45	Rosu ...	380	2	382	Chaube Bihāri Lāl ...	751	710
46	Rāe pura Jāt ...	1,031	25	1,056	Rāe Rām ...	590	1,050
47	Sarūrpur ...	968	25	993	Ibrahim Khan ...	834	1,500

21. *Tharauli*.—Founded by one Thiru from Kāsimpur. A large jungle of 208 bighas.

22. *Jāfirnagar*.—Founded by one Jāfir Beg, 125 years ago.

23. *Jaroli*.—Founded by one Zorāwar from Shāhjānpur.

25. *Jamālpur*.—A jungle of about 100 bighas.

26. *Jhundawai*.—A weekly market. Halkabandi school.

27. *Jhandipur*.—On the Jamunā.

29. *Jogipur Little*.—On the Agra and Mathurā road.

30. *Churmura*.—A jungle of about 500 bighas.

31. *Chandra Bhān*.—After the mutiny 14½ biswas were confiscated and given to Diwān Mahendra Singh, from whom they were purchased by Husain Beg, the father of the present lumberdār.

36. *Dhāna Shamsabad* was originally called, after its founder, Dhāna Gobinda. *Dhāna* is a Hindi name for 'an enclosure.'

41. *Pauri*.—On the Agra and Mathurā road, confiscated for 15 years after the mutiny.

43. *Pinḡri Shāhjānpur*.—A mela in honour of Jakhaiya is held every Sunday in Māgh. A halkabandi school.

44. *Rahimpur*.—Confiscated in the mutiny and conferred upon Rājā Prithi Singh.

45. *Rosu*.—Here 4 biswas were conferred on the Rājā after the mutiny.

46. *Rāe pura Jāt*.—On the Agra and Mathurā road. Weekly market on Thursday. A halkabandi school.

No.	Name.	Popula tion.			Principal proprietors.	Acreage.	Jama.
		Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total.			
46	Salampur ...	429	12	441	Bábu Bishambharnath,	1,451	Rs. 1,060
49	Sanora ...	842	80	872	Giridhári-jí, Gosáin...	498	2,020
50	Sirsa ...	1,471	100	1,571	Kehari ...	1,468	2,480
51	Sháhpur ...	352	...	352	Babu Mahima Chandra,	847	1,120
52	Shahzádpur Pauri ...	675	4	679	Kripa ...	467	830
53	Shahzádpur Gújar ...	470	12	482	Ibráhim Khán ...	878	1,280
54	Fatiha ...	300	...	300	Temple of Rang Ji Brindá-ban.	498	800
55	Farrah ...	1,500	1,407	2,907	...	25	...
56	Kirárai ...	421	135	556	Abás Khán ...	964	1,710
57	Karanpur ...	306	...	306	Ahmad Raza Khán ...	639	750
58	Kurkenda ...	662	25	687	Lachhman ...	989	1,500
59	Kawaila or Koila ...	501	15	516	Temple of Rang Ji, Brindá-ban.	794	1,140
60	Koh ...	838	15	853	Udha ...	793	1,180
61	Kateriya ...	523	...	523	Angana ...	497	960
62	Kharet ...	202	3	205	Dál Chand ...	803	510
63	Gángoli ...	383	50	433	Baladeva Sinh ...	1,083	1,800
64	Gadáyá Latifpur ...	969	3	972	Seth Ghansyám Dás...	2,556	...
65	Garhi Bhai ...	...	...	...	Tota ...	71	110
66	Garhi Rámbal ...	300	10	310	Guláb ...	219	400
67	Gokulpura ...	85	...	85	Thákur Prasád ...	311	500
68	Lohára ...	451	...	451	Rámchandra ...	899	1,200
69	Mál ...	622	...	622	Jangi ...	1,068	1,650
70	Muin-ud-dínpur ...	120	25	145	Murád Khán ...	198	280

48. *Salampur*, said to have been founded by one Sulaiman from Rosu. After the mutiny it was confiscated, with the exception of 25 bighas, and conferred upon Ráo Joti Prasád, the father of the present proprietor.

49. *Sanora*, said to have been founded by one Devi from Sirsa.

50. *Sirsa*.—Founded from Tartora. Weekly market.

52. *Shahzádpur Pauri*.—Confiscated for 15 years after the mutiny.

53. *Shahzádpur Gújar*.—A *dhák* jungle of about 100 bighas.

54. *Fatiha*.—On the Agra and Mathurá road.

55. *Farrah*.—Founded by Hamída Begam, the mother of the Emperor Akbar.

About the year 1555, during the exile of the Emperor Humáyún, the town was the scene of a battle between Sikandar Shah, (a nephew of Sher Sháh) and Ibrahim Shah, in which the latter was defeated, though he had with him an army of "70,000 horse and 200 persons, to whom he had given velvet tents, banners, and kettle-drums." Sikandar, whose force did not exceed 10,000 horse, offered peace upon condition of receiving the government of the Panjab, but on his overtures being rejected, he joined in battle, and by his victory became sovereign of Agra and Delhi, while Ibrahim fled to Sambhal. A tahsili school and one for girls. A camping ground for troops.

62. *Kharet*.—Founded by Bottle Sháh, Fakir, of Aurangabad.

63. *Gangoli*.—An annual fair in honour of Koila Devi.

64. *Gadáyá Latifpur*.—A jungle of about 800 bighas. A halkabandi school.

65. *Garhi Bhai*.—Founded from Saráurpur.

66. *Garhi Rámbal*.—Founded from Tatarota.

68. *Lohára*.—Founded from Pipara. A small *dhák* jungle. A mela in honour of Kalioka Devi in Chait.

69. *Mál*.—The original name was Márkand, who still has a shrine in the village.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Acreage.	Jama.
		Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total.			
71	Makhdúm ...	506	9	515	Uttam Kunvar ...	1,048	Rs. 740
72	Mirzapur Bráhmañ ...	838	...	338	Sri Rám ...	597	1,090
73	Mirzapur Nagara ...	81	...	81	Narottam Sinh ...	351	400
74	Mustafabád ...	916	400	1,316	Kishori ...	1,592	2,400
75	Milkpur ...	863	15	878	Tota ...	622	1,200
76	Mahuan ...	790	25	815	Bábu Bishambhar Nath,	1,006	1,770
77	Mirpur ...	47	15	62	Meudu Khán ...	831	1, 50
78	Meghpur ...	311	6	317	Gaya Prasád ...	435	760
79	Nagara Abhua ...	787	20	8 7	Jas Rám ...	340	490
80	Nagara Deo Kishan ...	444	5	449	Mansá Rám ...	99	200
81	Mir-ullah-pur ...	123	...	123	Rámphal ...	250	290
82	Nagara Hriday ...	191	5	196	Munshi Nirottam Sinh.	265	360
83	Hatauli ...	406	6	412	Bábu Bishambhar Nath.	415	790
84	Jodhpur ...	589	...	589	Gopál ...	612	1,000

71. *Makhdúm*.—Given after the mutiny to Diwán Mahendra Sinh.

72. *Mirzapur Bráhmañ*.—Given by the Thákurs of Beri to their *Kherapat*.

73. *Mirzappur Nagara*.—Founded from Koh.

76. *Mahuan*.—Here is an old masonry *bauli*. Given after the mutiny to the present proprietor, with the exception of 84 bighas.

77. *Mirpur*.—A *mela* in honour of Jakhaiya held every Sunday in Mágh.

82. *Nagara Hriday*.—Founded from Koh.

83. *Hatauli*.—Conferred after the mutiny on Rao Joti Prasád.

IV.—PARGANA MÁT.

THE pargana of Mát is the most northern of the three on the east of the Jamuna, and is a long, narrow, straggling tract of country lying between the river and the Aligarh border. As it abounds in game of various kinds—black buck, wild boar, and water-fowl—it has considerable attractions for the sportsman; but in every other point of view it is a singularly uninviting part of the district. There are no large towns, no places of legendary or historical interest, no roads, no local trade or manufacture, and no resident families of any distinction. The soil also is generally poor, the water bad and, except quite at the north, there are few groves of trees to relieve the dusty monotony of the landscape. As if to enhance the physical disadvantages of the locality by an artificial inconvenience, the tahsili has been fixed at the mean little village of Mát in the extreme south, on the very borders of the Mahá-ban pargana; though the merest glance at the map will show that Surír—a place with a larger population than Mát—is the natural centre of the division. Its recognition in that character would be an immense boon both to Government officials and to the agriculturist. The present arrangement dates from a time when the pargana was of very different extent, and Mát easily accessible from all parts of it. For, till 1860, it included the whole of the Raya sub-division to the south; while in the north, Noh-jhil formed an entirely separate tahsili. This was more in accordance with the division of territory existing in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, when the whole of Mát proper came under Mahá-ban, and Noh-jhil made part of pargana Noh in the Kol Sarkár. Immediately before the cession of 1804, the latter was the estate of General Perron; while Mát, with Mahá-ban, Sa'dabád, and Sah-pau was held by General Duboigne.

As now constituted, the pargana comprises 141 villages, forming 153 separate estates. Of these, the great majority are bhaiyáchári, and thus it comes about that the richest resident landlords are the members of a Bráhmaṇ family quite of the yeoman class, living at Chháhiri, a hamlet of Mát. They are by name Pola Rám and Parasurám, sons of Rádha, and Kalhan, son of Bál-kishor, and have jointly an assessable income of Rs. 9,276 a year, derived from lands in Mát, Bijáuli, Harnaul, Jaiswa, Jávara, Nasíthi and Sámauli. They have lately been at considerable expense in building a school in their native place. Three other men of substance, of much the same social position, are Lachhman, Bráhmaṇ, of Bhadra-ban; Serhu, Bráhmaṇ, of Tenti-ká-gánw, and Lála Rám, Baniya, of Jávara. Of non-residents, Rao Abdullah Khán, of Salím-pur in Aligarh, a connection of the Sa'dabad family, has estates about Khánwal and Karáhri, on which the annual Government demand is about Rs. 2,000; the

Rájá of Mursán enjoys a royalty of Rs. 1,061 from the Dunetiya Circle; and Lálás Mahi Lál and Jánaki Prasád own the two large villages of Arua and Bhadanwára.

After the mutiny as many as eighteen villages (eleven in whole and seven in part), belonging to the rebel leader Umráo Bahádur of Nának-pur, were confiscated, and all the proprietary rights conferred on Seth Laksmi Chand rent-free for the term of his natural life. On his death, the grant was further extended to his son, Seth Raghunáth Dás, on payment of the half jama; but the muáfi estate (being about Rs. 8,000 a year), which alone he retains in his own hands, it may be presumed, will lapse entirely on the termination of the second life. The zamindári was transferred to his uncle, the late Seth Gobind Dás, C.S.I., and by him constituted part of the endowment of the temple of Dwárákálhis at Mathurá. The original proprietor was a member of a family that had always been in opposition to the British Government, and died fighting against us at Delhi. Their principal seat was at Kumona in Bulandshahr, where, in 1807, Dunde Khán, with his eldest son, Ran-mast Khán, who is said to have been possessed of perfectly marvellous and Herculean strength, held the fort for three months, though the garrison consisted of a mere handful of men. After the surrender, a pension of Rs. 6,000 a year was settled upon Ran-mast Khán, which his widow enjoyed till her death, an event which took place a few years ago; but the father's whole estate was declared forfeit and bestowed upon Mardán Ali Khán of Chitári, a scion of the same stock. Umráo Bahádur was the child by adoption of Dunde Khán's second son, Nawáb Ashraf Khán of Nának-pur, and, as above mentioned, was killed in the rebel army before Delhi. With him fell his youngest brother, Mazhar Ali Khán, who left a son by name Rahím Ali Khán, who is now either dead or at the Andamans; the sole surviving representative of the family being a son of Umráo Bahádur's—Amír Bahádur—who was too young to be engaged in the rebellion with his father.

The total population of the pargana, according to the census of 1872, was 100,248;* the predominant class to the south being Gaurua Thákurs; while in the north the agricultural community are almost exclusively Jāts, mainly of the Nohwár sub-division. The principal winter crops are *joár*, *bájra*, maize and cotton, the latter occupying some 13,000 acres, while *tík*, *arhar*, and hemp are also grown, but ordinarily in the same field with *joár*. In the hot weather about 24,000 acres are under *chána*, 18,000 under wheat, and 13,000 under barley. Though there are indigo factories at four places, viz., Lohi, Karáhri, Bhálai and Arua, the first named has almost entirely suspended operations, and at the other three the plant used is mainly grown in villages across the border in the Aligarh district. The most productive lands are the alluvial

* According to the tahsíl calculation, 99,823

flats, which, in the rains, form part of the river bed ; the high bank that bounds them is generally bare and broken, and the soil further inland poor and sandy, where the only trees that thrive well are *nín*, *farás* and *babúl*. Connection with the opposite parganas of Kosi, Chhátá, and Mathurá, is maintained by two bridges of boats (the one from Chhin-pahári by Noh-jhíl to Sher-garh, the other from Dángoli to Brindá-ban,) and as many as seven ferries, at Ráe-pur, Farídam-pur, Musmina, Surír, Oháwa, Ioli Guzar, and Mát. Scarcely any attempt has been made to provide for internal communication. In the whole pargana there is not a single yard of metalled road, except in the Mát bazár, where it has been constructed out of the Chaukidári tax ; the only bit of first-class unmetalled road is the four miles from Noh-jhíl to the Sher-garh bridge ; the remaining thoroughfares are for the most part narrow, winding cart tracks, sunk so much below the level of the adjoining fields that in the rains they assume the appearance of small rivers. In 1856, a strip of land was taken up of sufficient width for the construction of a good broad road to extend from the Brindá-ban bridge to the town of Noh-jhíl, thus traversing all the southern half of the pargana. But little was done beyond marking it out ; and as all the lower part of it for some miles lies across the ravines, where it was annually cut away by the rains, it was for at least six months in the year all but impassable ; the sum allowed for its maintenance, Rs. 5 a mile, being considered quite inadequate to carry out more than the most superficial repairs. However, before I left the district, I was able to accomplish this most desirable work, and that without any additional grant for the purpose, simply by concentrating the whole of each successive annual allotment on a particular part of the road, instead of dribbling it out over the entire length of 22 miles. Every year I built a culvert or two, or a bridge, burning the bricks and lime on the spot, employing local workmen and doing nothing by contract ; and the result, after four years, was a permanently good level road, over which it was quite possible to drive in an English buggy. My procedure, though undoubtedly beneficial in its results, was such an innovation on established routine, that if the work had been noticed while still in progress, it would probably have been stopt, as not having received departmental sanction ! The road connects three places of some importance in the pargana, *viz.*, Mát, Surír and Noh-jhíl at the one end with Sher-garh, which is a perfect terminus of roads, and at the other with Brindá-ban and Mathurá ; while a short branch from Mát would bring it in contact with the station on the new line of railway at Raya, and another from Noh-jhíl with the market of Bájana.

Many of the smaller thoroughfares here, as in other parts of the district, are rapidly being obliterated, and unless speedy measures are taken for their preservation, very great inconvenience must eventually result. The occupants

of the fields through which they pass encroach upon them year by year, till at last, in the less frequented tracts, nothing is left but a mere ridge scarcely broad enough for a foot-path. When the traffic is too considerable to allow of this complete appropriation, the lane is narrowed till it barely admits the passage of a single cart; a high bank is then raised on either side with earth always excavated from the roadway, which, thus, is sunk several feet below the level of the country and in the rains becomes a deep water-course. In the dry season of the year it is rendered equally impassable by huge aqueducts carried across it at short intervals in order to convey water for irrigation purposes from a well on one side to lands forming part of the same farm that happen to lie on the other. A small sum is annually allotted for the maintenance of a certain number of village roads, and as I have practically demonstrated, this money might be much more advantageously expended than has hitherto been the custom, if it were used for the systematic prevention of encroachments and the construction of occasional syphon drains and culverts.

As a rule, the bhaiyáchari villages have a much more prosperous appearance than those which have passed into the hands of some one wealthy proprietor. In the former case every shareholder plants the borders and waste corners of his fields with quick growing trees, such as the *farás*, or tamarisk, which he fells from time to time as he wants timber for his well or agricultural implements, or for roofing his house, but immediately supplies their place by new cuttings. Thus the village lands from a little distance often look picturesque and well-wooded, though possibly there may not be a single grove or orchard on them. In a zamindári estate, on the other hand, the absentee landlord is represented on the spot only by an agent, whose sole duty it is to secure as large a yearly return as possible for his employer. Every manorial right is strictly enforced, and trees are felled and sold in large quantities, and never replaced, either by the tenant, who is not allowed to cut a single stick, however urgent his requirements, and therefore has no object in planting, or by the landlord, who cares nothing for the well-being of the village, which can be sold as soon as its productiveness is exhausted. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to mention a single instance in the whole district of one of the new landlords doing anything whatever for the permanent improvement of his estate. It never even occurs to them that their tenants have the slightest claim upon their consideration. Having probably amassed their fortune by usury, they are willing to make advances at exorbitant rates of interest for any improvements the cultivators may wish to carry out themselves; but their ears are closed to any other application.

To prevent the possibility of any individual acquiring a fixed status, leases are never given but for very short periods; accumulation of arrears of rent is encouraged for the three years that the law allows, when immediate action is taken for the recovery of the full amount increased by interest; if any pay-

ment has been made in the interim, though the tenant intended it to be on account of rent, the landlord maintains that it is absorbed in the clearing off of the advances ; no intimation is given to the patwâri of the amount of these advances, nor, as a rule, is any payment made in his presence ; but after the lapse of some weeks, when the ignorant boor, who probably did not pay in cash, but through the intervention of a baniya, has forgotten what the amount was, the patwâri is ordered to write a receipt for such and such a sum, and this document is accepted by the stolid clown without a question—ordinarily without even hearing it read—and is at once put away and either lost or eaten by white ants, while the counter-part remains as legal evidence against him. To increase the confusion, the rent is collected not only without adequate witnesses or any written memorandum, but also at any odd time and by a variety of different persons, who are ignorant of each others' proceedings ; the agents are changed every six months or so, and (as the patwari can only read Hindi) are by preference people who know only the Persian character. The result is, that any adjustment of accounts is absolutely impossible ; the patwâri, the agents, and the tenants, are all equally at fault, and the latter are solely dependent on the mercy of the landlord, who, at a fortnight's notice, can eject every single man on the estate. Thus, during a single month of the year 1873, more than a hundred suits were filed against the people of one village for arrears contracted in 1870. After the lapse of three years, the defendants—who are so ignorant that they cannot state the amount of their liability for the present season, but depend entirely upon the patwâri and the baniya—can only urge that they know they have paid in full, but (almost necessarily under the circumstances) they have no oral witnesses to the fact, while the village account-books, which constitute the documentary evidence, are so imperfect as to form no basis for a judgment. At the same time, in the hope of producing the impression that an innocent man was being made the victim of a gigantic conspiracy, actions for fraud and corruption were instituted against both agent and patwâri, and other criminal proceedings were taken against the villagers for petty infringements of manorial rights. Virtually, such pseudo-zamindârs refuse to accept the position of landlords ; they are mere contractors for the collection of the Imperial revenue, and it seems imperative upon the Government to recognize them only in that inferior capacity, and itself to undertake all the responsibilities of the real landlord. Since they have no influence for good, both policy and humanity demand that at least their power for evil should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits.

The most noticeable feature of the pargana is the extensive morass from which the town of Noh-jhîl derives the latter part of its name. Its dimensions vary very much at different seasons of the year and according to the heaviness

of the rainfall, but it not unfrequently spreads over an area measuring six miles in length by one in breadth. It is the favourite haunt of large swarms of water-fowl, which are caught at night in nets, into which they are frightened by torches and fires lit on the opposite bank. They ordinarily sell for about Rs. 4-8 the hundred. The lands which have a chance of being left dry by the subsidence of the waters in time to be sown with hot-weather crops, bear the distinctive name of *Lána*, and are formed into separate estates, which it is a matter of no little difficulty to assess at their average value. When there is any harvest at all, it is exceptionally good; but not unfrequently the land remains flooded till seed-time is over, and the only source of profit then left to the proprietor is the pasturage. The inundation, though primarily the result of the natural low level of the country, has been artificially increased by excavations made some centuries ago with the express object of laying the approaches to the Fort under water: this being one of the special modes of rendering a stronghold impregnable laid down in Sanskrit treatises on the art of war. An outlet was provided by a winding channel, some five miles in length, called the *Dhunda Nála*, which passed under Firoz-pur and joined the Jamuna near Mangal-khoh; but its mouth is now completely blocked for a long distance. The cost of re-opening it has been estimated at Rs. 2,093; an expenditure which would soon be recovered by the settled revenue of the reclaimed land. A simpler, but at the same time a less efficient, remedy might be found in the reconstruction of an embankment ascribed to Nawáb Ashraf Khan, which formerly existed near the village of Musmina, and was kept in partial repair by the Ját zamindárs of that place till 1866. In that year, the jhíl was entirely dry, and the dam being in consequence neglected, the next heavy flood washed it away. To provide an exit for the water seems, however, far preferable to blocking its entrance; as the temporary submersion has a very beneficial effect on the land, and its total prevention might result in rendering a large area absolutely unculturable. A well-devised scheme of drainage for this part of the country, the transfer of the tahsíl from Mát to Surír, and the completion of the road between Noh-jhíl and the Brinda-ban bridge, are the three great requirements of the district which urgently demand a speedy settlement.

MÁT, though for some years past it has given a name to a pargana, is nothing but an exceptionally mean assemblage of mud hovels, without any bazar or even a single brick-built house. Though it stands immediately on the high bank of the Jamuna, it is separated from the actual bed of the stream by a mile of deep sand, and the ferry which connects it with Sakaráya on the opposite side is therefore very little used. Four miles lower down the stream is the Brindá-ban bridge of boats; the road which leads to it skirting for some distance the margin of an extensive moras, called the Moti-jhíl, which, though never very broad, sometimes attains a length of nearly two miles. The township (*jama*

Rs. 8,983) is divided into two thoks, Rájá and Múla, and was till recently owned entirely by Bráhmans and Thákurs, but some Muhammadans are now in part possession as mortgagees. The Chaukidári Act is in force, but yields an income of only Rs. 52 a month, which leaves a very small balance for local improvements. The school is merely of the primary class, and not so well attended as the one in the adjoining hamlet of Chháhiri. There is an old mud fort, and within its enclosure stand the tahsílí and police-station, the only substantial buildings in the place. Though there is no grove of trees to justify the title, it is still designated as one of the Upabans, and is a station in the Ban-játra; the name being derived from 'the milk-pails' (*māt*) here upset by Krishna in his childish sports. At Chháhiri, a little higher up the stream, is the sacred wood of Bhándír-ban, a dense thicket of *ber*, *kins*, and other low prickly shrubs, with a small modern temple, rest-house and well in an open space in the centre. Just outside is an ancient fig-tree (*bat*) which Krishna and his playmates Balarám and Sridáma are said to have made their goal when they ran races against each other (see page 56). A large *melá*, chiefly attended by Bengális, is held here, *Chait badi* 9, and is called the Gwál-mandala. The temple in the grove is dedicated to Bihári; that under the Bhándír-bat, to Sridáma. In the village are three other small shrines in honour of Rádbá Mohan, Gopál, and Mahádeva. Two mosques have also been recently built by the Muhammadans. In the mutiny the only act of violence committed was the seizure of six grain-boats passing down the river, for which the zamindárs were subsequently fined.

BAJANA, about five miles north-east of Noh-jhíl, has from time immemorial been occupied by Játs. Many years ago, the three leading men divided it into as many estates, called after their own names, Sultán Patti, Dilu Patti, and Siu Patti. These are now to all intents and purposes distinct villages, each with several subordinate hamlets, where most of the landed proprietors reside, while the old bazár still remains as a common centre, but is mainly occupied by tradespeople. In it are the saráe, police-station, built in 1869, and halkabandi school. Here, too, every Saturday, a large market is held; all the dealers who attend it having to pay an octroi tax at graduated rates, according to the commodities which they have for sale. These duties are farmed out to a contractor, who in 1865, the year when the last revision of settlement took place, paid for the privilege Rs. 340, a sum which has now been increased to Rs. 429. This income certainly is not very large, but as the market is a popular one, it might, beyond a doubt, be greatly increased, if only the headmen would recognize the obligation, under which they lie, of occasionally devoting part of the proceeds to local improvements. Up to the present time they have done nothing: the market is held in the main street, which is so densely crowded from one end to the other that all through traffic is obstructed; the saráe is

too small to accommodate one-half the number of visitors, and there is no separate yard in which to stall horses and cattle; the clouds of dust that rise from the unmetalled roadway make it painful to see and breathe, and would seriously damage any goods of better quality that might be brought; and, in addition to all this, an open space at the end of the street, where the crowd is the very thickest, has been selected as a convenient spot for depositing all the sweepings of the town till they are carted away as manure for the fields. Even the two substantial masonry wells, which there are in the bazár, have not been constructed by the market trustees, but are the gift of one of the resident shopkeepers.

Another market is held on Thursday, but exclusively for the sale of cattle. A considerable amount of business is transacted, though the animals offered for sale are generally inferior in quality to those brought to the Kosi market on the opposite side of the river. Bájana has also been one of the depôts for Government stallions since 1856, when the establishment was transferred here from the adjoining village of Shankar-garhi. The horses are four in number, one Arab, one Turkish, and two country-bred. They are made over to the care of the zamindárs, who are paid Rs. 8 a month for each horse and further receive a fee of Re. 1 for every mare that is brought to be covered. The groom on each such occasion expects a gratuity of four anas, which may or may not be supplemented by a fixed salary from the zamindárs. An inspection is held on the spot once a year in the cold weather, by the Stud Committee, when some 60 or 70 colts are generally brought up for view, the limit of age being from nine months to three years. Some are summarily rejected, others bought up at once, and the rest returned for further inspection within the limit of age above specified. In the hot weather the colts are sent with the brood-mares to be inspected by the committee at Aligarh.

The two *pattis* of Sultán and Dilu are watered by a short branch of the Ganges Canal, which enters the district at the village of Ahmad-pur, and passes also through Shankar-garhi. In Siu Patti the proprietary shares are not reckoned by biswas but by wells, which, whether really so or not, are put at 36 in number. The jama is Rs. 3,400, and the quota of each 'well' is Rs. 96, making a total of Rs. 3,456; the surplus of Rs. 56 going to the lumberdárs. Similarly, in Mát, the reckoning is by ploughs and bulls; a plough being a share and a bull half a share. Dilu Patti has two hamlets, Murliya Jawáhir and Murliya Badám; Sultán Patti five, *viz.*, Naya-bás, Dál-garhi, Pahlúd-garhi (of which one biswa was sold 18 years ago to an Athwariya), Ajnot and Idal-garhi; and Siu Patti three, *viz.*, Jareliya, Mahá-rám-garhi, and Bhút-garhi. At the time of the mutiny Umráo Bahádúr was proprietor of $2\frac{1}{2}$ biswas in Dilu Patti, was mortgagee of 10 biswas in Thok Badám and farmed as much of Thok Hira. This was confiscated with the rest of his estates; the $2\frac{1}{2}$

biswas were conferred on Seth Lakhmi Chand, the other parcels of land have reverted to their original owners. Half of Thok Kamala was also declared forfeit, but eventually returned on payment of a fine; the zamindárs having joined in the assault on the Fort of Noh-jhál. One of the number, Khúba, who had been specially forward in attempting the life of the Tahsildár, Sukhvási Láal, died in jail before sentence. The Arázi Kásht Sultán Patti and Arázi Dilu Patti are lands recovered from the jhál and separately assessed—the one at Rs. 90, the other at Rs. 152.

NOH-JHÁL is a decayed town, 30 miles from Mathurá, which, up to the year 1860, was the head of a separate tahsili now incorporated with Mát. The original proprietors were Chauhán Thákurs, who were expelled in the thirteenth century by some Játs from Narwári near Tappal, and others from Jartáli near Khair, in the Aligarh District, who afterwards acquired the name of Nohwár, and at the present time are further distinguished by the title of Chaudhari. They brought with them as purohits some Gáur Bráhmans of the Phátak clan, who received various grants of land, and at the last settlement their descendants owned 15 biswas of the township, the remaining five being held by Muham-madan Shaikhs. In the seventeenth century some Bilúchis were stationed here by the emperor, for the express purpose of overawing the Játs; but their occupation did not last above 80 years. On the 4th of June, 1857, the Nohwár Játs of the place with their kinsmen from the neighbouring villages of Musmina and Parsoli, attacked the fort and plundered all the inhabitants except the Bráhmans, with whom, as above shown, they had an hereditary connection. The Jumbardár, Ghaus Muhammad, was killed, and all the Government officials fled to the village of Thera by Surír, where the Malakána zamindárs gave them shelter, and in acknowledgment of their loyalty subsequently received a donation of Rs. 151 and a remission of Rs. 100 on the yearly jama, which still continues. The estate is now held as follows: 12½ biswas by the Bráhmans, 3¼ by Shaikhs, and 4¼ biswas of alluvial land by the Seths. This latter share had been purchased at auction by Umráo Bahádúr's father, and was confiscated with the rest of his property. Two outlying suburbs are called respectively Toli Shaikhán and Toli Khádim-i-dargáh. The Fort, of which incidental mention has been already made, is of great extent, covering 31 bíghas of land. It was rebuilt about the year 1740 by Thákur Devi Singh, an officer in the service of the Bharat-pur Rájá. It is now all in ruins, but its crumbling bastions command a fine view of the extensive lake that spreads for miles beneath it. Within its enclosuro is the old tahsili, built in 1826, now converted into a police-station, and a lofty tower erected in 1836 for the purposes of the Trigonometrical Survey: ascent is impossible, as the ladder in the lower story was destroyed in the mutiny and has not been replaced.

Outside the town is a Muhammadan *makbara*, or tomb, called the dargáh of Makhdúm Sáhíb Sháh Hasan Ghori, traditionally ascribed to a Dor Rájá of Kol who flourished some 300 years ago. This is not in itself improbable, for about that time all the Aligarh Dors became converts to Islam*. The buildings are now in a dilapidated condition, but include a covered colonnade of 20 pillars which has been constructed out of the wreck of a Hindu or Buddhist temple. Each shaft is a single piece of stone $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and is surmounted by a capital, which adds an additional foot to the height. The latter are sculptured with grotesques, of which the one most frequently repeated represents a squat four-armed monster, who, with his feet and one pair of hands raised above his head, supports, as it were, the weight of the architrave. The shafts, though almost absolutely plain, are characteristic specimens of an eccentricity of Hindu architecture. (See page 254). Several other columns have been built up into the roof; one carved in low relief with several groups of figures, parted from one another by bands of the pattern known as the 'Buddhist railing,' has been taken out and transported to Mathurá. The statues which adorned the temple have probably been buried under ground; but no excavations can be made, as the place is used for Muhammadan interments. The saint's *urs* or *melá* is held on the 14th of Ramazán, and his tomb is visited by some of the people of the neighbourhood every Thursday evening. There was an endowment of 300 bighas of land and a yearly pension of Rs. 100, but the latter ceased on the death of Makhdúm Bakhsh, the representative of the original grantee, and the land was settled at half jama (Rs. 80) in 1837. In the bazár are a small mosque and two temples built by the Mahrattas. The proximity of the jhil renders the town feverish and unhealthy, and the establishment of a branch dispensary would be a great boon to the inhabitants.

SURR, by its position the natural centre of the pargana, is a small town on the high road half-way between Mát and Noh-jhíl. It is about a mile from the left bank of the Jamuna where is a ferry to Bahta on the opposite side. It is said to have been called at one time Sugriv-khera, after the name of one of the different founders; this appellation is now quite obsolete, but it explains

*When Kol was finally reduced by the Muhammadans in the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd (1246-1265), it was under a Dor Rájá, and the tower, which was wantonly destroyed by the local authorities in 1860, is supposed to have been erected 632 A.H. (1274 A.D.) on the site of the principal temple of the old city. Among the Hindus, however, the tradition is somewhat different; they ascribe it to the Dor Rájá, Mangal Sen, who gave his daughter Padmávatí in marriage to the heir of Rájá Bhím of Mahrára and Etáwa, who soon after his accession was murdered by his younger brothers. The widow then retired to Kol, where her father built the tower for her. At Noh-khera in the Jalesar pargana there is a local tradition of a Rájá Bhím and possibly the above may be the person intended. The father of Mangal Sen was Buddh Sen, who transferred his capital from Jaláli to Kol. He was the son of Bijay Rám (brother of Dasarath Singh, who built the fort at Jalesar) the son of Náhar Singh who built the Sambhal fort, the son of Gobind Singh, the son of Mukund Sen, the son of Vikramá Sen, of Baran, now called Bulandshahr.

the origin of the word Surír, which is thus seen to be a contraction for Sugrív-rá. The oldest occupants were Kalárs (the focal name, as it would seem, for any aboriginal tribe) who were expelled by Dhákaras, and these again by Rájá Jitpál, a Jáes Thákur. His posterity still constitute a large part of the population, but have been gradually supplanted in much of the proprietary estate by Baniyas and Bairágis. The township (jama Rs. 9,619) is divided into two *thoks*, called Bija and Kalán, and there are 11 subordinate hamlets. Three small temples are dedicated respectively to Mahádeva, Lakshmi Náráyan, and Baladeva. There is a police station, a primary school, and a wéekly market held on Monday. At the time of the mutiny, Lachhman, the lumberdár, with 11 others, was arrested on the charge of being concerned in the disturbances that took place at the neighbouring village of Bhadanwára, in which the zamindár, Kunvar Dildár Ali Khán, was murdered, his wife violated, and a large mansion that he was then building totally destroyed. He was considerably in the debt of his banker, Nand Rám of Raya, who, when the estate was put up to auction, bought it in, and has been succeeded as proprietor by his nephew Jánaki Prasád.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mát Pargana.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Abhai-pura ..	137	...	137	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Bráhmañ ...	490
2	Ahmad-pur ...	694	...	694	Tiwári Bráhmañs,	Ditto .	638
3	Akbar-pur ...	1,025	7	1,032	Bráhmañ community.	Ditto ..	1,240
4	Amán-ullah-pur,	741	23	764	Thákur community.	Gaurua ...	973
5	Arua ...	3,369	92	3,461	Mahi Lal, Baniya, and others.	Ját ...	4,708
6	Asaf-abád ...	346	...	346		Brahman ...	300
7	Awa-khera ...	298	...	298	Ját community ..	Ját ...	329
8	Badan-pur ..	524	36	560	Naju Khán ...	Bráhmañ and Gaurua,	1,068

1. *Abhai-pura*, originally founded by Abhai Siñh, a Ját from Kaulána. Some 50 years ago the proprietor was a Bráhmañ by name Serhu, who sold 15 biswas to Balarám, Ját; and in 1854 the remaining five biswas were bought by Nawáb Ashraf Khán, and at the time of the mutiny were held by his son, Umráo Bahádur, the whole of whose estate was confiscated and conferred on Seth Lakhmi Chand, whose son Raghunáth Dás now holds it at half jama. The other 15 biswas have been recovered by the Bráhmañs.

2. *Ahmad-pur* has 201 bighas irrigated by the Aligarh branch of the Ganges Canal. A halkabandi school.

3. *Akbar-pur*, on the Mát and Surír road, was by Rájú Súraj Mall re-named Tentí-ká-gánw (from the abundance of the *karít* plant, the fruit of which is called Tentí), and it is by this latter name that it is still most commonly known in the neighbourhood. The old zamindárs were Malá-káñas, but now are Bráhmañs, descended from one Sikham. A hamlet is called Nagara Hariya.

4. *Amán-ullah-pur*, also called Mahmúd-garhi, after the name of the founder, a native of Lohi, which it adjoins. There are two annual melás held, the one on Bhádon súdi 8, the other on Chait badi 1, in honour of Bábare Bábá, a local saint.

5. *Arua*, between Mát and Raya, includes the deserted village site of Bindrauli. It was re-founded by a Ját named Bijay-pati, whose descendants, some 25 years ago, partly sold and partly mortgaged their estate. At present the largest proprietors are Mahi Lal, Baniya, of Káya, who has about 13 biswas, and Lakhmi Dás, the Pujári of the temple of Lárlí Ji by the Mán Sarovar, who has 2½. Two market days, Monday and Friday; and two indigo factories, belonging, the one to Mr. O'Brien Saunders, the other to Mahi Lal and Jamuna Prasád. In the mutiny, Udhá, one of the zamindárs, was put to death by the zamindárs of the next village, Jáwara; whereupon his friends at Arua and Aya-khera assembled a large force for an attack upon Jáwara, and in the engagement many lives were lost on both sides. For this and other acts of depredation Arua was fined Rs. 10,000. On the village border is the lake of Mán Sarovar. There are 12 subordinate hamlets, the largest being called Darwa, where is a halkabandi school.

6. *Asaf-abád* was founded from Khaira, of which it was formerly a hamlet. Here is a block kankar quarry.

7. *Awa-khera*, after being long deserted, was re-peopled some 70 years ago from Kaulána. In the mutiny the people joined in the attack on the Noh-jhil Tahsil, and were fined Rs. 186.

8. *Badanpur*, shortly before the mutiny, was purchased from the old Gaurua zamindárs for Rs. 409 by Khairáti Khán of Farukhabad, who, in the disturbances, had his estate damaged to an amount estimated at Rs. 24,600. On the Jarára border is a *dahar* of 12 bighas, and near the village a large mango orchard.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mát Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
9	Bádauth ...	469	...	469	Ját community ...	Ját ...	822
10	Bághai ...	487	21	508	Ját community ...	Ját ...	649
11	Bágharra ...	196	...	196	Athwaraya Bráhmans.	Ját * ...	647
12	Báhdin ...	132	...	132	Bráhmans, Játs and Baniyas.	Ját ...	121
13	Baikunth-pur ...	113	135	248	Bráhmans ...	Malakána,	383
	Bájana made up of Dilu Patṭi, Siu Patṭi, and Sultán Patṭi.					...	...
14	Baklá ...	403	6	409	Ját community ...	Ját ...	263
15	Baland-pur ...	363	...	363	Lachhman, Thákur,	Bráhma...	313
16	Bali-pur ...	101	1	102	Ját community ...	Bráhma...	134
17	Barauth ...	2,212	140	2,352	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ját ...	844

9. *Bádauth*, one of the 40 Bájana villages, has 200 bighas watered by the Aligarh branch of the Ganges Canal.

10. *Bághai*, founded by Man-Sukh, a Ját from Kaulána, is also called Kateliya. There are 49 bighas of *jhát*.

11. *Bágharra*.—One of the 12 Ját villages. The old village site, now deserted, is called Sher-ka-khera. The Athwarayas purchased from the Játs about 25 years ago.

12. *Báhdin*.—There is a market on Sunday held on the border of Nagara Humáyun. A malikána is paid to the Rájá of Mursán.

13. *Baikunth-pur*.—Founded 300 years ago by Surkh-ru, malakána, by whose name it is still most popularly known. His descendants first mortgaged and then sold to Serhu and Ajay Rám, Bráhmans.

Bájana.—See page 413.

14. *Baklá*, so called after the founder, a grandson of Rám Náráyan. The people live mostly at Nagara Shám.

15. *Baland-pur*.—Founded 200 years ago by Balavant, Ját, and Mukund, Jáes, from Harnaul. Now Lachhman, Thákur, of Karahri, has 17½ biswas, and Lachhman, Bohra, of Bhadraban 2½.

16. *Bali-pur*.—Founded 125 years ago, by Balia, Ját, from Bájana.

17. *Barauth*, near the Jamuna, one of the 12 Ját villages. Thok Kida, 1,720 bighas, was sold for arrears to Nawáb Ashraf Khán of Nának-pur, and, after passing to his son Umráo Bahádúr, was confiscated and, with the rest of his estate, bestowed rent-free for life on Seth Lakhmi Chand. In the mutiny the zamindárs joined with those of Suhág-pur in plundering the patwári, Lál Ji; his brother, Hirá Lál, the patwári of Pál-khera, they killed. There are five hamlets. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mát Pargana.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musalman.	Total.			
1	Abhai-pura ..	137	...	137	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Bráhmañ ...	490
2	Ahmad-pur ...	694	...	694	Tiwári Bráhmañs,	Ditto .	638
3	Akbar-pur ...	1,025	7	1,032	Bráhmañ community.	Ditto ...	1,240
4	Amán-ullah-pur,	741	23	764	Thákur community.	Gaurua ...	973
5	Arua ...	3,369	92	3,461	Mahí Lal, Baniya, and others.	Ját ...	4,708
6	Asaf-abád ...	346	...	346		Bráhmañ ...	309
7	Awa-khera ...	298	...	298	Ját community ...	Ját ...	329
8	Badan-pur ..	524	36	560	Naju Khán ...	Bráhmañ and Gaurua.	1,068

1. *Abhai-pura*, originally founded by Abhai Siñh, a Ját from Kaulána. Some 50 years ago the proprietor was a Bráhmañ by name Serhu, who sold 15 biswas to Balarám, Ját; and in 1854 the remaining five biswas were bought by Nawáb Ashraf Khán, and at the time of the mutiny were held by his son, Umráo Bahádúr, the whole of whose estate was confiscated and conferred on Seth Lakhmi Chand, whose son Raghunáth Dás now holds it at half jama. The other 15 biswas have been recovered by the Bráhmañs.

2. *Ahmad-pur* has 201 bighas irrigated by the Aligarh branch of the Ganges Canal. A halkabandi school.

3. *Akbar-pur*, on the Mát and Surúr road, was by Rájé Súraj Mall re-named Tentí-ká-gánw (from the abundance of the *karil* plant, the fruit of which is called Tentí), and it is by this latter name that it is still most commonly known in the neighbourhood. The old zamindárs were Malakánas, but now are Bráhmañs, descended from one Sikhám. A hamlet is called Nagara Hariya.

4. *Amán-ullah-pur*, also called Mahmúd-garhi, after the name of the founder, a native of Lohi, which it adjoins. There are two annual melás held, the one on Bhádon súdi 8, the other on Chait badi 1, in honour of Bábare Bábu, a local saint.

5. *Arua*, between Mát and Raya, includes the deserted village site of Bindrauli. It was re-founded by a Ját named Bijay-pati, whose descendants, some 25 years ago, partly sold and partly mortgaged their estate. At present the largest proprietors are Mahí Lal, Baniya, of Káya, who has about 13 biswas, and Lakhmi Dás, the Pujári of the temple of Lárlí Ji by the Mán Sarovar, who has 2½. Two market days, Monday and Friday; and two indigo factories, belonging, the one to Mr. O'Brien Saunders, the other to Mahí Lal and Jamuna Prasád. In the mutiny, Udha, one of the zamindárs, was put to death by the zamindárs of the next village, Jáwara; whereupon his friends at Arua and Ayra-khera assembled a large force for an attack upon Jáwara, and in the engagement many lives were lost on both sides. For this and other acts of depredation Arua was fined Rs. 10,000. On the village border is the lake of Mán Sarovar. There are 12 subordinate hamlets, the largest being called Darwa, where is a halkabandi school.

6. *Asaf-abád* was founded from Khaira, of which it was formerly a hamlet. Here is a block kankar quarry.

7. *Awa-khera*, after being long deserted, was re-peopled some 70 years ago from Kaulána. In the mutiny the people joined in the attack on the Noh-jhil Tahsil, and were fined Rs. 186.

8. *Badanpur*, shortly before the mutiny, was purchased from the old Gaurua zamindárs for Rs. 409 by Khairáti Khán of Farukhabad, who, in the disturbances, had his estate damaged to an amount estimated at Rs. 24,500. On the Jaráta border is a *dahar* of 12 bighas, and near the village a large mango orchard.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mât Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindûs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
9	Bâdauth ...	489	...	469	Jât community ...	Jât ...	822
10	Bâghal ...	487	21	508	Jât community ...	Jât ...	649
11	Bâgharra ...	196	...	196	Athwaraya Brâh-mans.	Jât + ...	647
12	Bâhdin ...	132	...	132	Brâhmans, Jâts and Baniyas.	Jât ...	121
13	Baikunth-pur ...	113	135	248	Brâhmans ...	Malakâna,	383
	Bâjana made up of	Dilu Patṭi,	Siu	Patṭi, and	Sultân Patṭi.	...	...
14	Baklâ ...	408	6	409	Jât community ...	Jât ...	263
15	Baland-pur ...	363	...	363	Lachhman,Thâkur,	Brâhman ..	313
16	Bali-pur ...	101	1	102	Jât community ...	Brâhman ..	134
17	Barauth ...	2,212	140	2,352	Seth Raghunâth Dâs.	Jât ...	844

9. *Bâdauth*, one of the 40 Bâjana villages, has 200 bighas watered by the Aligaṭh branch of the Ganges Canal.

10. *Bâghal*, founded by Man-Sukh, a Jât from Kaulâna, is also called Kateliya. There are 49 bighas of *jṭl*.

11. *Bâgharra*.—One of the 12 Jât villages. The old village site, now deserted, is called Sher-ka-khera. The Athwarayas purchased from the Jâts about 25 years ago.

12. *Bâhdin*.—There is a market on Sunday held on the border of Nagara Humâyun. A malikâna is paid to the Râjâ of Mursân.

13. *Baikunth-pur*.—Founded 300 years ago by Surkh-ru, malakâna, by whose name it is still most popularly known. His descendants first mortgaged and then sold to Serhu and Ajay Rân, Brâhmans.

Bâjana.—See page 413.

14. *Baklâ*, so called after the founder, a grandson of Râm Nârâyan. The people live mostly at Nagara Shân.

15. *Baland-pur*.—Founded 200 years ago by Balavant, Jât, and Mukund. Jâes, from Harnaal. Now Lachhman, Thâkur, of Karahri, has 17½ biswas, and Lachhman, Bohra, of Bhadraban 2½.

16. *Bali-pur*.—Founded 125 years ago, by Balla, Jât, from Bâjana.

17. *Barauth*, near the Jamuna, one of the 12 Jât villages. Thok Kida, 1,720 bighas, was sold for arrears to Nawâb Ashraf Khân of Nânak-pur, and, after passing to his son Umrao Bahâdur, was confiscated and, with the rest of his estate, bestowed rent-free for life on Seth Lakhmi Chand. In the mutiny the zamindârs joined with those of Suhâg-pur in plundering the patwâri, Lâl Ji; his brother, Bîrâ Lâl, the patwâri of Pâl-khera, they killed. There are five hamlets. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	*Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
18	Basāun ...	86		86	Jāt community ..	Jāt ...	
19	Begam-pur ...	96	...	66	Swāmi Rangāchārya	Brāhman ...	287
20	Berā ...	855	25	880	Thākur community,	Brāhman and Jāt.	1,111
21	Bhadanwārā ...	1,488	102	1,590	Jānaki Prasād of	Gaurua(Jāts)	2,741
22	Bhadra-ban ...	751	1	752	Raya. ...	Brāhman ...	1,680
23	Bhālai ...	1,291	75	1,366	Brāhmans, Baniyas, and Muhammadans.	Thākur ...	1,935
24	Bhartiya-kā ...	275	5	280	Jāt community ...	Jāt ..	508

18. *Basāun* is included with Daulat-pur. The Jāt zamindārs were fined Rs. 96 for attacking the Fort at Noh-jhil in the mutiny.

19. *Begam-pur*, opposite Brindā-ban, is so called from the Begam of the Emperor Jahāngir. It passed from the old Brāhman zamindārs to Zuhūr Ali, for Rs. 421, who, in 1742, sold it for Rs. 935 to Shaik Jivan, of whom Swāmi Rangāchārya purchased it for Rs. 1,000.

20. *Berā*, 'the ber-tree orchard,' was founded 400 years ago by Thākurs from Jarāra. There is a *jhāt* of kadamb trees 46 bighas in extent, called Alakh-ban, with a temple endowed with the singhāra crop of the adjoining pond. A halkabandi school.

21. *Bhadanwārā*. The Jāes Thākurs say they derive their name from the town so called near Ajodhya; that they moved from there to Bikaner, and that their ancestor Jas Rām, who first settled at Bhadanwārā after dispossessing the Kalās, was a leper who had been cured of his disease by a pilgrimage to the sacred places of Braj: in acknowledgment of the divine favour, he constructed the Rām Tāl at Sunrakh and made his home here. The titles in the family are Kunwar for the elder and Bābu Ji for the younger branch. Near a pond called Banki is a Būragi's cell and an extensive rakhya, chiefly of karīf, passendu and sahara trees. Any one who violates the sanctity of the place by telling a lie in it will, it is said, be stricken with leprosy. There are a number of hamlets, viz., Bīrbal, Naya-bās, Gaphi Rām-bal, Gaphi Sisa, Gaphi Khūba, Gaphi Neta, Rāmkan or Jawāhir and Gaphi Bhuriya. At the time of the mutiny the estate was farmed by Kunwar Dildār Ali Khān, a member of the Lāl Khāni family, seated in the Bulandshahr district, who was attacked by the old proprietors; a large mansion which he was then building was totally wrecked and he himself murdered. Two of the ring-leaders were hanged and others transported. His Jaypur relative, Faiz Ali Khān, brought up an army, intending to burn the whole village, but was prevented by Government. The property was bought up for Rs. 12,800 by Nand Rām, a Baniya of Raya, from whom it has passed to his nephew by adoption, Jānaki Prasād. A market on Friday. A large mango orchard, called the Patwāris.

22. *Bhadra-ban*, on the high bank of the Jamunā, above Māt, with a hamlet called Bhadrā, i.e. Bhadrā-pura, is one of the most noted of the sacred woods of Braj. It is wrongly named on the District Map Bahādur-ban. In the *ban* are shrines of Maksūdan and Ranchhor. The old zamindārs were Thākurs.

23. *Bhālai* originally belonged to Bhāla Thākurs (whence the name). They were dispossessed by Jāes Thākurs, who gave part of the land to Brāhmans, whose descendants still retain a share in the village; the other shareholders now being Baniyas and Muhammadans. An indigo factory belongs to Gurmukh Rāe and Dulchand of Māthras. There are two hamlets. A halkabandi school.

24. *Bhartiya-kā*, founded by Bhartiya, a Jāt from Bājana.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
25	Bherai ...	673	31	704	Devi Shankar ...	Jāt ...	2,166
26	Bhidauni ...	873	40	913	Káyaths, Thákurs and Bráhmans.	Bráhmán and Thákur.	1,941
27	Bhiun ...	246	4	250	Diwán Sarb Sukh,	Chamár ...	1,180
28	Bhúrecká ...	522	44	566	Kewal Rám, Bohra,	Chamár ...	875
29	Bijáuli ...	257	70	327	Bráhmans and Thákura.	Bráhmán...	1,349
30	Birju-garhi ...	594	16	610	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	425
31	Bulák-pur ...	43	...	43	...	Bráhmán and Jāt.	288
32	Chandáuli ...	214	...	214	...	Bráhmán...	...
33	Chánd-pur (Great.)	611	27	638	...	Bráhmán and Jāt.	1,060

25. *Bherai*, founded by Ráma, Jāt, is the parent of eight other settlements. In the mutiny the zamindárs killed the Patwári, Bhágirath, with his son and brother-in-law and joined in the attack on the fort at Noh-jhil; for which acts their estate was confiscated and sold to Devi Shankar, Káyath of Mathará. There are 290 bighas of reed-jungle and 187 bighas of common. Two hamlets.

26. *Bhidauni*, founded by Puhapa, a Rájput; but now Káyaths have 10 biswas, Jás Thákurs 7½, and Athwaraya Bráhmans 2½. There are two temples of Bihári and Lárli Lál. There is a hamlet called Nahariya.

27. *Bhiun*, bought in 1825 for Rs. 300 by Diwáns Bijay Lál (who built a temple here to Bijay Bihári) and Januná Rám, and now held by Diwán Sarb Sukh.

28. *Bhúrecká*, on the Aligarh border, founded by Bhúce, Jāt, whose descendants between 40 and 50 years ago sold it to Daulat Rám, Bohra. He was murdered in the mutiny; the present proprietor is his son, Kewal Rám, who pays a yearly jama of Rs. 1,279. There is a fine large mango orchard, planted by his father, 24 bighas in extent, and adjoining it 67 bighas of dhák *ghana*. A halkabandi school with between 20 and 30 pupils. Five biswas form a separate hamlet called Marahla.

29. *Bijáuli*, founded by Rájá Bijay Sinh. Here are a *ghana* of 134 bighas called Mekhan; a temple of Rádhá Mohan by a sacred pond called Páp-mochan, which is visited in the Banjára; and a dargáh of Sháh Biláwal.

30. *Birju-garhi*, named after its founder, a Jāt from Musmina.

31. *Bulák-pur*, one of the 12 Jāt villages, named after its founder. Half the village has been sold to Bráhmans.

32. *Chandáuli*, first called Chandál-kherá, is included in Nabi-pur.

33. *Chánd-pur (Great)*, founded by a Barwár Jāt named Himanchal, and given to his son-in-law, a Kanjír from Durseni in Aligarh. Being put up to auction for arrears, it was purchased by Khairatí Khán, Pathán, who sold it to Omkár, an Athwaraya of Barauth, in 1866. In the mutiny, the latter, who was then mortgagee, had his house plundered, three men being killed in the attack. The Jāts of Parsáuli now own two-thirds and the Athwarayas one-third. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
34	Chánd-pur (Little,)	433	17	450	Ját community ...	Ját ...	665
35	Chaukará ... Chháhiri: a ham- let of Māt.	323	5	328	Sálagrám, Ját ...	Bráhman and Ját.	501
36	Chhin-pahári ...	608	58	666	Ját community...	Ját and Mallah.	706
37	Chinta-garhi ...	344	...	344	Ját community...	Ját ...	218
38	Dandísara ...	767	46	813	Jwálá Prasád, Khattri, and others.	Gaurua ...	1,429
39	Dángauli ... Darwa, a hamlet of Aruá.	236	118	354	Temple of Rang Ji	Malakána...	979
40	Daulat-pur ...	713	17	730	Ját community...	Ját ...	1,141
41	Dedná ...	287	23	310	Dhan-ráj, Ath- waraya.	Ját ...	781

34. *Chánd-pur (Little)*, was founded by a Ját named Chánd from Bherai. In the mutiny the zamindárs joined in the attack on Noh-jhil and were fined Rs. 637-8-0. There is a temple of Mahádeva with rude stucco images and a well, both constructed by Rádhá, a Baniya, in the famine year 1837. Opposite is an orchard belonging to the Ját zamindárs with mango, pipal and other trees. A halkabandi school.

35. *Chaukará*, one of the eight Kaulána villages. In 1827 it was put up to auction and purchased by Sálagrám, a Ját of Kateliya. There is an orchard with a temple built by Serhu, Baniya, of Marahla Chinta, a hamlet of Birju-garhi.

36. *Chhin-pahári*, on the Jamuná opposite Sher-garh, is sometimes spelt Chhin-pharái, and perhaps more correctly so, as there is no sign of a hill, or *pahár*, anywhere near. The old zamindárs were Thákurs, who about a century ago transferred their rights to Jāts from Siu Patí, Bájana, 1½ biswa that had been acquired by Umrao Bahádur, was, with the remainder of his estate, confiscated after the mutiny.

37. *Chintá-garhi* was founded about 150 years ago by a Ját named Chinta. A halkabandi school.

38. *Dandísara*.—Here is Nárad kund with a temple of Murli-Manohar and a Kadamb-khandi of 18 bighes. The old zamindárs were Gauruas, but now Kanháya Lál, Káyath, has five biswas, Jwála Prasád, Khattri, 7½, and Khúb Lál, Káyath, 7½. *Two hamlets.

39. *Dángauli* (for Dángá-puri, *dángá* being 'a high bank,') is on the Jamuná opposite Brindávan. The old Dhákara zamindárs were ejected by one Dhír, a descendant of Chet Pal, whose heirs, two years ago, sold the estate to Swámi Rangácharya.

40. *Daulat-pur*, on the Jamuná, named after its founder, includes Basáun.

41. *Dedná*, or Didna, on the Jamuná, was sold by the Ját zamindárs 25 years ago to Parasu-rám, an Athwaraya, from whom it passed in 1864 to another Athwaraya, Dhan-ráj of Kosi.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mát Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Muslimans.	Total.			
42	Dilu-patti ...	1,148	215	1,363	Ját community...	Ját ...	1,383
43	Dunetiya ...	202	6	208	Ját and Bráhmañ,	Bráhmañ and Káchhi.	410
44	Faridam-pur ...	144	...	144	Ját community...	Ját and Dhimar.	939
45	Fíroz-pur ...	180	...	180	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Malláh ...	306
46	Garhi Kauláhar...	295	...	295	...	Bráhmañ and Ját.	401
47	Hamza-pur ...	91	...	91	Ját community ...	Ját ...	432
48	Harnaul ...	2,103	113	2,216	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	2,157
49	Hasan-pur ...	1,788	122	1,910	Ditto ...	Ját and Bráhmañ.	2,232
50	Ikhu Fath-garh...	1,164	47	1,211	Bráhmañ community.	Bráhmañ...	987

42. *Dilu-patti.* See Bajána, page 413.

43. *Dunetiya*, said to be so named after Dule, the ancestor of the present Ját zamindárs, who founded it some centuries ago.

44. *Faridam-pur*, with a ferry across the Jamuná, was founded by Játs from Musmína. It had been mortgaged to Muhammad Ashraf Khán, and at the time of the mutiny was so held by his son Umáó Bahádur, and was confiscated with the remainder of his estate. The mortgagors transferred their right to Devi Shankar Sahay, Kayath of Mathurá, and the mortgage was paid off in 1868.

45. *Fíroz-pur* was founded some 250 years ago by Játs from Muín-ud-dín-pur, and, having been purchased by Ashraf Khán, was confiscated after the mutiny, and conferred muáf for life on Seth Lakshmi Chánd, whose son Raghunáth Dás now holds it at half jama.

46. *Garhi-Kauláhar* has 30 bighas watered by the Canal. 10 biswas are owned by Játs, the other 10 by Pathák Bráhmañs.

47. *Hamza-pur.*—The site of the old village founded by Bilúchis, is called Chau-kherá. The present Ját village is otherwise called Mán-garhi.

48. *Harnaul*, or corruptly Hirnaul, and then by an easy transition Hindol, is said to have been founded by two Játs, Hari Sinh and Naval Sinh, who formed a name for it by combining their own names. Here is an old temple of Murli Manohar and a large mud fort constructed by Aráf Khán and Yúsuf Khán. Under the Mahrattas, Harnaul was the head of a tahsil with 24 subordinate villages: it has now two hamlets. The weekly market is on Sunday. A halka-bandi school.

49. *Hasan-pur* was founded some 250 years ago by Hansa, a Ját, from Baraúth. There is still a gateway called Chaukhat Hansa, and the name Hasan-pur originates simply with a mistake in the Settlement office. There are two Nagaras, Jareliya, divided into two maháts, and Makarand-garhi, where is a dhák tree ghana of 88 bighas. An old Khera bears the name Mahona. A halka-bandi school.

50. *Ikhu Fath-garh.*—The first name refers to the quantity of 'sugarcane' grown in the neighbourhood, the second was added about 125 years ago when the fort and town-walls, now in ruins, were constructed by Thákur Devi Sinh, a Kámdár of the Bharat-pur Ráj. The present

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mát Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
51	Holi Guzar ...	1,237	39	1,276	...	T h á k u r (Jács.)	1,572
52	Holi Zanárdár ...	804	12	816	Bráhmau commu- nity.	Bráhmau ..	1,164
53	Imlák Sawái Kasba (town-lands.)	90	...	90	...	Bráhmau ..	...
54	Ináyat-garh ...	184	11	195	Ját community ...	Ját ...	900
55	Ináyat-pur ...	32	...	32	Bráhmans ...	Ját ...	284
56	Jáfar-pur ...	242	10	252	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ját ...	900
57	Jahángir-pur ...	700	4	704	Temple of Sríngár Bat.	Thákur and Malláh.	1,913

Bráhmau zamindára are the descendants of Bishu Páthak, the purohit of the Játs, who conferred the estate upon him. There is a hamlet called Masnad-garhi, where cheap striped cloths, blue and white, called *dobaras*, are manufactured and exported to places so far distant as Káuh-pur and Mirza-pur.

51. *Holi Guzar*, (for Hla-puri), with a 'ferry' across the Jamuná, was in 1791 given muáf by Mádhó Ráo Sindhia to Nand Lál, Rás-dhári, for life. The muáfídar lived till 1859. The estate, which had previously been mortgaged for many years, was then assessed at Rs. 2,867; Seth Bítthal Dás, one of the previous mortgagees, having a share in it. Other five biswas are owned by Lachhman, Bráhmau. There is a temple of Baladeva. Four hamlets.

52. *Holi Zanárdár*, as the latter part of the name denotes, is a Bráhmau estate. There is a kadamb-khandi of eight bighas, a sacred pond called Gahvar-kund, and also three small temples built by Prán-Sukh, Káyath.

53. *Imlák Sawái Kasba*.—The town-lands of Noh-Jhil were for 300 years held muáf by the Káuungos, but were resumed by the English Government and assessed at Rs. 120. Another name is Julla-garhi, after a Bráhmau to whom part of the land was given by Brindá-ban Dás, Káuungo.

54. *Ináyat-Garh*, on the Jamuná. In 1867 five biswas were sold by the Játs to Rádhá Gobind, and 1½ biswas in 1871, to Jaysi Rám, Ját of Chinta-garhi.

55. *Ináyat-pur*. The old family of Bráhmau zamindárs now hold only nine biswas, while 11 have been acquired by other Brahmans of Ahmad-pur.

56. *Jáfar-pur*, one of the eight Bherai villages, was about the year 1800 acquired by a Ját of Kaulana, and soon after sold to Mazhar Ali Khán of Kumona in Bulandshahr, brother of Nawáb Ashraf Khán. After the munity it was confiscated and given rent-free for life to Seth Lakshmi Chand. There are 401 bighas that form part of the jhil, and 501 bighas of reed-jungle, the produce of which goes to the zamindárs.

57. *Jahángir-pur*, on the Jamuná, opposite Brindá-ban, was founded by Jács Gauruas from Mát. In the time of Nawáb Najaf Khán, it was given muáf to Gokulanand, Gosáin of the temple of Sríngár-bat at Brindá-ban, to whose successor in the same office it has been confirmed by the English Government. Here is Bel-ban, one of the most noted of the woods of Braj, with a temple of Lachhmi and Gopál. There are six hamlets, viz., Nagara, Adda Moti, Adda Serhu, Adda Rupu, Adda Chaina, and Nagara Chamárán.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mdt Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprie- tors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal- mans.	Total.			
58	Jaiswa ...	516	15	531	...	Ját ...	922
59	Jarára ...	1,530	153	1,683	Bráhmans ...	T h á k u r (Jács.)	2,080
60	Ját-pura ...	223	6	229	Ját community ...	Ját ...	694
61	Jáwara ...	4,234	206	4,440	Ditto ...	Brá h m a n and Ját.	4,383
62	Káne-ká ...	104	...	104	Ditto ...	Ját ...	...
63	Kankar-garhi ...	289	27	316	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	282
64	Karáhri ...	2,511	219	2,730	Jács. Thákurs, and Ráo Abdulláh of Salim-pur.	Thákur ...	2,666

58. *Jaiswa* was re-settled by Jaisi, Ját, some forty years ago, and has now been partly acquired by Athwaraya Bráhmans.

59. *Jarára*, founded by Jait Singh some centuries ago, whose descendants have now sold or mortgaged almost all, chiefly to Bráhmans, but a small share to Muhammadaus. There is an ancient temple of Rám Gopál, and there are four *dahars*, covering in all nearly 100 bighas. Two hamlets.

60. *Ját-pura* was founded by Játs, from the adjoining village of Shal. There is a small *ghári* of *pilu*, *ber*, *chhonkar*, and *haril* with a few large *mukás* trees.

61. *Jáwara*.—The older name was *Jhuna-garh*. Here is the sacred grove of Chandra-ban named after the *Sakhi*, Chandrávati, 55 bighas in extent, with a Bairági's cell under the tutelage of Bál-mukund. Also a dargáh of Mir Sáhib Shaikh Saddu, where people assemble every Wednesday and Saturday. The trees in the Ban are chiefly *pilu*, *babul* and *pasendu*, with a few large and venerable *káidamba*. The leaves of the latter often grow in the shape of perfect cups, which in the summer attain to a considerable size. This curious formation is said to have originated for Krishná's convenience; who one day in his rambles through the woods found the supply of cups and platters that he had with him inadequate for the requirements of all his companions. Similar leaves are found in the *Mána-garhi ghand*; these are of a lighter colour than the ordinary foliage and are esteemed sufficient curiosities for Hindús to send as presents to their friends at a distance. In the mutiny there was a pitched battle between the zamindárs here and those of Pachahra and Ayra-khera, in which as many as 450 lives are said to have been lost. There are two market days every week, Monday and Friday. The subordinate hamlets including eight Bairági's stations (*stahals*) number as many as 28. There is a halkabandi school.

62. *Káne-ká*, so called from the Ját founder, is included in Nabi-pur.

63. *Kankar garhi*, so called from the nature of the soil, was settled from Bárauth. The Játs have sold two biswas to Bráhmans.

64. *Karáhri*.—The zamindárs were once Dhákaras; but now Jács Thákurs have 12 biswas, a Bhál Thákur two, and Ráo Abdulláh Kháu, of Salim-pur in the Aligarh district, six. There are two temples in honour of Gopál and the Sálagrám. There is a miscellaneous market on Tuesday and another for the sale of cattle on Friday. A sarái, a halkabandi school, and an indigo factory belonging to Mr. Saunders. Two hamlets. A large orchard of mango, *jaman amla*, *labera*, and other trees, belonging to the Thákur zamindárs, forms one of the pleasantest camping-places in the pargana; though, for want of watering, the trees have been greatly thinned.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mat Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musulmans.	Total.			
65	Kauláhar ...	1,301	37	1,338	Ját community ...	Ját ...	966
66	Kaulána ...	846	71	917	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ditto ...	1,340
67	Khaira ...	806	50	856	Thákur community.	Jács ...	1,322
68	Khán-pur ...	92	...	92	Ját ditto ...	Ját ...	...
69	Khánwal ...	1,749	106	1,855	...	Bráhmañ and Thákur.	2,120
70	Khwája-pur ...	406	8	414	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ját ...	836
71	Kheriya ...	67	13	80	Ját community ...	Ditto ..	102
72	Kurauli ...	32	...	32	Bráhmans ...	Ditto ...	...

65. *Kauláhar*.—The old zamindárs were Tiwári Bráhmans, but now they have only one thok at a jama of Rs. 428, while Játs have the remainder at Rs. 2,571. Here is a lime-stone quarry. Market-day is Tuesday. There are two hamlets called Udiya-garhi and Garhi Gyásiya: the former is occupied solely by *chhátis*, who get sale for their goods at Bájana. A halkabandi school.

66. *Kaulána* is the parent of eight other villages. 400 bighas are in the jhil. In 1846 it was purchased by Rahím Ali Khán, a son of Mazhar Ali Khán of Kumona, and, with the other possessions of that family, was confiscated after the mutiny and bestowed rent-free on Seth Lakhmi Chand. A halkabandi school.

67. *Kháira*.—Near the village pond (*pokhar*) are the remains of a small shrine massively constructed of block kunkar.

68. *Khán-pur* is included in Nabí-pur.

69. *Khánwal* was founded by Khumání, a Thákur of Bhadanwára, whose descendants are still part zamindárs, though, in 1861, they disposed of the greater part of the estate to Bráhmans, Khattris and Háó Abdullah Khán of Salim-pur. The latter's estates in this pargana pay a *malguzári* of Rs. 2,000. There is a Kadamb-khandi of 14 bighas, with a temple of Rádhá Krishan; also another temple dedicated to Murlí Manohar and a Gaphi. There are three hamlets called Garhi Rájí, Garhi Tula, and Garhi Sudáma. Jiva, the lumberdár of the latter, was implicated in the murder of Kunwar Dildár Ali Khán at Bhadanwára, but died pending trial. A halkabandi school.

70. *Khwája-pur*, so called from possessing the tomb of one Khwája Pír, was founded by Játs from Bherai, and having been sold to Ashraf Khán, was confiscated with his other estates and conferred rent-free for life on Seth Lakhmi Chand. The Ját residents were among the ringleaders in the attack on Noh-jhil.

71. *Kheriya* was founded by Sar-táj, a Ját from Dunetiya. A *malíkána* of Rs. 50 is paid to the Rájá of Mursán.

72. *Kurauli*, included in Muñ-ud-din-pur, was sold by the Játs in 1843 to Athwaraya Bráhmans.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(continued).

No	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindus.	Musal-mans	Total			
73	Kurwāra ...	334	34	368	...	Jāt and Brāhman.	1,009
74	Lāl-garhi ...	248	8	256	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	248
75	Lāl pur ...	193	...	193	Ditto ...	Ditto ...	422
76	Lamtauri ...	350	6	356	Brāhman community.	Brāhman,	331
77	Lāna Kasba Noh-jhīl.	24	9	33	Sardār Sing, Dhūsar.	...	672
78	Lāna Makhdām-pur.	277	...	277	Séth Raghunāth Dās.	Baniya ...	929
79	Lohi ...	1,661	229	1,960	Thākur community.	Jāes ...	1,773
80	Madhua-kā ...	473	...	473	Seth Raghunāth Dās.	Jāt ...	502
81	Makhdām-pur ...	354	5	359	Parasu-rām, Athwaraya.	Ditto ...	750

73. *Kurwāra*.—Part has been acquired from the Jāts by Magni Rām, Baniya, and Duli-chand, Bohra.

74. *Lāl-garhi*, founded by Lālji, a Jāt from Harnaul.

75. *Lāl-pur*, founded by Lāl Sinh a Jāt from Parasauli.

76. *Lamtauri*, founded 150 years ago by Durji, a Sérāsvat Brāhman.

77. *Lāna Kasba* was first recovered from the jhīl in 1814, and then assessed at Rs. 1,400. When the floods are not excessive, excellent crops are produced; but in some years only 200 bighas dry up sufficiently to allow of cultivation. In 1854 the Brāhman zamindārs of Kasba Noh-jhīl had 13 biswas, and Shaikh Ilakīm-ullah the other 7; but of the 13 biswas 2 were subsequently sold to Unrāo Bahadur and confiscated with the rest of his estate, and now the Shaikhs have little more than two biswas, while the remainder of the village has been transferred by them and the Brahman to Sardar Sinh, Dhūsar, of Sahār.

78. *Lāna Makhdām-pur*, the only one of the four Lānas never under water, was part of the estate of Nawāb Ashraf Khān, which was confiscated and bestowed muāf on Seth Lakhmi Chand. The two other Lānas of Musmina and Kaulāhar amount together to 957 acres, but are uninhabited.

79. *Lohi*.—Here is an indigo factory belonging to Kasera, Baniya, and on the side of the village pond a Dargāh of Pīr Bakshī, built by Bhāgirath and Chāin-sukh Lāl. There is a halka-bandi school, and a market held on Saturday. The old Kolār occupants of the place were ejected by Dhākars and they in turn by the Thākurs under Rājā Chet Pal of Kannuj. There are two hamlets opposite each other, both called Jay-sinha, and near them a garden of the Patwāris planted with guava, pomegranate, and other trees.

80. *Madhua-kā* is said to derive its name from Mān-dhātā, a Bairāgi. It was purchased from the Jāts by Nawāb Muhammad Ashraf Khān and confiscated after the mutiny with the rest of his estates.

81. *Makhdām-pur*, on the Noh-jhīl and Shergarh road. The old zamindārs were Jādons, then Jāts; and now Parasu-rām, Athwaraya, Bohra of Iglās in Aligarh, who purchased at auction about 1850.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mát Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalmaus.	Total.			
82	Mána-garhi ...	711	54	765	Ját community ...	Ját ...	936
83	Mangal-khoh ...	86	...	86	Seth Raghunáth Dás	Bráhmañ ...	57
84	Mani-garhi ...	499	4	503	Ditto ...	Ját ...	1,008
85	Marahla Mukha...	225	...	225	S y á m Shankar, mortgagee.	Ditto ...	531
86	Mát ...	4,246	504	4,750	Bráhmans a n d Thákurs.	Thákur ...	
87	Milk Kalán ...	64	...	64	Athwarayas ...	Ját a n d Bráhmañ.	177
88	Mir-pur ...	311	...	311	Thákur community,	Gaurua, (Jáes.)	851
89	Mirthána ...	407	22	429	Bráhmañ community.	Bráhmañ ...	504
90	Mitháuli ...	530	4	534	Ját community ...	Ját ...	958

82. *Mána-garhi*, founded by one Mána, a Ját from Bherai. There is a *ghana* of *kadamb* and other trees still 279 bighas in extent, and not many years ago very much larger, as is shown by the number of trees dotted about the adjoining fields. It stretches also across the Aligarh border into the village of Gangoli. After the mutiny, a fine of Rs. 677-8, was imposed on the zamindárs, who had joined in the attack on Noh-jail. A halkabandi school.

83. *Mangal-khoh*, founded last century by Mangal Sen, a Ját from Bharat-pur, on a creek (*khoh*) of the river. The Játs had five biswas which were sold to Umráo Bahádur Saháy, Káyath of Mathurá, who in 1867 made a gift of it to Dhan Kunwar, Bráhmañi. The other 15 biswas, held by Bráhmañ, were also confiscated, but eventually restored on payment of a fine.

84. *Mani-garhi*, founded by Mani, a Ját from Musimna, and purchased from his descendants by Nawáb Ashraf Khán.

85. *Marahla Mukha*, on the Jamuná, founded by Mukha, a Ját from Barauth. The fine imposed after the mutiny not being realized, the village was sold by auction to Devi Shankar Saháy, Káyath of Mathurá, who in 1867 made a gift of it to Dhan Kunwar, Bráhmañi. The latter has mortgaged it to Syám Shankar.

86. *Mát*.—Tahsili, police station, branch post-office, halkabandi school. See page 412

87. *Milk Kalán*, has now been bought by Athwarayas. *Milk khurd*, with an area of only 67 acres, is uninhabited. It originally belonged to Játs from Dunetiya, who have sold it to Bráhmans.

88. *Mir-pur*, on the Jamuná, is one of the eight Thákur villages. Here is a very large *jháris* of babúl, chhonkar, remja and karil. Near here the Putwariya nála, which rises in the Bulandshahr district, falls into the Jamuná. It flows under Pál-khera, and in the rains is in places 100 yards broad and some 4 or 5 feet deep.

89. *Mirthána* is said to have been founded by one Rám-ji, who named it after his grandson, Amrit Ráo. Here is a temple of Murlí Manohar.

90. *Mitháuli*, founded by Mitha, Ját. A fine of Rs. 750 was imposed after the mutiny.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
91	Morja ...	46	...	46	Brāhman and Jāt,	Jāt ...	161
92	Mubārak-pur ...	210	...	210	Brāhman community.	Brāhman ..	389
93	Muīn-ud-dīn-pur,	587	36	573	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	1,198
94	Musmina ...	1,708	31	1,739	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	1,791
95	Nabi-pur ...	366	33	419	Jāt community ...	Jāt and Chamār.	768
96	Nagara Bīrbala...	51	5	56	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	402
97	Nagara Dānī ...	376	17	393	...	Brāhman...	175
98	Nagara Dehi ...	69	...	69	The Rājā of Mursān	Jāt ...	177
99	Nagara Humāyun,	76	...	76	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	857
100	Nagara Mahru ...	139	...	139	...	Brāhman...	40
101	Nānak-pur ...	842	54	896	Seth Raghunāth Dās.	Jāt ...	732

91. *Morja*, founded by Mor Rāj from Dunetiya. Here is a *marhi* sacred to Mahādeva, with seven biswas of land.

92. *Mubārak-pur* was, after the mutiny, fined Rs. 250-8-0.

93. *Muīn-ud-dīn-pur*, included with Kurāuli, was founded by Jāts from Parsauli and Bājana. Sunday is market day. The Muhammadan name is a little inexplicable; it is generally corrupted on the spot into Mundi-pur. The remains of a fort and some fine old trees, the survivors of a large bāgh, show that the place was once of more importance than it is now.

94. *Musmina*, on the Jamunā opposite Majhoi, with a ferry to connect the two places. At the mouth of the channel which leads from the river to the jhil, there was once a dam to prevent the inundation, but this has been washed away. In the rains, many boats laden with grain start from here for Agra and other places down the stream. Chaudhari Het Rām, lumberdār, is a man of great influence among all the Jāts in the neighbourhood. After the mutiny a fine of Rs. 1,100 was imposed upon him and the other zamindārs. A hamlet called Bhagt Bhakariya was founded about a century ago, and is separately assessed. There is a temple of Mahādeva, and two annual melās are held in honour of Barāhi Devī on the full moon of Chait and the full moon of Kāwār. A halkabandi school.

95. *Nabi-pur*, founded from Siu-Paṭṭī of Bājana, includes in its area Chandāuli, Kāne-kā, and Khān-pur.

96. *Nagara Bīrbala*, founded by a Jāt of that name from Harnaul.

97. *Nagara Dānī*.—Part has been lately acquired by Athwarayas.

98. *Nagara Dehi*.—Here is a ruinous mud fort of Padma, zamindār. The former proprietors were Jāts of Pachahra, who in 1850 sold to the Rājā of Mursān.

100. *Nagara Mahru*.—Jāts have now acquired part from the Brāhman. The Rājā of Mursān has a mālikāna of Rs. 28.

101. *Nānakpur*, founded from Musmina, was sold by the Jāts to Nawāb Ashraf Khān. The large moated fort, which he constructed, was in the mutiny besieged for about a week by the

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mat Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalmans.	Total.			
102	Nasíthi ...	1,493	69	1,562	Ját community...	Ját and Bráhmaṇ.	1,485
103	Návali ...	1,421	86	1,507	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Ját ...	2,161
104	Nausher-pur ...	598	14	612	Ját community...	Ditto	605
105	Noh-jhál ..	2,215	976	3,191	Bráhmaṇs and Muhammadans.	...	3,640
106	Núr-pur ...	177	83	260	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Chamár ...	540
107	Oháwa ...	919	32	951	Hakim-un-Nissa,	Gaurua (Jáes.)	2,211
108	Pabbi-pur ..	380	4	384	Bráhmaṇ community.	Bráhmaṇ.	395

Musmina, Bherái and Kaulána confederacy ; but by the assistance of some of the principal zamindárs in the neighbourhood, Het Rám of Musmina, Ghaus Muhammad of Noh-jhál, Khumáni of Ráe-pur and others, Umráo Bahádur, who had then succeeded his father Ashraf Khán in the estate, contrived to escape with all his valuable movable property to Aligerh ; after remaining there for a month, he joined his uncle Mazhar Ali Khan at Kheliya in Bulandshahr and eventually met his death in the rebel army at Delhi. The village was confiscated and conferred on Seth Lakshmi Chand. Till lately there was a fine mango grove here, planted by Ashraf Khán, 20 bighas in extent, but it has now been very much thinned and a great part of it ploughed up.

102. *Nasíthi*.—A halkabandi school. Two hamlets.

103. *Návali*, so called from its Ját founder, Naval. 1,502 bighas assessed at Rs. 1,740, the property of Kishana and Naukala, were put up to auction and purchased by Nawáb Ashraf Khán, and confiscated with the rest of his son Umráo Bahádur's estate. In the mutiny the old Ját zamindárs took part in the murder of Daulat Rám, Bohra of Bhure-ka, the next village, and in the attack on the Athwarayns of Cháudpur. There are two hamlets, one called Samantgarhi. By the village pond (*pokhar*) is a small mango grove, near which a colony of Harbhuras has been established for the last seven or eight years, and on the Seth's estate another orchard of much greater extent.

104. *Nausher-pur*, founded from Parsauli by Naurang, Ját. A fine of Rs. 752 was imposed after the mutiny.

105. *Noh-jhál*.—Tahsili, police station, post-office, halkabandi school. See page 415.

106.—*Núr-pur*, so called after Núr Khán, a Pathán, but originally named Bhanvarola, after Bhanvar Singh, a Ját from Kaulána. Having been purchased at auction sale by Mazhar Ali Khán of Kumona, it shared the same fate as the rest of his estates after the mutiny.

107. *Oháwa*.—About 100 years ago the zamindári passed from the Játs to a Káyath, who sold five biswas to Sadá Rám, Bohra, while the other 15 were sold by auction and were eventually acquired by Kunwar Dildár Ali Khán of Bhadanwára. Three of the Oháwa people were transported for taking part in his murder at the time of the mutiny, and the estate was sold by his widow to Thakuráni Hakim-ul-Nissa of Sa'dabád, the widow of Husain Ali Khán. Founder, Rám Sukh.

108. *Pabbi-pur*, otherwise called Harad-pur, after a relative of the founder, Bál, Bráhmaṇ.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mât Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
109	Pachahra ...	958	19	977	Bráhmán community.	Bráhmán ...	1,426
110	Pál-kherá ...	1,345	88	1,433	Ját community.	Ját and Bráhmán.	577
111	Parsauli ...	1,500	57	1,557	Ját community ...	Ját ...	1,066
112	Pati-pur ...	129	...	129	Ját and Baniya...	Ját and Bráhmán.	151
113	Piparáuli ...	104	2	106	Gosáin Purushottam Lál.	Bráhmán ...	743
114	Pitaura ...	17	...	17	Játs ...	Bráhmán...	346
115	Polua (Great) ...	33	...	33	Baladeva, Baniya, &c.	Jogi and Malláh.	204
116	Rac-pur ...	1,121	9	1,130	Ját community ..	Ját ...	1,766

109. *Pachahra*.—Given by the Játs to the ancestors of the present proprietors some 300 years ago. A halkabandi school.

110. *Pál-khera* (from the 'Pál' family or dynasty), one of the 12 Barauth villages, is held 16 biswas by Játs and 5 by Bráhmans. It is probably one of the oldest sites in the pargana. It stands on the high bank overlooking the Patwaraya nála, which was once the bed of the Jamuná, with Barauth on the opposite bank. The lowlands all yield excellent rabi crops. There is a hamlet called Sukhatiya-pár on the opposite side of a ravine, through which a small tributary torrent flows into the nála. The Játs are of the Parwár sub-division. They call themselves Chaudharis and are said to be descended from a brother of the ancestor of the Nohwárs. In the mutiny the people of thok Randhír plundered the patwári of Barauth and killed his brother Hira Lál. A market on Monday. A halkabandi school.

111. *Parsauli*, (for Parsa-puri) founded by Serhu, Ját, from Bájana, was fined after the mutiny Rs. 1,450. The Arázi Káshí Pársauli is land recovered from the jhíl, 391 acres in extent, assessed at Rs. 133.

112. *Pati-pura*.—Founded by Pati, a Ját from Dunetiya.

113. *Piparáuli*.—(For Pippala-puri). The old zamindárs were Játs, but now Gosáin Purushottam of Gokul is mortgagee of five biswas under Lakshmi Dás, Bairági of the temple of Lápli Ji on the Mán Sarovar, who is in possession of all the remainder.

114. *Pitaura*.—(For Pita-pura). Two-thirds of the village are now held by Játs, who live at Barauth and Pálkherá.

115. *Polua (Great)*.—The present zamindárs are Baladeva, Baniya; Jamuná, Bráhmán, and Kishan Sinh, Ját; originally they were all Játs. A market is held every Monday on the Bahdín border. A málikána is paid to the Rája of Mursán. Little Polua, which is uninhabited, with an area of 105 acres, is owned by the Rájá.

116. *Rac-pur*, on the Jamuná and with a ferry between it and Sháh-pur in Kosi, was founded from Musmina. Half a mile to the west of the village is a *jhári* 90 bighas in extent with a temple of Baladeva, built about two centuries ago by Nain-sukh zamindár. Two hamlets.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
117	Rām-garhi ...	156	...	156	Jāt community...	Jāt ...	550
118	Rām-nagara ...	435	11	446	Jāt community...	Ditto and Brāhman.	662
119	Sadik-pur ...	267	...	267	...	Jāt ...	262
120	Sadr-pur ...	81	...	81	Balarām Jāt ...	Jāt ...	814
121	Sakat-pur ...	500	5	505	Brāhman community.	Brāhman...	585
122	Salākā ...	138	4	142	Dharm Dās, Athwaraya.	Jāt ..	311
123	Sāmāuli ...	473	7	480	Lachhman Bohra, Hira Lal, Athwaraya.	Brāhman...	866
124	Shal ...	801	49	850	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	894
125	Shankar-garhi ...	388	56	444	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	556
126	Singauni ...	188	...	188	Het Rām, Jāt of Musmina.	Jāt ...	704

117. *Rām-garhi*, so called after Rām-sukh, Jāt, is one of the eight Kaulāna villages. Its older name was Chamar-garhi. The Jāt zamindārs came from Maholi in Palwal, and half of them still live there.

118. *Rām-nagara*, so called after Rām Sinh, Jāt, is one of the 12 Narwārā villages. Half of the zamindāri belongs to Brāhman.

120. *Sadr-pur*, one of the eight Kaulāna villages, is accounted part of Udhan-pur. It has passed from the old Jāt shareholders to Balarām, Jāt of Kateliya.

121. *Sakat-pur*.—Given to Brāhman by the Jāts.

122. *Salākā*, so called after its founder Salāh, is one of the 12 Narwārā villages. Twenty-one years ago the Jāts sold 10 biswas to Dharm Dās, Athwaraya.

123. *Sāmāuli*, (for Syāma-puri), on the Jamnās, is so called after its founder Syāma, Brāhman. Gauras owned a considerable part of the village, but have now sold part to Lachhman, Bohra of Bhadra-ban, and Hira Lal, Athwaraya, and mortgaged the remainder to Devi Sinh and Basant Rām.

124. *Shal*.—Near the village pond (*tālī*) is a *jāman* orchard belonging to some Maohāre, and on the Balli-pur side a fine, large, mango grove named after Kalu the lumberdār.

125. *Shankar-garhi*, so called after its Jāt founder, has 200 bighas watered by a rājbañs of the Ganges Canal. A market on Tuesday.

126. *Singauni*, founded by Jāts from Musmina, was farmed till 1854 by Nawāb A-hraf Khān. It then returned to the old Jāt proprietors, but as they joined in the attack on Noh-jhil in the mutiny, a fine of Rs. 500 was imposed upon them, and in default of payment the estate was sold to Het Rām of Musmina.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindūs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
127	Sikandar-pur ...	1,364	60	1,424	Sewak Rām, Jāt, and others	Thākurs ...	1,828
128	Siraila ...	265	30	295	...	Brāhman...	475
129	Siu Patti ...	1,825	39	1,864	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	2,046
130	Suhāg-pur ...	528	10	538	Jāt community...	Jāt ...	416
131	Sultān-patti ...	1,591	35	1,626	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	1,901
132	Sultān-pur ...	125	62	187	Pathāns ...	Malakāna and Brāhman.	662
133	Surfir ...	4,957	314	5,271	Baniyas ...	Thākurs ...	4,405
134	Surkā ...	177	...	177	The Rājā of Mursān.	Jāt ...	492
135	Tehra ...	158	401	559	Malakāna community.	Malakāna...	420
	Tenti-kā-gānw an other		name for	Akbar-pur.			
136	Thenua ...	355	16	371	Jāt community ...	Jāt ...	201

127. *Sikandarpur*, founded by Sikandar, a Jāes Thākur from Jarāra. In 1824 it was sold at auction to Moti Rām, Brāhman, and Ghaus Muhammad, Shaikh, of Noh-jhīl. Subsequently, Moti Rām sold 5 biswas to Rām Kishan, Thākur, and Madan Mohan, Baniya, and the other 5 to Lachhman, Brāhman, while the Shaikh sold his 10 to Sewak Rām, Jāt, and Handhir Thākur. To the west of the village is a *ghana* of *dhak* and *hins* trees, with a pond covering 8½ bighas. A market on Wednesday. Two hamlets.

128. *Siraila*, founded by Sri and Tulai, Jāts from Harnaul.

129. *Siu Patti*.—See Bājana, page 413

130. *Suhāg-pur*.—One of the 14 Narwārān villages. There is a *jhāri* of *hins* and other trees extending over 5½ bighas. In the mutiny the zamindārs joined in the attack on Lālji, Patwāri of Bāroth, and in the murder of his brother Hirā Lāl.

Sultān-patti.—See Bājana, page 413.

132. *Sultān-pur*, on the Jamunā, so called after its founder Sultan, a Malakāna. Fifty years ago it was sold away from his descendants at auction to Khairāti Khān, Pāthān, whose heirs are now in possession, though they have lately mortgaged to Sāhib Rām and Chet Rām, Baniyas of Surfir.

134. *Surka*, on the road between Māt and Hāthras, was founded by Jāts from Duletiya.

135. *Tehra*, one of the eight Thākur villages, was founded by a Jāes from Kāhnur, whose descendants, some 200 years ago, turned Mubammadans in the mutiny they received and sheltered for five months the refugees from Noh-jhīl: and as an acknowledgment of their loyalty, one-tenth of the jama, viz., Rs. 100, was remitted from the year 1869 (the remission still continuing) and the zamindārs Zauki, Serhu, and Tārā, received each a donation of Rs. 50.

136. *Thenua*, one of the 12 Narwār villages, was given to Thanda, a Jāt of the Thenus got, whence its name. Here is a temple built by Khūba, zamindār.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Māt Pargana—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietor.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Mindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
137	Tilká-garhi ...	629	17	646	Het Rám, Ját, of Musmina.	Ját ...	910
138	Toli ...	30	6	36	Zuhúr Ali ...	Saiyid ...	...
139	Udhan-pur ...	15	...	15	Ját community	Ját Nohwár	...
140	Udhar ...	372	32	404	Ját community,	Jogí and Ját,	540
141	Nagara Himna ...	...	...	...	The Rája of Mursán and Jánaki Prasád.	Ját ...	...

137. *Tilká-garhi*.—So called after its founder, a Ját from Musmina. A few years later another Ját by name Bhagawán founded the hamlet of Bhagawau-garhi. This latter, being $7\frac{1}{2}$ biswas of the whole, has been sold to Het Rám of Musmina. For joining in the attack on Noh-jhil, the zamindárs, after the mutiny, were fined Rs. 662.

138. *Toli*, called in full Toli Saiyid, was taken out of Noh-jhil and given rent-free to one Zuhúr Ali. The grant was resumed by the British Government and the assessment fixed at Rs. 640. Subsequent it was all sold; 10 biswas to Bráhmans, 5 to Baniyas, and 5 to Kunjrás. Zuhúr Ali, a descendant of the old Saiyid, has now re-purchased 5 biswas from Tulsi Rám, Baniya, and the Kunjrás have sold $1\frac{1}{2}$ biswas to Indrajit, Bráhman.

139. *Udhan-pur* is included with Sadr-pur.

140. *Udhar*, founded by Udho, Ját from Dunetiya. There is a *ghana* 173½ bighas in extent, called Batinár. A málakána or royalty is paid to the Rájá of Mursán. There is one brick-built house in the village—a most exceptional thing in this pargana—occupied by Kishan Singh, lumberdár.

141. *Nagara-Himna*, was purchased from the Játs, one-third by Rájá Tíkam Singh and two-thirds by one Bhágirath, who has resold to Janaki Prasád and Vazir Kháu.

V.—PARGANA MAHÁ-BAN.

THE Mahá-ban pargana forms the connecting link between the two divisions of the district. Its western half, which lies along the bank of the Jamuná, forms part of the Braj Mandal, and closely resembles in all its characteristics the tracts that we have hitherto been describing: its towns are places of considerable interest, but the land is poor and barren, dotted with sandhills and intersected with frequent ravines. To the east, beyond Baladeva, the country is assimilated to the rest of the Doáb; the soil, being of greater productiveness, has from time immemorial been exclusively devoted to agricultural purposes, and thus there are no large centres of population nor sites of historic interest.

In area and subordination the pargana has undergone several changes; for originally it formed part of Aligarh, and then for some years recognized Sa'dabád as its capital, before it was finally constituted a member of the district of Muthurá. In 1861 it made over to Sa'dabád some few villages on the border, and received instead the whole of the Raya circle, including as many as eighty-nine villages, which till then had been included in Mát; together with three others, Baltikri, Bírbal, and Soukh, which were detached from Háth-ras. A glance at the map will show that a further rectification of its boundary line to the north is still most desirable; as all the 18 villages of the Ayra-khera circle occupy a narrow tongue of land that runs up along the Aligarh border, in such immediate proximity to the Mát tahsili that they would clearly be benefited by inclusion in Mát jurisdiction.

The river forms the boundary of the pargana to the south as well as the west, and in the lower part of its course is involved in such a series of sinuosities that its length is out of all proportion to the area it traverses, and thus necessitates the maintenance of no less than eleven crossing places, viz, the pontoon bridge at the city, a bridge-of-boats at Gokul, and ferries at Pámi-gánw, Habib-pur or Basai, Baroli, Kanjauli, Koila, Tappa-Saiyid-pur, Sehat, Akos, and Nera. The contracts for all these, excepting the one at Koila, are given in the Agra district.

Of the 151,846 acres that form the total area, 110,613 are ordinarily under cultivation. The crops principally grown are *jóir*, *bájra*, and the like, on 57,000 acres; wheat and barley on 38,700; cotton on 8,000, and *chana* on 4,000. Water-melons are also raised in large quantities on the river-sands;

and the long grass and reeds, produced in the same localities, are valuable as materials for making ropes, mats, and articles of wicker-work.

The number of distinct estates is 216, of which 18 are enjoyed rent-free by religious persons or establishments, and 89 are in the hands of sole proprietors, as distinct from village communities. The castes that muster strongest are Játis and Bráhmans, who together constitute one-half of the entire population. The great temples at Baladeva and Gokul, though they have also endowments in land, derive the principal part of their income from the voluntary offerings of pilgrims and devotees. Of secular proprietors, the wealthiest—as in most other parts of the country now-a-days—are *novi homines* of the baniya class, who have laid the foundation of their fortune in trade. First in this order come Mahi Lál and Jánaki Prasád of Raya. Their ancestor, Nand Rám, was a petty trader of that town, who realized large profits by the sale of grain in the famine of 1838. In partnership with him was his brother, Magni Lál, who, having no natural heir, adopted his sister's grandson, Jánaki Prasád. In 1840 Nand Rám died, and as of his two sons, Mahi Lál and Bhajan Lál, the latter was already deceased, leaving issue, Jamunú Prasád and Manohar Lál, he left his estate in three equal shares,—the one to his son, the second to his two grandsons, and the third to his adopted nephew. For some years the property was held as a joint undivided estate; but in 1866 an agreement was executed constituting three estates in severalty; Jánaki Prasád's share being the village of Bhadanwára, Mahi Lál's that of Arua, both in Mát; and Jamunú Prasád and Manohar Lál's, ten smaller villages in the Mahá-ban pargana. As the main object of this agreement was simply to get rid of Jánaki Prasád, the others continued to hold their two-thirds of the original estate as one property. But after a time, thinking that the discrepancy between recorded rights and actual possession might lead to difficulties, in 1870 they executed another deed, by which the two shares were again amalgamated. This joint estate, including business returns, was assessed for purposes of the income tax, as yielding an annual profit of Rs. 16,066; the Mahá-ban villages, in which they are the largest shareholders, being Acharu, Chúra-Hansi, Dhaku, Gongu, Nágul, and Thaua Amar Sính. Some misunderstanding having subsequently arisen, the uncle and nephew have again divided their joint estate. Their kinsman Jánaki Prasád, in addition to his Mát village of Bhadanwára, has shares in Gainra, Kakarári and 15 other villages in Mahá-ban, from which he derives a net income of Rs. 14,260.

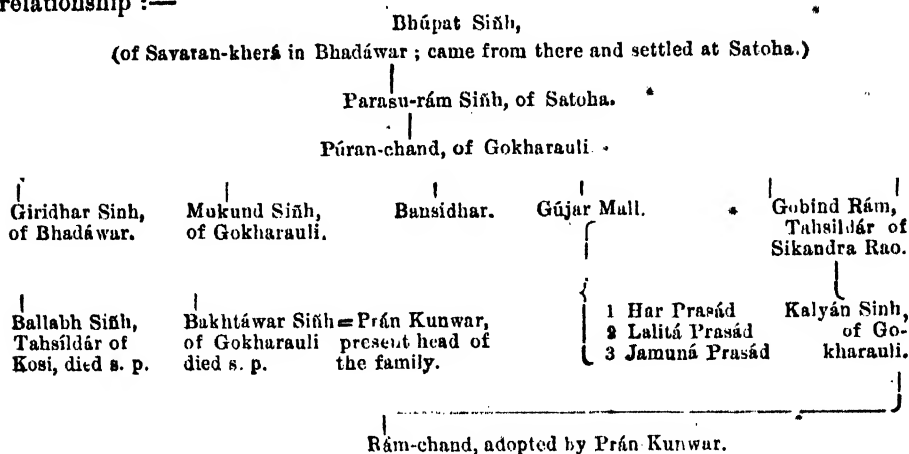
Of much the same, or perhaps rather lower, social standing are a family of Sanádh Bráhmans at Jagadís-pur, money-lenders by profession, who are gradually consolidating a considerable estate out of lands which for the most part they first held only in mortgage. The head of the firm in their native village

where they have been settled for many generations, is by name Harideva, with whom is associated in partnership his nephew, Chunni Lál, son of a deceased brother, Isvari. Besides owning three parts of Jagadis-pur, they have also shares in Daulat-pur, Habíb-pur, Kárab, Kakarári, Sahora, Wairaní and 16 other villages, producing a net income of Rs. 12,572. A brother of Harideva's, by name Púran Mall, has a separate estate, being part proprietor of Bahádur-pur, Itauli, &c., while a relative, Baladeva, living at Gokul, has a further income of Rs. 13,311 derived from trade and lands that he owns at Daghaita and Arhera in the Mathurá pargana. This latter's father, Param Sukh, was the brother of Híra-mani, Harideva's father; and it was their father Jawáhir—nicknamed *Kuteliya*, 'the pedlar'—son of another Harideva, who began in a very small way to form a nucleus for the fortune which his descendants have so rapidly accumulated.

The Saiyids of Mahá-ban, (*see page 13*) though of inferior wealth, have claims to a more ancient and honorable pedigree. They have a joint income of Rs. 6,084, drawn chiefly from the township of Mahá-ban and the villages of Nagara Bháru, Gohar-pur, Sháh-pur Ghosna, and Narauli: but the shareholders are so numerous that no one of them is in affluent circumstances; the head of the family, Sirdár 'Ali Khán, is now officiating as a Tahsildár in the Mainpuri district.

The Pachhauris of Gokharauli have a joint income estimated at Rs. 10,695. The most prominent person among them is Kalyán Síñh, and the actual head of the family, the Thakuráni Prán Kunwar, his cousin Bakhtawar Síñh's widow, has adopted one of his sons, by name Rám Chand. They trace their descent from one Bhúpat Síñh of Savaran-khera in Bhadaura, who came from thence to settle at Satoha, a village between Mathurá and Gobardhan. There he died and also his son, Parasu-rám Síñh; but the grandson, Púran Chand, removed to Gokharauli, where he acquired large possessions in the time of the Mahrattas. At the present day there is not a single village in the old pargana of Mahá-ban, in which his descendants have not some share, though it may often be a small one. In several they are sole proprietors, and they have other estates in the Agra district. At the outbreak of the mutiny, the fort of Gokharauli was surprised and taken in the absence of the head of the family, Ballabh Síñh, grandson of Púran Chand. It was, however, soon after recovered by him and his cousin, Kalyán Síñh, the Risáldar Major in the 17th Regiment; and their great local influence further enabled them to raise a large body of volunteers in pursuit of the rebel army. When the disturbances were over, Ballabh Síñh was appointed Tahsildár of Kosi, but he soon threw up the appointment, as he had no taste for office work, and his private property required superintendence. As Prán Kunwar's adoption of a son has

given rise to much litigation on the part of the rival claimants to the inheritance, it may be of use to add a genealogical table showing clearly the degrees of relationship :—



Beyond the three towns of Gokul, Mahá-ban, and Baladeva, which have already been fully described, the only other places in the pargana which require more than the most cursory notice, are the four great centres of Ját colonization, whose history involves that of all the villages subordinate to them.

AYRA-KHERÁ, an old township with no arable land attached to it, is popularly said to be the mother of 360 villages. It is still the recognised centre of eighteen, which are as follows :—Ayra (or Era), Báron, Bhankarpur, Bhúra, Bibávali, Bindu Buláki, Birahna, Bírbal, Gainra, Gaju, Kakarári, Lálpur, Manína Bálu, Misri, Nim-gánw, Piri, Sabali and Sampat Jogi. The founder is said to have been a Pramár Thákur, by name Nain Sen, who himself came from Daharua, another village in this pargana, but whose ancestors had migrated from Dhúr in the Dakhan, the Rájá of which State is still a Pramár and of a very ancient family. He had four sons, whose names are given as Rompa (or Rúpa), Sikhan, Birahna, and Inebráj, and among them he portioned out his new settlement. They again had each issue, viz., Rúpa five sons, the founders of the five northern villages, Bindu Buláki, Ním-gánw, Piri, Bibávali and Bhúra; Sikhan four sons, who settled the four villages to the south-west, Kakarári, Birahna, Báron and Gainra; Birahna five sons, who founded the five villages to the east, Sabali, Bírbal, Era, Misri and Gaju; and Inebráj four sons, who founded the four villages to the north-west, Manína Bálu, Bhankarpur, Lálpur and Sampat Jogi. The bazár is considered the joint property of Rupá's descendants, and their permission is necessary before any new shop can be built in it. The market, which is held on a spot close to the bazár, twice a

week, Wednesday and Saturday, is the property of the zamindars of the four villages founded by Sikhan's sons, who give it out on contract for about Rs. 50 a year to four baniyas, who take a weighing fee from every purchaser, six *shkatanks* in each rupee's worth of grain. The lands of the eighteen villages are all mixed up together and are occupied almost exclusively by the Ját community, with the exception of Lálpur, which is held by Bráhmans, the descendants of the founder's *purohit*, who belong to the Sanádh clan. Adjoining the village there is a small piece of woodland, 20 bighas 4 biswas in extent, held rent-free by some bairágis, which is called Niwári, i.e., Nímwári. It makes a convenient place to camp in, being enclosed in a belt of fine old *nám* and *pápri* trees, with a solitary *imli* and a number of *pasendu* and *kuríl* bushes in the centre. This is accounted part of Lálpur. The school has an attendance of about 60 boys. The older occupants of the place, whom Nain Sen dispossessed, are said to have been Kalárs, whatever may be the tribe intended by that ambiguous term. His brethren, whom he left behind at Daharua, all became Muhammadans, and it may be presumed that it was his obstinate adherence to the faith of his fathers, which made it necessary for him to emigrate. The event therefore cannot be referred to any very early period. Though himself a Thákur, it is curious to observe that his descendants for very many generations past have been reckoned as Játs of the Godha sub-division. This they explain by saying that the new settlers, being unable to secure any better alliances, intermarried with Ját women from Karil in the Aligarh district, and the children followed the caste of their mothers. There is a general meeting for all the members of the clan at the festival of the Phúl Dol, which is held Chait badi 5.

AR-KHERA is said to have been the parent of twenty-eight villages, eleven of which are still grouped together under the collective name of the taluka **Ar Lashkarpur**. They are as follows:—Bansa, Basar-Bhikhandi, Bir Aliabad, Gurera, Khalána, Khajúri, Nigora, Nonera, Pavesara, Polua and Sujánpur. The last of these, with an area of 243 acres, is uninhabited and is owned by the Ját Rája of Mursán. The Khera itself has been deserted for very many years past, and though a melá in honour of Baráhi Devi is held there twice a year, even the goddess does not remain permanently on the spot, but is merely brought over for the occasion.

MADAM.—This is a circle of five villages occupied by Játs of the Dangri sub-division. Their ancestor, by name Kapúr, is said to have been a Sissodiya Thákur from Jaitai in the Sa'dabád pargana, but originally from Chitor, whose five sons, Chhikára, Bhojua, Jagatiya, Nauranga and Ransingha, founded the villages that still bear their names. In consequence of their laxity in allowing widow re-marriage they lost caste, and from Thákurs became

Játs. The older occupants of the locality are represented to have been Kalárs. Chhikára and Ransingha now form the central settlement. At the *styar*, or shrine of the goddess of small-pox, who is specially worshipped once a year in the month of Asárh, I noticed a small figure apparently Jain, which slightly confirms my view that Kalár is the local name for the older followers of that faith.

RAYA is a small town on the Aligarh road, seven miles from Mathurá, and the first station on the Light Railway from that city to Háthras. It has no arable land of its own, but is the recognised centre of as many as twenty-one Ját villages which were founded from it. These are as follows:—(1) Nágai, (2) Gonga, (3) Súraj, (4) Dháku, (5) Acháru, (6) Bhainsára, (7) Siyara, (8) Banán, (9) Pararári, (10) Sáras, (11) Tirwa, (12) Kharwa, (13) Narwa Hansi, (14) Thana Amar Siñh, (15) Saur, (16) Pokhar Hirday, (17) Malhai, (18) Khairári, (19) Bhíma, (20) Koil, and (21) Chúra Hansi. The first fourteen of these are the older settlements and are called the *chaudah taraf*; the other seven are subsequent offshoots. The town is said to derive its name from its founder Ráe Sen, who is regarded as the ancestor of all the Játs of the Godha clan. There is an old mud fort ascribed originally to one Jamsher Beg, but rebuilt in the time of Thákur Daya Rám of Háthras. The principal residents are now Jánaki Prasád, Jamuná Prasád, and Mahi Lál, of whom mention has been already made. A Bairági of the Nimbarak persuasion, by name Harnám Dás, enjoys a considerable reputation as a Pandit. There is a large orchard of mango and jaman trees, twenty-three bighas in extent, planted by Sri Kishan Dás, baniya, whose son, Jugal Kishor, has also one of the two Indigo factories in the town; the other belonged to the late Mr. Saunders. There is also a smaller orchard in the possession of a Bairági by name Rúp Dás. At the back of the police-station is a pond called Khema-rá, after the man who had it dug, and on the Mát road, near a Thákur-dwára, another called Rawa, probably after the founder Ráe Sen. Market days are Monday and Friday. The town is administered under Act XX. of 1856, and section 34 of Act V. of 1861 is also in force. The line of railway has been constructed along the side of the road, and, as at first laid, crossed and re-crossed it so frequently that all road traffic would have been greatly impeded. This defect was subsequently remedied, and there are now only three crossings in its entire length of 29 miles; but the fine avenue of trees has been terribly cut up.

SONAI is a township on the Háthras road which, like Raya, finds no place in the Revenue Records, being there represented by its eight dependent villages. These are Thok Bindávani, Thok Gyán, Thok Kamal (better known as Khojua), Thok Sáru, Thok Sumera, Bhurári, Nagara Bari and Nagara Jangali. The

Begam Umrao Shah in 1772, which in 1808 was held by Thákur Daya Rám of Háthras, and for some years subsequently was used as a tahsili. Not a vestige now remains of the old buildings, which were pulled down and the materials used for the construction of the new police-station. The site is well raised and commands an extensive view. I would have built a school upon it, but it was represented that the children would be afraid of ghosts. The sarao was constructed in the time of Tahsildár Zubúr Ali Khán, one of the Lál Kháni family, seated in the Bulandshahr district. Market days are Sunday and Thursday.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans,	Total.			
1	'Abd-un-Nabi-pur Gokula.	605	47	652	Nainsukh, Ját ...	Ját ...	662
2	Acharu Ladhora,	929	9	938	Nand-kishor and Jamuná Prasad, Baniyas.	Ját ...	1,184
3	Akos ...	3,252	88	3,340	Bakhshi, Ját ...	Ját ...	3,426
4	'Ali-pur ...	580	...	580	Moti Rám, Bráhma-man.	Bráhma-man,	290
5	Amír-pur ...	323	43	366	Chandan S i n h, Jádon.	Ját ...	448
6	Anaundhá ...	2,253	77	2,330	Bhawáni, Ját ...	Ját ...	2,230
7	Angai ...	712	48	760	Gobinda, Ját ...	Ját and Bráhma-man.	827
8	Arázi Islám-pur,	127	...	127	Sádk Ali, Saiyid,	Bráhma-man...	...
9	Arázi Milk Biká-nú Sháh,	...	39	39	Rajab Ali, Saiyid,	Saiyid ...	73
10	Arázi Milk Gangá-vási,	...	...	...	Kewal Kishan Bráhma-man.	Uninhabit-ed.	54

1. 'Abd-un-Nabi-pur Gokula.—Játs own only half the village, Bráhma-man and Káyaths the other half.

2. Acharu Ladhora.—One of the 21 Ráyá villages. The present proprietors purchased from the Játs. In 1857 two of the zamindárs, Dhani Rám and Sesh Rám, were hanged as mutineers, two others died in jail.

3. Akos.—On the bank of the Jamuná. Here is a hill known as Bhím Tila. Market on Monday. Halkabandi school.

4. 'Ali-pur.—Founded by Shaikh Ali, risáldár. The former proprietors were Káyaths. A halkabandi school.

5. Amír-pur.—Founded by Maháráj Sinh, Ját : mortgaged by his descendants to Chandan Sinh. In the mutiny a native of the place, by name Suraj, took the additional title of Mall, and was proclaimed Rájá.

6. Anaundhá or Anaurka.—Founded by Mahí-pat, a Bharanar Ját. Kesari, Bráhma-man, who had purchased a share in the village shortly before the mutiny, was then attacked and plundered by the old proprietors. A market on Tuesday and Saturday. Here is a kadamb-khandi with a pond called Pariwár. The trees are all very old and decayed, and I was anxious to have them renewed. Almost in the pond and adjoining a Bairagi's cell, who has some 10 bighas of land rent-free, is a masonry well, constructed by a bohra, named Lakhpát, to lay a ghost that troubled him. The lumberdár, Bhawáni, has a large mango orchard.

7. Angai.—Founded by Isvar, Ját. A halkabandi school.

9. Arázi Milk Bikánú Sháh.—Here is a tomb of the founder's son, Fazl Sháh.

10. Arázi Milk Gangá-vási.—A muáfi grant of Sindhia's, but resumed,

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprie- tors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindús.	Musal- mans.	Total.			
11	Arázi Milk Kánúngoan.	...	...	...	Jamaiyat R á e, Káyath.	Uninhabited.	172
12	Artoni ...	524	35	559	Ajay Rám, Ját ...	Ját ...	635
13	Ayrá ...	244	3	247	Náráyan S i n h, Thákur.	Ját ...	557
14	Ayrá kherá ...	1,852	129	1,981	...	Ját and Baniya.	...
15	Bahádur-pur ...	170	...	170	Chiranji Lál, Bráhman.	Ját ...	374
	Baladeva.	See Rí rha, No. 167.					
16	Balarám-pur ...	138	...	138	Jamaiyat R á e, Káyath.	Ját ...	163
17	Baltikrí ...	825	26	851	Mittrasen, Baniya,	Ját ...	1,177
18	Banán ...	440	...	440	Rám Rúp, Ját...	Ját ...	305
19	Banárasi-pur ...	76	...	76	Rukma, Bráhmuni,	Bráhmuni...	152
20	Bandi ...	1,361	15	1,476	Kinnar Sinh, Jádón.	Jádón ...	1,200

11. *Arázi Milk Kánúngoan.*—A grant to Harsukh Rác, Kánúngo, made by the zamindárs of several adjoining villages.

12. *Artoni.*—Held muáfi by the temple of Baladeva.

13. *Ayrá* or *Era.*—One of the 18 Ayrá-kherá villages (see page 438) has been purchased from the Játs by the present Thákur proprietor. Here much salt used to be manufactured, the soil being extremely saline. A halkabandi school. The village stands on high ground by the side of the Mathurá and Aligarh road.

14. *Ayrá-kherá.*—A township, the centre of 18 villages, but with no arable land. Market on Wednesday and Saturday. See page 438.

15. *Bahádur-pur.*—Founded by Bahádur, Ját.

16. *Balarám-pur.*—Founded by Sobha Rác, Káyath.

17. *Baltikrí.*—Founded by Balarám, Ját, and sold by his descendants to Mittra-sen, Baniya, of Háthras.

18. *Banán.*—One of the 21 Ráyá villages. Two of the Ját zamindárs were seized for taking part in the munity, but died before trial.

19. *Banárasi-pur.*—Founded by Banárasi, Bráhmuni.

20. *Bandi.*—Here is a large tank, an irregular octagon in shape, now in a very ruinous condition. Round about it are a number of kadamb trees, of great age, which cannot stand many years longer; but no steps are taken to replace them, as the lumberdárs are on such bad terms that the two principal men, Chaudan Sinh and his son Náráyan Sinh are afraid to stay in the village, and live at Mathurá. On the margin of the tank is a walled court-yard enclosing two small domed brick buildings, the reputed shrines of Bandi and Anandi, Jasodá's, two favourite maid-servants (see page 324). Over the gateway is the following inscription: *Svasti Sri Sarvopari*

* *Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).*

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
21	Bansa ...	596	20	616	Játs ...	Ját ...	807
22	Barhá ...	99	...	99	Raghubar, Bráhma- man.	Ját ...	403
23	Baroli ...	2,090	167	2,257	Prán K m w a r, Pachauri.	Ját ...	1,617
24	Báron ...	1,059	21	1,080	Randhir, Ját ...	Ját ...	992
	Basái : the more	common	nanic	for Ha-	bib-pur.		
25	Básar-bhikhandi,	180	...	180	The Rájá of Mur- sun.	Ját ...	402
26	Bhainsára ...	1,511	39	1,550	Puhapa, Ját ...	Ját ...	829
27	Bhankar-pur ...	334	23	357	Rác Sinh, Ját ...	Ját ...	463

*Bráhmán Bandi Jé. Tasya Sevah Ghási Rám Márwáha Mukand Dás sutra Samvat Subha 1710
sáhe Sri Satirahan Asya ... 1875 tatra varshe Mágh Badi panchamí Budhwár nandir
Bandi Ji Lá sab Rájá charan sewa. Prathamá ráj mandir té 125 Ganga Ji marifat. One
of the shrines has an interior bracket arch of stone of good design and the following inscrip-
tion over the outer doorway : Sambat 1905 miti Pás badi 13 jimidári Thákur Báddám Sinh
mandir ka nandan márifat Mahkam Dayál hárigar ki rupaiya 191 Bandi devi Ji Lá
mandir. dastkhatt Chandan Singh Bandiwáre ke. On the opposite side of the tank is a mango
orchard, planted by Dalu, Jádón, grandfather of one of the present lumberdárs. It has no
well, and it is here a difficult and expensive matter to sink one, the soil being sandy and water
some 60 feet below the surface. Another mango orchard belongs to Chandan and Kinnar lum-
berdárs, and in an adjoining field is a half buried life size statue of Baladeva with a smaller
one of his spouse Revati. They are called by the villagers Saphara and Saphari, but are not
now held in any honour. A Vaishnava Bairagi, by name Gobandhan Dás, of the Nimhárah
Sa.npradaya, has a hermitage close by and is a well-real Púndit. There are in all 6 lumberdárs,
who, like the rest of the community, claim descent from one Dharmpál, who some 701 years
ago moved here from Bára-nar, a deserted site in the neighbourhood, from which they derive
their title of Bára-Rávat ; their original home was Bayána, where one branch of the family still
remains ; another, called Bháti is at Jesalmir, and a third, which is the most numerous, called
Bagri, at Karauli.*

21. *Bansa.*—In taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur. Jaua, Rs. 1,546.

23. *Baroli.*—A tappa of Mándaur, originally belonged to the Játs. A market on Tuesday and Saturday. Halkahandi school.

24. *Báron.*—One of the 18 Ayrá-kherá villages, founded by Bára, Ját. A share has been purchased from his descendants by Jánaki Prasad, Baniya, of Raya. Some two miles from the village, on the side of the Mát and Raya road, close to Dhakpura, one of four hamlets, is Dayál-ban, a pond and thicket of pasendu trees.

25. *Básar bhikhandi.*—Founded by Bál-mukund, Ját. *Bhikhandi* is the name of a particular shrub. Jaua, Rs. 656. In the taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur.

26. *Bhainsára.*—One of the 21 Ráyá villages. Founded by Bhainsa, Ját. The Rájá of Kapurthala is muáfídar ; the estate having been sold to his ancestor Fatih Singh by Rájá Mán Sinh, the heir to the throne of Jay-pur, who lived as an ascetic at Brindá-ban (*see page 241*).

27. *Bhankar-pur.*—One of the 18 Ayrá-kherá villages, has a hamlet, Basda, with a mango orchard.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalman.	Total.			
28	Bhartiya ...	2,457	65	2,555	Rádha Krishan, Bráhmañ; Rám Jas, Ját	Ját ...	1,332
29	Bharú-garh ...	103	1	104	Bharat Sinh, Ját,	Chamár ...	351
30	Bhímá ...	295	...	295	Daya Rám, Bráhmañ.	Bráhmañ,	278
31	Bhít-Baheri ...	50	...	50	Dhani Rám, Ját,	Ját ...	244
32	Bhojua ...	204	...	204	The Rájá of Muráñ.	Ját ...	238
33	Bhúra ...	212	26	238	Kalyán Sinh, Pachauri.	Ját ...	513
34	Bhúra ...	358	21	406	Mohana, Ját ...	Ját ...	635
35	Bhúrari ...	148	...	148	Gangi, Ját ...	Ját ...	163
36	Bich-puri Polua,	171	...	171	Basudeva, Baniya,	Ját ...	272
37	Bibáuli ...	392	...	392	Baladeva, Baniya,	Bráhmañ...	800

28. *Bhartiya*.—Founded by Bharat, Ját. Market on Monday. Halkabandi school.

29. *Bharú-garh*.—Founded by some Játs in the service of Súraj Mall of Bharat-pur.

30. *Bhíma*.—One of the 21 Ráyá villages.

31. *Bhít-Baheri*.—Founded by Parta, Ját. Seth Gobind Dás has a small share.

32. *Bhojua*.—In the taluka Madam. Jama, Rs. 565. A hamlet, called Hazári ká nagara.

33. *Bhúra*. One of the 18 Ayra-khera villages. Here is an old brick-strown *khera*, locally ascribed to the Kalárs. Wells have been sunk all over it for the purpose of irrigating the adjoining fields, but, so far as can be ascertained, no antiquities have ever turned up. On the top is a cairn, marking the grave of some Saiyid, name unknown. The soil is so sandy that a well anywhere except on the khera falls in as soon as dug, unless protected by a masonry cylinder. For the convenience of revenue officials the whole of the Ayra-khera circle has been divided into 18 groups, and each group is entered in the records under the name of some one of its constituent homesteads, which is accounted the village and the others its hamlets. But, on the spot, each bears its own name, and as they all lie very close together and are pretty nearly the same size and have the same general features, being all occupied by members of the same clan, the effect upon a chance visitor is a little bewildering. Neither do the fields of one hamlet all lie together, but are intermingled with those of several others. The tract however is well-wooded, with babál trees dotted about the borders of the fields and frequent small mango orchards. It is also well-cultivated, the only bits of waste being the Bairágis' hermitages, green little nooks, the last remnants of the original jungle.

35. *Bhúrari*.—One of the Sonai villages.

36. *Bich-puri Polua*.—Founded by Bijay Rám, Ját, is in the taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur. Half the village has been purchased by Bráhmañs and Baniyas. Jama, Rs. 700.

37. *Bibáuli*.—One of the 18 Ayra-khera villages. Here is a temple of Chámar (Chánuudá) Devi, built by Nain-sen, where two annual melas are held, in Chait and Kuwár.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahā-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindūs.	Musliman.	Total.			
38	Bīr-aliabād ...	242	...	242	Jāts and Baniyas.	Jāt ...	250
39	Bindu-bulāki ...	871	20	891	Rām Ratu, Jāt ...	Jāt ...	1,079
40	Birabna ...	601	13	614	Sita Rām, Baniya,	Jāt ...	865
41	Bīrbal ...	482	6	488	Navala, Jāt ...	Jāt ...	747
42	Bironā ...	298	7	305	Jasi Rām, Pānda,	Jāt ...	412
43	Bisāuli ...	922	14	936	Akbar, Jāt ...	Jāt ...	1,143
44	Byonhū ...	1,797	173	1,970	Kunwār T o d ar Sinh, Jāt,	Jāt ...	1,796
45	Chauhari ...	427	32	459	Bhūp Sinh, Brāh- man.	Brāhman...	275
46	Chhauri ...	1,033	10	1,043	Zauki Rām, Jāt...	Jāt ...	962
47	Chhibarau ...	238	8	246	Prasādi Lal, Pānda	Jāt ...	407

38. *Bīr-aliabād*.—In the taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur. Jama, Rs. 620.

39. *Bindu-bulāki*.—One of the 18 Ayra-khera villages, founded by two Jāts, Bindu and Bulāki.

40-41. *Birabna, Bīrbal*.—Both in the Ayra-khera circle.

42. *Bironā*.—The Jāts still hold one-fourth of the village, the remainder has been transferred to Baniyas and the Pandes of Baladeva.

43. *Bisāuli*.—Swāmi Rangachārya is muāfidar, by grant from Rājā Mān Sinh, the recluse.

44. *Byonhū*.—Some very fine *kadamb*, *bar*, and *pipal* trees immediately outside the village near a pond called Ullāyati, but the ground, which is flooded in the rains, is so cut up into holes that the only place where a tent can be pitched is a small mango orchard in the centre, called Lachha Bhāt's bagichā. Spreading further away is an extensive tract of woodland (*ghand*) studded with pilus and pasendus and bushes of *karil*. The village was bought at auction sale about the year 1881 by Rājā Tikun Sinh of Mursān, a Jāt of the Therna clan, for Rs. 2,300, a sum less than the Government demand for a single year, which is Rs. 5,000. He transferred it to a relative, Kunvar Sujān Sinh, whose son, Todor Sinh, is the present proprietor. The total extent of waste land is 502 bighās and the trees are some of the finest in the whole district. In the *Karela* is a very pretty group of kadambs, called Bābū-ki, but the villagers have perversely selected it for their burning ghāt. A pond bears the odd name of Bāy; it has been almost filled up in course of time and is now very shallow and its original extent uncertain. On one side it has been faced with block kankar, which has all conglomerated into a rock-like mass. The construction is ascribed to a Banjāra, of whom nothing further is recorded; it may be of any, is probably of very great, age: a Kadamb tree with a gnarled and knotted trunk of immense circumference stands on its margin. The people are Jāts of the Bharangar clan, who give Bijay Sinh as the name of the village founder. He came from Bilāra in the Sādabad pargana, whither his ancestors had moved from Karāri in the Agra district. They have three other villages in the neighbourhood, Anandhā, Tatarota and Pachāwar.

45. *Chauhari*.—The original proprietors were Jāts.

46. *Chhauri*.—Founded by Mahārāj Sinh, Jāt, Chandan Sinh of Bandi now owns 5 biswas, Jānaki Rām 2½ and Jugat Sinh, of Itimādpur, the remaining 12.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
48	Chhikára ...	291	8	299	Kalu, Ját ...	Ját ...	433
49	Chúra-Hansi ...	551	6	557	Randhír, Ját ...	Ját ...	288
50	Daghaitá ...	1,814	79	1,893	Baladeva Sinh, Bráhmañ of Gokul.	Ját ...	2,401
51	Daulat-pur ...	938	58	996	Nathu, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,135
52	Dhaká ...	385	40	425	Jamuná Prasád, Baniya.	Ját ...	564
53	Dhánoti ...	644	66	710	Bijay Kunwar, Jádón.	Ját ...	899
54	Daharua ...	332	273	605	Rájá Udait Náráyan, Bráhmañ.	Malakána,	828
55	Díwáná ...	1,098	10	1,108	Bhágirath, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,462
56	Fatih-pura ...	492	...	492	Chhitar Mall, Baniya.	Bráhmañ...	333
57	Gainrá ...	1,959	7	1,966	Bhawáni, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,470
58	Gaju ...	643	22	665	Parsá, Ját ...	Ját ...	692
	Garsauli, another form of		Gunsáuli.				

48. *Chhikára*.—In the taluka Madam. Jama, Rs. 830.

49. *Chúra-Hansi*.—One of the 21 Raya villages, founded by two Játs, Chúra and Hansi.

50. *Dghaitá*.—The present proprietor purchased from the Játs.

51. *Daulat-pur*.—Halkabandi school.

52. *Dhaká*.—One of the 21 Raya villages, founded by Dhakola, Ját; and sold by his descendants to Jamuná Prasád, Baniya. Here are two temples, built by Sahaj Rám, Balrági, and Pandit Pem Ráj, Kashmiri.

53. *Dhánoti*.—Purchased from the Játs.

54. *Daharua*.—Said to be so called from the *dahar*, or waste land, in its vicinity; but more probably from the town of Dhár, whence the village founder came.

55. *Díwáná*.—Founded by Diwán Sinh, Ját. Held muáfi by Swámi Rangachárya, a grant from Rájá Mán Sinh. About half of the zamindári has also been acquired by purchase. Halkabandi school.

56. *Fatih-pura*.—Part still owned by the original Jádón and Bráhmañ families. Halkabandi school.

57. *Gainrá*.—For Gaínda-rá, from the name of its founder: one of the 18 Ayra-khera villages, on the Mát and Raya road, has 11 hamlets. One, Dhakoi, with two small bāghs, has passed into the hands of Jamuná Prasád. In another, Sardár-garh, is a mango orchard with some khirni and palm trees and a masoary well constructed by Karkili, lumberdar.

58. *Gaju*.—In the Ayra-khera circle.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
59	Ghainchauli ...	399	23	422	Jamuná Prasád, Pachauri	Ját ...	729
60	Ghiyás-pur ...	...	...	...	Mukund Lál, Káyath.	...	163
	Gohar-pur, the more common name for Haiyát-pur.						
61	Gokharáuli ...	859	6	866	Prán Kunwar, Pachauri.	Ját ...	968
62	Gokul ...	4,190	50	4,240	Parushottam Lál, Gosáin.	Bráhmañ...	333
63	Gongá ...	635	...	635	Har Phúl, Ját ...	Ját ...	524
64	Gothá ...	221	9	230	Chidu Mal, Baniya,	Ját ...	644
65	Gulshan-ábád ...	...	...	...	Bánke Lál, Káyath	...	231
66	Gunsáuli ...	1,365	54	1,419	Prán Kunwar, Pachauri.	Ját ...	1,175
67	Gurerá ...	1,119	13	1,132	Basudeva, Baniya, and Játs.	Ját ...	756
68	Habib-pur ...	564	4	568	Rájá Rám, Párasar,	Abír ...	1,190
69	Haiyát-pur ...	1,149	313	1,462	Sardár Ali, Saiyid,	Malakána and Chamár.	1,671
	Hans-ganj, the more common name, for Isapur.						

59. *Ghainchauli*.—The original Ját families still own half the village. A market on Wednesday.

60. *Ghiyás-pur*.—Founded by Nawáb Kamr-ud-dín Khan.

61. *Gokharáuli*.—Purchased from the Játs. In the mutiny the fort was surprised and occupied for some days by the rebels, and three men were killed in the attack (*see page 437*). A halkabandi school.

63. *Gongá*.—One of the 21 Raya villages.

64. *Gothá*.—Sold by the Játs to the Baniyas.

65. *Gulshan-ábád*, alias *Indora*.—Refounded by an Afghan, Gulshan Khán.

66. *Gunsáuli*, or *Garhsáuli*.—Market on Tuesday. Halkabandi school.

67. *Gurerá*.—Here a melá is held in propitiation of Devi Baráhi, the goddess of sores. An old ruined fort bears the name of Ár-Lashkar-pur, the head of the Ár-Lashkar-pur taluka. A market on Monday and Friday. Jama, Rs. 1,700.

68. *Habíb-pur*, also, and more commonly, called Basal: originally founded by Giridhar, Abír, and subsequently by Habib Khán, Pathán. Half has been purchased by Harideva Sihb, Bohra. There is a ferry, for which the contract is given in the Agra district.

69. *Haiyát-pur*.—Also called Gohar-pur. The Persian name was given by Yuhya Sufi, who recovered the fort of Mjhá-ban from the Hindús in the time of Ala-ud-dín Ghorí (*see page 252*).

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
70	Hasan-pur ...	546	15	561	Dharm-pál, Baniya	Baniya and Ját.	549
71	Hataurá ...	721	22	743	Dámodar Dás, Káyath.	Ját ...	575
72	Hatkauli ...	1,186	48	1,234	Temple of Rangji.	Ját ...	960
73	Ibráhim-pur ...	126	...	126	Harideva Sinh, Bráhmañ.	Ahír ...	203
	Iudora, another name for		Gulshan	Ábád.			
74	Isa-pur ...	1,653	181	1,834	Devi Sinh, Ját ...	Ját ...	790
75	Islám-pur ...	16	...	16	Har-jas Lal, Gosáin.	Ahír and Bráhmañ.	500
76	Itauli ...	652	19	671	Púran Mal, Bráhmañ.	Ját and Bráhmañ.	1,250
77	Jádon-pur ...	488	8	496	Ajai Chand, Ját ..	Ját ...	545
78	Jagadís-pur ...	273	1	274	Harideva Sinh, Bráhmañ.	Bráhmañ and Chámañ.	276
79	Jagatiya ...	18	...	18	The Rájá of Mursán.	Ját ...	259

70. *Hasan-pur*.—Halkabandi school.

72. *Hatkault*.—The Játis still own half the village. Market on Wednesday.

74. *Isa-pur*.—On the bank of the Jamuná immediately opposite the city of Mathurá, is more commonly known as Hansganj, after one of the Rájis of Suraj Mall. Here is Durvása tila, a high mound of artificial formation, with some modern buildings on its summit, enclosed within a bastioned wall, part of which has been lately restored. The only vestiges of antiquity are a small nude statue of a female figure, apparently Jain, and the remains of a *bánli* constructed of large blocks of red sandstone fitted together without cement and therefore probably of early date. As the hill nearly faces the Vieránt Ghát, it may have been the site of one of the Buddhist monasteries, which are described by Fa Hian as existing in his time on both sides of the river.

76. *Itauli*.—Beside the cart track leading to Káráb may be seen the ornamental pediment of a Jain temple with a cross-legged figure in the middle and a standing nude figure on either side, the latter being exactly similar to the one in the Siyar at Madam. Under a *ber* tree, a little further on, is a large cross-legged figure seated on a *sinhásan* and the mutilated remains of a design corresponding precisely with a sculpture exhumed from the Kankáñ tila. The principal figure has disappeared entirely, but part of the umbrella-like canopy is left, with a monster sprawling on the top of it, and over all is another seated figure in a niche with a large nimbus surrounding his head.

78. *Jagadís-pur*.—Founded by Jagadeva, Parásar, whose descendants still own one-quarter, the remainder having been sold to Harideva, Bohra.

79. *Jagatiya*.—One of the taluka Madan villages. Jama, Rs. 400.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalmans.	Total.			
80	Jamál-pur ...	...	...	...	Jamaiyat Rá c, Káyath	...	141
81	Jatáurá ...	405	1	406	Purushottam Lál, Gosáin.	Bráhma...	755
82	Jharothá ...	639	70	709	Sundar, Ját ...	Ját ...	676
83	Jogi-pur ...	4	...	4	Temple of Rang Ji,	Jogi ...	389
84	Jugsana ...	2,075	98	2,173	Bhágirath, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,600
85	Kachnau ...	776	10	786	Bhurá, Ját ...	Bráhma and Ját.	813
86	Kukarári ...	1,425	49	1,474	Jivá Rám, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,301
87	Kalyán-pur ...	486	1	487	Harpál, Bráhma...	Bráhma...	530
88	Kanaura ...	316	4	320	Nathá, Ját ...	Ját ...	942
89	Kanjauli ...	1,304	42	1,346	Chanda, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,875
90	Kárab ...	2,594	65	2,669	Pati Rám, Ját ...	Ját and Bráhma...	3,033
91	Karhela ...	221	...	221	Dámodar, Pánde...	Ját ...	385
92	Karnau ...	255	...	255	Nanda, Bráhma...	Bráhma...	436
93	Karsaura ...	716	34	750	Muni Lal, Bráhma...	Ját ...	1,282
	Kásim-pur, another name of		Saiyid pur.				
	Kuteliya, another name for		Nagara Bari,				
94	Khalana ...	187	19	206	Ranjit Sing, Ját ...	Ját ...	331

83. *Jogi-pur*.—Also called Ináyat-pur, from one Ináyat Khán.

84. *Jugsana*.—Halkabandi school.

86. *Kukarári*.—One of the 18 Ayra Khera villages. Here is quarried almost all the block kankar used in the neighbourhood; whence the name. Though the population is considerable, it is mostly divided between the six hamlets, and the old site is almost deserted.

90. *Kárab*.—Half way on the road between Káya and Baladeva. The market, held on Thursday, is the largest in the district for the sale of leather. The Ját zamindárs belong to the Dagá got, who also occupy 24 villages about Bisáwar, in the Sa'dabád pargana, their original seat. There are some fine pipal trees with a small temple near the village ground, called Barel ban; and at the corner of the main road a little shrine to Sitala. The final *b* in the village name may represent an original *vapra*, which in Sanskrit means a 'field' or 'fort.'

91. *Karhela*.—Halkabandi school.

93. *Karsaura*.—The original proprietors were Játs.

94. *Khalana*.—Founded by Khairáti, Ját. Five biswas belong to the Rájá of Muraán Jama, Rs. 73. Is in the Taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
95	Khándiya ...	32	3	35	Amrit Sing, Bráhma-man.	Ját ...	269
96	Khán-pur ...	417	...	417	Bihári, Parásar ...	Bráhma-man and Chamár.	1,075
97	Kharwá ...	743	29	772	Khumáni, Ját ..	Ját and Bráhma-man.	640
98	Kheriya ...	152	...	752	Bahádur Singh, Bráhma-man.	Bráhma-man ..	376
99	Khajúri ...	186	15	151	The Rája of Mursán.	Ját ...	284
100	Khairári ...	445	38	478	Chiranjí Lal, Bráhma-man.	Ját ...	385
101	Kinári ...	132	...	132	Har Gobind, Káyath.	Bráhma-man and Chamár.	353
102	Kináli ...	548	31	579	Balavanta, Ját ...	Ját ...	555
103	Kishan-pur ...	616	...	616	Munna Lal, Bráhma-man.	Bráhma-man...	145
104	Koil ...	331	17	348	Chhfta, Bráhma-man.	Bráhma-man...	286
105	Lahráli ...	689	7	696	Kora, Ját ...	Ját and Bráhma-man.	1,176

96. *Khán-pur*.—Founded by Ali Khán, Pathán. Part has been sold to Harideva, Bohra.

97. *Kharwá*.—One of the 21 Ráya villages, held muáfí by the late Swámi Rangáchárya, to whom it was a grant from Rájá Máu Sinh, the recluse of Brindá-ban. Remains of an old fort.

98. *Kheriya*.—Part has been sold to Baniyas.

99. *Khajúri*.—In the taluka Ár Lashkarpur. Jama, Rs. 675.

100. *Khairári*.—One of the 21 Ráya villages.

101. *Kinári*.—On the 'bank' of the Jamuná.

103. *Kishan-pur*.—Cut off from the village of Kárab, and made a grant to Hirday Rám, Pará-sar. Half has been sold to Harideva, Bohra. Halkabandi school.

104. *Koil*.—One of the 21 Ráya villages. Here are two gardens, with well and rest-house constructed, the one by Jánaki Prasád of Ráya, the other by a Brajbási Bráhma-man, in 1857. Mohan Lal, zamindár, was imprisoned for taking part in the mutiny.

105. *Lahráli*.—In the mutiny the zamindárs of this and several adjoining villages plundered a wealthy bohra, by name Tíká nám, who had lately purchased some of their land. He is still living, but has never recovered from the loss then sustained.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
106	Lál-pur ...	276	...	276	Khyáli, Bráhmaṇ,	Bráhmaṇ...	298
107	Loh-ban ...	2,063	58	2,121	Fakíra, Bráhmaṇ,	Bráhmaṇ...	1,371
108	Mahá-ban ...	5,330	1,600	6,930	Basudeva, Párasar,	Bráhmaṇ...	4,360
109	Mahpai ...	29	1	30	Sálagráma, Bráhmaṇ.	Ját ...	742
110	Malhai ...	55	...	55	Jugalkishor, Baníya.	Ját ...	152
111	Manína Bálu ...	1,069	57	6126	Bádám, Ját ...	Ját ...	976
112	Manohar-pur ...	334	...	334	Lajá Rám, Párasar,	Káchhi ...	678
113	Maraura ...	792	60	852	Isvari Prasád, Bráhmaṇ, of Agra.	Ját and Malakána.	1,048
114	Mávali ...	265	14	279	Dalá, Bráhmaṇ ...	Ját and Bráhmaṇ.	684

106. *Lál pur.*—One of the 18 Ayra Khara villages.

107. *Loh-ban.*—This is a station in the Ban-játra and is said to derive its name from the demon Loha, slain by Krishna. In late local Sanskrit literature he is styled Lohajangha, but apparently is not mentioned at all in any ancient work. Here is a pond called Krishan-kand, and a temple of Gopináth, built in the old style, with a shrine and porch, each surmounted by a *sikhara*, the one over the god being much the higher of the two. The doorways have square lintels and jambs of stone with a band of carving. The date assigned to the building is 1712, which is probably not far from correct. Outside is the lower part of a red sandstone figure set in the ground, called Lohásur Daitya, the upper part much worn by the knives and mattocks that are sharpened upon it. Here are made offerings of iron (*loha*) which become the perquisite of a family of Mahá Bráhmaṇs living in Mathurá. The Sanádh Bráhmaṇ at the temple has only the offerings that are made specially there. About the Krishan-kund is a Katamb-khandi, of rather stunted growth, and some very fine pipal trees. Immediately under the roots of one of them is a small well, called Gop kún, which always has water in it, though the pond dries up in the month of Jeth. Over it is a stone rudely carved with two figures said to represent Gopis. A small shrine on the opposite side of the *kund* has been erected over some sculptures of no great antiquity, which were found in the pond. I arranged with the Gokul Gosáins to have the *ban* planted with trees, which when grown up would be a great boon to the pilgrims. They were getting on well when I left, but probably no further care will now be taken for their maintenance.

108. *Mahá-ban*—See page 251. Tahsili, post-office, police station, and tahsili school.

109. *Mahpai.*—Said to derive its name from the founder Mahipa, a Ját, by whose descendants it has been sold to the present Bráhmaṇ proprietor.

110. *Malhai.*—One of the 21 Raya villages.

111. *Manína Bálu.*—One of the 18 Ayra Khara villages, has a hamlet, Sithariya, in which is a mango orchard with a masonry well and piyáo, constructed by Manasá Rám, Athwaraya, of Beswa, in the year 1832. It is situate at the point where four roads meet, from Beswa, Brindá-ban, Háthras and Mát.

113. *Maraura.*—Founded by a Rávat named Mádan. Part is still owned by the original Ját and Malakána families. A halkabandi school.

114. *Mávali.*—Jánaki Dás and Baladeva Dás, Bairágis, of Brindá-ban, are muáfidáras.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprie- tors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal- mans.	Total.			
115	Milk Bitthalnáth	108	...	108	Purushottam Lál, Gosáin.	Ját ...	168
116	Milk Kishan á Chaube.	57	...	57	Lachha and Khubi, Bráhmans ...	Chamár ...	62
117	Misri ...	215	...	215	Balu, Ját ...	Ját ...	586
118	Mohan-pur ...	47	...	47	Mohan Lál, Bráh- man.	Bráhmau...	105
119	Mubárák-pur ...	...	...	...	Baladeva Singh, Bráhmau.	...	620
120	Mujáhid-pur ...	37	...	37	Rám Dayál, Ká- yath.	Ahír ...	84
121	Mursena ...	210	...	210	Dhan Sinh, Ját...	Ját ...	69
122	Murshid-ábád ...	85	...	85	Prithi, Bráhmau,	Bráhmau...	251
123	Muzaffar-pur ...	192	6	198	Raghunáth, Rewári	Bráhmau...	347
124	Nabi-pur ...	393	3	396	Chhítar Mall, Ba- niya.	Ahír ...	702
125	Nágal ...	1,040	...	1,040	Rám Sinh, Ját ...	Ját ...	909
126	Nagara Akos ...	494	...	494	Nandkishor, Ját,	Ját ...	1,321
127	Nagara Arjun ...	...	...	...	Karan Sinh, Ját...	...	366
128	Nagara Azam ...	238	...	238	Parsá, Ját ...	Bráhmau...	856
129	Nagara Bali (Ka- teliya).	1,150	99	1,249	Jivani, Mahesari Baniyin.	Ját and Rewári.	748

117. *Misri*.—One of the 18 Ayra Khara villages.

119. *Mubárák-pur*.—Mortgaged to the Gosáin of Gokul.

121. *Mursena*.—The zamindárs of this and several adjoining villages took the opportunity in the mutiny of plundering Dhaní Rám, a wealthy Bohra.

122. *Murshid-ábád*.—This was given by Akbar to a Bráhmau, named Rámkishan.

123. *Muzaffar-pur*.—So called by Muzaffar Khán, Pathán. The original name was Madanpur.

125. *Nágal*.—One of the 21 Raya villages. Part has been sold to the Baniyas of Raya. Here is a temple built by Rám Dás, Bairági; a rest-house by Hemráj of Háthras; three gardens planted by Kishan Dás and Husain Beg, and two small mosques, one of them constructed by Chandan, a Baniya of Raya.

126. *Nagara Akos*.—Is also called Nagara Hagá, the name given by its first founder Abhaya-chand. On the Jamuná.

128. *Nagara A'zam*.—Is also called Senthri. Is on the Jamuná.

129. *Nagara Bali*—or Kateliya. Halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
130	Nagara Bari ...	274	7	281	Dayá Krishan, Baniya.	Ját ...	78
131	Nagara Bharu ...	625	22	647	Sardár 'Ali, Saiyid.	Ját ...	1,060
132	Nagara Bírbal ...	134	2	136	Harideva, Ját ...	Ját ...	194
133	Nagara Dhanua.*	186	...	186	The Rájá of Mursán.	Ját ...	298
134	Nagara Giridhar,	233	14	247	Jamsiyat Ráe, Káyath.	Ját ...	670
135	Nagara Gokharáuli	516	41	557	Gobardhan Dás, Káyath.	Ját ...	825
136	Nagara Hari ...	143	...	143	Devi Sinh, Ját ...	Ját ...	403
137	Nagara Hirá ...	95	14	109	Dhani Rám, Bráhma-man.	Ját ...	254
138	Nagara Jangali...	167	15	182	Bakhsha, Ját ...	Ját ...	648
139	Nagara Karan ...	...	...	...	The Rájá of Mursán.	...	108
140	Nagara Kázi ...	364	...	364	Rájá Udait Náráyan, Bráhma-man.	...	243
141	Nagara Mír Buláki	295	8	303	Fidá Husáin, Saiyid.	Bráhma-man ..	120
142	Nagara Thaná ...	116	...	116	Temple of Rang Ji.	Ját ...	160
143	Nagara Todar ...	236	1	237	Rati Rám, Ját ...	Ját ...	323
144	Nagara Tulsi ...	180	12	192	Paltu, Ját ...	Ját ...	203

130. *Nagara Bari.*—One of the Sonai villages.

134. *Nagara Giridhar.*—Is also called Nagara Maháráth, after the original founder, Giridhar being his son.

135. *Nagra Gokharauli.*—Also called, after the founder, Nagará Maguá. The real total of the census returns, when correctly added up, is 856.

136. *Nagara Hari.*—Parth has been transferred to the Seth's temple of Rang Ji at Brindá-ban.

139. *Nagara Jangali.*—One of the Sonai villages.

140. *Nagara Kázi.*—Founded by Kázi Muhammad Ali in Akbar's time. Rájá Udait Náráyan is muáfidár.

141. *Nagara Mír Buláki.*—Called also Nagara Gopí, after the first founder.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Maha-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
145	Narauli Zanárdár	356	...	356	Pándas of Baladeva.	Bráhmañ ...	482
146	Narwa-Hansi ...	136	...	136	Baladeva Singh, Bráhmañ, of Hálhars.	Ját ...	86
147	Nasir-pur Gonpa	...	...	...	Jauki, Ját ...	Ját ...	96
148	Nauranga ...	184	16	200	The Rájá of Mursán.	Ját ...	463
149	Nera ...	1,897	178	2,070	Gokula, Ját ...	Ját ..	3,565
150	Nigora ...	437	12	449	Kunwar Kishan Prasád, Ját, of Mursán.	Ját ...	796
151	Nim-gánw ...	2,698	165	2,863	Lachhman Singh, Jádón.	Ját ...	2,855
152	Nonera ...	387	20	407	The Rájá of Mursán.	Ját ...	369
153	Núr-pur ...	221	1	222	Pándas of Baladeva,	Bráhmañ ...	375
154	Ochhatá ...	190	...	190	Rahi Rám, Ját ...	Ját ...	156

145. *Narauli Zanárdár*.—Founded by one Hans-ráj, and on his death bestowed on the Bráhmañs; hence its second name; *Zanár* being an Arabic word (from the Greek *Zonurion*) meaning the Brahmanical cord. It has now passed to the Pándas of Baladeva.

146. *Narwa-Hansi*.—One of the 21 Itaya villages. Sold to the present proprietor by the Játs.

147. *Nasir-pur*.—Founded by Nasir Khán and Ali Khán. Játs own five and a half biswas; Káyaths the remainder.

148. *Nauranga*.—One of the five Madem villages; purchased by Rájá Tikam Singh about 20 years ago. Jama, Rs. 900.

149. *Nera*.—Probably derives its name from being so *near* (*niyar*) to the river. One of the zamindárs, Karan Singh, in the mutiny, fired at the Joint Magistrate: his share in the village, five biswas, was confiscated and bestowed on Kunj Bihári Lál, Kanúngo, of Shikoh-abád. Market on Monday. Halkabandi school.

150. *Nigora*.—In the Taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur. Jama, Rs. 1,411.

151. *Nimgánw*.—One of the 18 Ayra-khera villages. The Játs still own nearly half the village. Market on Thursday.

152. *Nonera*.—In the Taluka Ar-Lashkar-pur. Jama, Rs. 768.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalmans.	Total.			
155	Pacháwar ...	3,767	170	3,937	Nihál, Ját ...	Ját, Bráhmán, and Baniya.	3,248
156	Páni-gánw ...	2,620	32	2,652	Rájá of Bharatpur,	Ját ...	3,711
157	Parua ...	671	...	671	Kunwar Todar Singh, Ját.	Bráhmán ...	858
158	Patnáuli ...	1,769	46	1,805	Rájá Rám, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,768
159	Pavesara ...	857	63	920	The Rájá of Mursán.	Ját ...	9,014
160	Pindaráli (or Pararáli).	858	21	879	Temple of Rang Ji, mortgagee.	Ját ...	824
161	Piri ...	345	16	361	Jusá, Ját ...	Ját ...	626

155. *Pacháwar*.—The founder, Bijay Singh, a Bharungar Ját from Anaundha had two sons, Bali and Dhyán, after whom two thoks, into which the village is divided, are still called. Five *hissas* have been bought by the Dhúars of Mathurá. The Baniyas here have several substantial brick houses. The largest, in the centre of the village, was built by Jiva Ram, Bohra, who also built the temple of Mahádeva outside it. The latter had a garden attached to it, which is no longer kept up. Market on Sunday. Halkabandi school.

156. *Páni-gánw*.—The two thoks, Madár and Hansu, are so named after two brothers and are entirely distinct. Four of the inhabitants were hanged in the mutiny. Melá of Phúl Dól on Phálgun badi 11. Halkabandi school. The Mán Sarovar on the borders of the village is a lake of no great depth or extent and in the hot weather most of it dries up. Lakhu Dás, a Gosáin of the Rádha Ballabh persuasion, owns the whole of Piprauli and has a little hermitage on its bank, prettily situated in the midst of some venerable *jáman* trees, the remains of an old garden, said to have been planted by a Rájá of Ballabh-garh, to whom is also ascribed a *chhattri*, with a ribbed stone roof. There are two small and plain modern shrines, one of which was built by Mohani, the Ráni of Súrj Mall, who is commemorated by the Gangá Mohan *Kanjat* Brindá-ban. The adjoining *ghana*, or wood, spreads over several hundreds of acres and is quite different in character from any other in Braj, the trees being all with scarcely an exception, *babál*, *renja*, or *chhonkar*, three kindred species of acacia. Part of it lies within the borders of Aru and Piprauli; but by far the greater part is in Páni-gánw and is the property of the Mahárája of Bharatpur, who has frequently been tempted to sell the timber and convert it into firewood. It is much to be hoped that he will always withhold his consent from an act which would destroy all the beauty of the scene and be so offensive to the religious sentiments of his fellow Hindús. There are no relics of antiquity, nor indeed could there be; for both lake and wood are all in the *khádar*, or alluvial land, which at no very distant period must have been the bed of the Jamuná; it is still flooded by it in the rains. Though a legend has been invented to connect the place with Rádha and Krishna, the name as originally bestowed probably bore reference to the Mánasa lake on Mount Kailás in the Himalayas, sacred to Mahádeva.

157. *Parua*.—So called from a temple of Parasu-rám. Is on the Háthras road. On the spot the village name is often pronounced Pilchua.

158. *Patnáuli*.—Part has been sold by the Játs to Bráhmans.

159. *Pavesara*.—Halkabandi school. Jama, Rs. 1,839. In the Taluka Ár-Lashkar-pur.

160. *Pindaráli*.—One of the 21 Raya villages.

161. *Piri*.—One of the 18 Ayrá-Khera villages.

*
Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
162	Pokhar Hriday, (Allah-pur).	222	...	222	Ghísa, Jáť ...	Bráhmán ...	381
163	Radoi ...	754	57	811	Kamal Kunwar, Pachauri.	Jáť ...	769
164	Ráe-pur Mai ...	371	5	376	Rájá Udait Nárá-yan, Bráhmán.	Gójar, Bráhmán and Jáť.	1,301
165	Rausinga ...	215	...	215	Bholá, Jáť ...	Jáť ..	389
166	Rával ...	698	18	716	Chhote Lál, Bráhmán.	Chamár ..	1,483
167	Rírhá cum Balade-va.	3,258	120	3,378	Jasi Rám, Pánda,	Jáť, Baniya, and Bráhmán.	458
168	Rayá	2,336	589	2,925	...	Baniya ...	..
169	Sabali ...	1,256	25	1,308	Parsá, Jáť ...	Jáť. ...	931

162. *Pokhar Hriday (Allah-pur).*—Founded by one Akru, who named it after his two sons. Part has been bought up by the Baniyas of Raya and Bráhmans of Brindá-ban.

164. *Rá-pur Mai.*—So called from its founder Ráe Sinh. Subsequently named Gopál-pur, by one Gopál, a Rájput, by whose descendants it has been sold to the present proprietors.

165. *Rausinga.*—One of the Taluka Madam villages. Juma, Rs. 725. A hamlet is called Majh Garhi.

166. *Rával.*—A contraction for Rájá-kula. Here Súr-bhán, Rádhá's maternal grandfather, is said to have lived and at the temple of Lálí Ji (a title of Rádhá) an annual melá is still held, Bhádon Sudi 8. The village is included in the perambulation of Gokul, and till the foundation of the new temple of Lálí Ji at Barsána was a much more popular place of pilgrimage than it is now. Seven and-a-half biswas have been sold to Rájá Udait Náráyan. Probably the whole of old Rával has been washed away by the Jamuná, and a similar fate threatens before long to overtake the present temple of Lálí Ji, built by Kushál, Seth, in the early part of this century. The river wall, by which it was protected, has already in great measure fallen. The Pujári, Chhote Lál, has a *sanad*, dated the 20th year of Muhammad Shah (1739 A.D.) in which the Vazír Kaur-ud-din Khán assigns Rúp Chand, the then Pujári, one rupee a day for his support from the revenues of the Mahá-ban tahsíl. There is a garden surrounded by a substantial wall, from the top of which, there is a good view of the City and Cantonments of Mathurá. In its centre is a pavilion with stone arcades in the same style as the temple and built by the same Seth. About one-half of the village land is cut up by ravines and unculturable. Some years ago there used to be a ferry here, and a large colony of boatmen, who were all thrown out of employ when the ferry was closed and a pontoon bridge substituted for the old bridge of boats between Mathurá and Hansganj.

167. *Baladeva.*—See page 270. Police Station, district post-office, and halkabandi school.

168. *Raya.*—Market on Monday and Friday. Police station, branch post-office and pargana school. Section 34 of Act V. of 1861 is in force. See page 440.

169. *Sabali*, in the Ayra-Khera circle.—Founded by Sabal, Jáť. Part has been sold to Net Rám, Bráhmán.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahá-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
170	Sahora ...	2,653	69	2,722	Nathi Rām, Ját ..	Ját ...	2,623
171	Salīm-ábád ...	120	6	126	Rām Sinh, Ját ...	Ját ...	322
172	Sampat Jogi ...	293	20	313	Ati Bal, Ját ...	Ját ...	709
173	Sarāe Ali Khān ...	...	...	...	Amrit Kunwar, Brāhmani.	...	174
174	Sarāe Dāud ...	356	44	400	Jugala, Baniya ...	Ját and Brāhman.	442
175	Sarāe Sālvāhana ...	253	29	282	Gobardhan Dās, Kāyath.	Ját ...	279
176	Sāras ...	314	...	314	Lāl Sinh, Brāhman.	Ját ..	339
177	Saiyid-pur ...	905	48	953	Rūpā, Ját ...	Ját ...	1,398
178	Sarkand Kherā ...	179	...	179	Amrit Kunwar, Pachauri Brāhmani.	Ját ...	458

170. *Sahora*.—So called from a temple of Sahori Devi. The former owners were Mathurā Kāyaths. Part has been sold to Harideva and Pahlād, Bohras. In the mutiny the Ját zamindārs attacked the patwāri and killed Khushi Khan, one of the tahsíl chaprāsīs, for which the ringleader Rām Sukh's share was confiscated. Market on Wednesday. Halkabandi school. A hamlet called Tārā-pur.

171. *Salīm-ábád*.—So called from Salīm Khān, Jagirdār; also known as Phūl-pur from its original founder, Phūla, Ját.

172. *Sampat-jogi*.—One of the 18 Ayra-khera villages, founded by Sampat and Jogi, Jāts.

173. *Sarāe Ali Khān*.—The founder was the Governor of Mahá-ban in the reign of Sher Shah or Akbar. Not a vestige of his sarāe now remains, but close to the Mahá-ban Idgah is a very handsome chhattiri of red sandstone, which he erected over the grave of his wife. It stands on a high square plinth with 12 pillars in the old Hindu style, and is cut off at the corners internally so as to form an octagon above and is surmounted by a dome. Close by are the remains of several smaller tombs, two of which are carved with very elegant arabesque designs, but as soon as a stone falls, it is carried off by the occupants of the neighbouring fields and utilized for some agricultural purpose. Well in sight, but at a distance of two or three miles, is another very similar chhattiri to Ali Khan himself, which stands outside the Gandipura gate of Gokul.

174. *Sarāe Dāud*.—Founded by Nawáb Dāud in Akbar's reign. The Pachauris of Mahá-ban have purchased part from the Jāts.

175. *Sarāe Sālvāhana*.—The founder was one of Akbar's kámdārs.

176. *Sāras*.—In the Raya circle. This has been sold by the Jāts. In the mutiny three of the zamindārs, Hulāsi, Sawāc, and Akbar, plundered the Baniyas of Raya, for which they were thrown into jail and died there.

177. *Saiyid-pur*.—Known also as Kāsim-pur. In the mutiny the zamindārs helped to plunder Tika Ram, Bohra, to whom part of the village had been sold. Much of the land is jungle and ravine along the river bank. There is an English tomb, but without inscription.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahā-ban Pargana—(continued)

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
179	Saur ...	127	...	127	Bhajan Lál, Baniya.	Ját ...	785
180	Sehat ...	448	...	448	Hirá Lál, Bráhma	Bráhma...	962
181	Sol-kherá ...	927	80	957	Achal Singh, Ját,	Ját ...	614
	Senthri : another name for		Nagara	K'zam			
182	Shaháb-pur ..	155	...	155	Mukund Lal, Káyath.	Chamár ...	75½
183	Sháh-pur Ghosna,	872	119	991	M a h f ú z Ali, Saiyid, of the M a h ā-ban family.	Saiyid ...	827
184	Shahzád-pur In-dauli.	228	...	228	Jawáhir, Ját ...	Ját ...	373
185	Sháhazád-pur, Tappa Sonai.	40	...	40	Rám Prasád, Pá-rásar.	Ját ...	191
186	Sherni ...	322	16	388	Moti, Ját ...	Ját ...	610
187	Sher-pur ...	69	...	69	Jugal-kishor, Pá-rásar.	Ahír ...	617

179. *Saur*.—One of the 21 Raya villages, founded by Súr Rám, Ját. Half was bought by Swámi Rangachárya.

180. *Sehat*.—This parish occupies a nook, almost entirely surrounded by the Jamuná, immediately opposite Akbar's tomb at Sikandra. Here is a ferry, called Swámi Ghát, for which the contract is given in Agra. With the exception of a few fields on the very margin of the stream and some other small patches here and there, the whole of the village area is covered with reed jungle, which forms a preserve for numerous herds of wild pig. Dotted about the jungle are some date palms, which might yield a supply of *tári*; but the zamindárs are Bráhmans, and object, as they phrase it, to cut the necks of the trees. They would begin to yield in the 12th year and would continue to bear tapping for the next 15 or 20. The grass is used for three purposes: of the longest and stoutest reeds, called *pamar*, chicks are made; the smaller or *munj* are made into ropes; while the undergrowth, *pate*, is collected for thatching purposes. *

181. *Sol-kherá*.—From 'sol, a spear.'

182. *Shaháb-pur*.—Founded by Saiyid Shaháb-ud din, whose descendants still own part. Part has been mortgaged to the Pandes of Baladeva.

183. *Sháh-pur*.—Said to have been founded by the Rána Katira of Mewar. There is an old fort built by a Chobdar of Bharat-pur, named Marchua.

184. *Shahzád-pur*.—Sold by the Játs to the Pá-rásar chaudharis.

186 *Sherni*.—Part has been sold to the Baniyas of Ayra Khara.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahā-ban Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
188	Siyara ... Sonai : see No. 196.	472	24	496	Rám Bakhsh, Ját,	Ját ...	...
189	Sonkh ...	384	28	412	Swámi Rāṅg á- chárya.	Ját ...	95
190	Súraj ...	599	4	603	Guláb Sinh, Ját...	Ját ...	549
191	Talyib-pur ...	139	...	139	Murli, Bráhmaṇ...	Bráhmaṇ and Mala- kuna.	332
192	Tál-garhi ...	350	6	356	Parmá, Ját ...	Ját ...	631
193	Tatarota ...	1,271	31	1,302	Ummeda, Ját ...	Ját ...	2,000
194	Tehra ...	482	15	497	Gopál Dás, Baniya,	Ját ...	763
195	Tháná Amar Sinh	241	10	251	Bijay Rám, Ját ...	Ját ...	835
196	Thok Bindávani, Sonai.	1,398	157	1,555	Mahá pati, Bráhma- man.	Bráhmaṇ...	125
197	Thok Gyán, Sonai,	243	...	243	Harnám, Bráhmaṇ	Bráhmaṇ...	359
198	Thok Kamal, Sonai,	318	...	318	Kusháli, Ját ...	Ját ...	290
199	Thok Sárú, Sonai,	227	17	244	Bhágirath, Ját ...	Ját ...	330
200	Thok Sumera, Sonai.	235	43	278	Kripá Rám, Ját...	Ját ...	322
201	Tirwa ...	291	...	291	HarNaráyan, Bráhma- man, mortgagee.	Ját ...	301

188. *Siyara*.—One of the 21 Raya villages.

190. *Súraj*.—One of the 21 Raya villages.—A parao and masonry well constructed by Prasádi and Sálágrám, Baniyas.

192. *Tál-garhi*.—So called from a tank (tál) constructed by the village founder, Serhu, Ját.

193. *Tatarota*.—Acquired by one Sewá, a Bharangar Ját, from the Kaláls. Part has been purchased by Dhúsars. In the mutiny one of the zamindárs, Ad Ram, was thrown into jail for joining in the attack on Tika Ram the wealthy Bohra of Nagara Bali.

195. *Tháná Amar Sinh*.—One of the 21 Raya villages.—Here is a temple built by Naval Sinh, kámdár of Bharat-pur in *Sambat* 1819.

196. *Thok Bindávani*.—See page 440.

201. *Tirwa*.—One of the 21 Raya villages.—In the mutiny the Ját lumberdar, Chain-Sukh, was thrown into jail and died there.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Mahd-ban Pargana—(concluded).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
202	Wairani ...	4,215	192	4,407	Harphúl Ját ...	Ját a n d Bráhmañ,	3,114
263	Zikariya-pur ...	...	...	...	Jamuná Prasád,... Bráhmañ.	...	101

202. *Wairani*.—A little off the high road, opposite the town of Baladeva. Originally founded by the Kaláls. Part has been sold by the Játs to Harideva, Bohra. Market on Tuesday and Saturday. When I last visited the halkubandi school here, I found at it 85 boys, but only 8 of them the sons of the Ját zamindárs. Twelve were the sons of tenants, and all the remaining 65 the sons of baníyas and shopkeepers.

203. *Zikariya-pur*.—Formerly belonged to the Kánungoes or 'Remembreñcers.'

VI—PARGANA SA'DABÁD.

THE Pargana of Sa'dabád is bounded by the districts of Aligarh and Agra to the North and South, Etá to the East, and the Mathurá Pargana of Mahá-ban to the West. It has an area of 115,498 acres, and is divided into 131 separate estates, of which 52 are held by sole proprietors and the remainder by communities of shareholders. Though water is ordinarily found only at the considerable depth of 30 feet below the surface and is often brackish, most of the land is of excellent quality, yielding a good return on every species of agricultural produce ; barley, cotton, *joár*, and *arhar* being the principal crops, with a considerable amount also of hemp and indigo. The predominant classes are Játis and Bráhmans, who together constitute nearly one half of the total population. At the beginning of the century, Rájá Bhagavant Síñh of Mursán was one of the largest landed proprietors ; but the estate in Sa'dabád held by the present Rájá consists only of the villages of Bhurká, Jhagarári, and Nagara Gharíba, which yield an annual income of Rs. 3,000. Another local magnate of great importance at the same period was also a Ját by caste, Thákur Kushál Síñh, the brother-in-law of Durjan Sál, the usurper of the throne of Bharat-pur. His estates, some 10 or 11 villages lying round about Mahrára, now on the line of Railway, were all confiscated at the close of the war, when a settlement was made with the former proprietors and some of the hereditary cultivators. At present the principal people in the pargana are the Muham-madan family seated at the town of Sa'dabád, at whose head is the Thakuráni Hakim-un-Nissa, the widow of Kunwar Husain Ali Khan. (See page 20).

The remaining large landowners are of a different stamp, being *nouveaux riches*, who have acquired whatever wealth they possess within the last few years by the practice of trade and usury. The most prominent members of this class are—*1st*, Srí Rám, Bohra, son of Madári Lál, Bráhman, of Salai-pur, who returns his net income at Rs. 15,500, derived from shares in 20 different villages ; *2nd*, Mittra Sen, a Baniya of Háthras, who has an income of Rs. 12,125, arising from lands in Mirhávali, Samad-pur, and four other places ; and *3rd*, Thákur Dás and Síta Rám, the sons of Jay Gopál, Dhúsar, who enjoy an income of Rs. 12,116, from Jatoi, Kúpa, Nagara Dali and shares in 11 other villages. Most of the indigo factories are branches of the Chotua concern, a firm which has its head-quarters near Sonai, in the Háthras pargana. Mr. John O'Brien Saunders, of the *Englishman*, was the senior partner : he died in 1879.

Strictly speaking, there is not in the whole of Sa'dabád a single town ; for even the capital is merely a largish village. It was founded by a character of considerable historical eminence, Vazir Sa'dullah Khán—the minister of the

Emperor Sháhjahán—who died in 1655, three years before the accession of Aurangzeb. For some time after the annexation of 1803, it continued to be recognized as the capital of a very extensive district, which had the Jamuná as its western boundary and comprised the parganas of Jalesar, Mát, Noh-jhíl, Mahá-ban, Raya, Khandauli, Sikandra Ráo, and Fírozabád, in addition to the one named after itself. This arrangement existed till 1832, when the Mathurá District was formed and absorbed the whole of the Sa'dabád circle, with the exception of Sikandra Ráo, which was attached to Aligarh, and Fírozabád and Khandauli, which compensated Agra for the loss of Mathurá. If the size of the place had accorded in the least with its natural advantages, it would have been impossible to find a more convenient and accessible local centre; as it stands on a small stream, called the Jharna, which facilitates both drainage and irrigation, and it is also at the junction of four important high roads. Of these, one runs straight to Mathurá, a distance of 24 miles; another to the Railway Station at Mánik-pur, which is nine miles off; while the remaining two connect it with the towns of Agra and Aligarh. The Tahsílí, which occupies the site of a Fort of the Gosáin Himmat Bahádúr's, is a small but substantial building, with a deep fosse and pierced and battlemented walls. As it has the advantage of occupying an elevated position, and is supplied with a good masonry well in the court-yard, it might in case of emergency be found capable of standing a siege. There is in the main street a largish temple with an architectural façade; but the most conspicuous building in the town is a glittering white mosque, erected by the late Kunwar Irshád Ali Khán, near his private residence. There are two other small mosques; one built by Ahmad Ali Khán, Tahsildár, the other ascribed to the Vazír, from whom the place derives its name. The zamindári estate was at one time divided between Bráhmans, Játs, and Gahlots; of whom only the former now retain part possession, the remainder of the land having been transferred to Muhammadans and Baniyas. The town is not large enough to form a municipality, but is administered under Act XX. of 1856. The principal *melá* is the Rám Lísá, started only 40 years ago by Pachauri Mukund Sinh, when Tahsildár. The oldest temples are two in honour of Mahádeva, one of Hanumán, and a fourth founded by Daulat Ráo, Sindhia, dedicated to Murli Manohar. In the mutiny the place was attacked by the Játs, and seven lives were lost before they could be repulsed. A Thákur of Hátbrás, by name Sámant Sinh, who led the defence, subsequently had a grant of a village in Aligarh, while two of the Ját ringleaders, Zálím and Deokaran of Kursanda, were hanged.

Immediately opposite the road that branches off to Jalesar is a neat little rest-house for the accommodation of the officers of the Public Works Department; and about half now a mile from the town the Agra side is a large and

commodious bungalow of the Kunwar's, which is always placed at the disposal of his English friends. It is surrounded by extensive mango groves, and attached to it is a spacious garden, very prettily laid out and well-kept, containing many choice varieties of trees, flowers, and creepers.

SAHPAU (probably for Sah-pura) is the largest village in the pargana, a little off the Sa'dabád and Jalesar road, and close to the Mánik-pur Railway Station. The Thákur zamindárs are Gahlots, who trace their descent from Chitor, and say that at one time they had as many as 52 villages in this neighbourhood. The elder branch of the family, as at Sahpau, Kukar-gama, Isaúda, &c., take to themselves the title of Sah; the second, as at Tehu in Jalesar, that of Chaudhari; and the youngest, that of Ráo. Thákur Buddh Sinh of Umargarh now owns 5 biswas of the estate, purchased by his father, Thákur Tikam Sinh; Bindaban Sah is lumberdar of other 10, and Jhaman Sah of the remaining 5. But out of these 15 biswas, Chunni Kúar, wife of Panna Lál, baniya, has acquired $7\frac{1}{2}$, viz., 5 of Bindaban's and $2\frac{1}{2}$ of Jhaman's. Two families of Sanádh Bráhmans have long enjoyed a málikána of Rs. 175, payable in four shares, two of Rs. 62-8-0 and two of Rs. 25 each, but the liability to further payment is now disputed by the proprietors, since one share has been sold and another mortgaged to a baniya, by name Bidhi-chand. There are 5 hamlets, called Sukh-rám, Badamá, Tiká Rám, Kusháli, and Mewa. The Baniyas are all either Báraseni Vaishnavas, or Jaesvár Saráugis. The latter say that they came from Chitor with the Thákurs. They have a modern temple dedicated to Nem-náth, where a festival is held in the month of Bhádon. It stands immediately under the site of the old fort, which is well raised and occupies an area of 13 bighas. It has yielded a large supply of massive slabs of block kankar, which have served as materials for constructing the basement story of several of the houses in the bazar. Some late Jaini sculptures, representing each a central seated figure with minor accessories, have also been exhumed; I removed to Mathurá and placed in the museum there one of the most characteristic. Outside the town near Panna Lál's indigo factory is a raised terraco, now sacred to Bhadra Káli Máti, which also is partly constructed of kankar blocks, and on the top of it are placed a great number of late Jaini figures with part of the large *Sinhásan* on which the principal idol had been seated. Here a buffalo is offered in sacrifice at the Dasahara festival. In the suburb's of the town are some 12 or 13 mango orchards with small temples and Bairágis' cells, and in a field by itself a large square domed building, of more architectural pretensions, which commemorates a Thákur widow's self immolation. The lower part of the walls at each of the four corners has been almost dug through for the sake of the bricks, and unless repaired the whole must shortly fall. The town is administered under Act XX. of 1856.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana.

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Bindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
1	Abhay-pura ...	289	7	296	Hakím-un-Nissa...	Játs and Bráhmans.	479
2	Arauthá ...	1,028	49	1,077	Naráyan, Baniya...	Játs and Bráhmans.	1,262
3	Arázi Milk ...	...	...	...			16
4	Ártí ...	949	73	1,022	Chhítar Singh, Ját.	Chamárs...	1,022
5	Aturra ...	207	11	218	Mohan Lál a n d Sita Rám.	Játs ...	364
6	Baghaina ...	842	73	915	"	Játs ...	707
7	Bhúgh-pur ...	162	11	173	Hari-deva, Ját ...	Játs ...	162
8	Bahádur-pur ...	384	21	405	Gosáins ...	Játs ...	562
9	Bahádur-pur ...	400	70	470	"	Mahájans ..	412
10	Bahardoi ...	796	62	858	Ghulám Mubammad Khán.	Chamárs...	1,015

1. *Abhay-pura*, founded by Abhay Rám, a Thenua Ját from Naupura, and transferred from his descendants to Kunwar Husáin Ali Khán of Sa'dabád.

2. *Arauthá*, founded by Daula, Ját, a descendant of Bijay Pál, of Biána, whose family still retain one-fifth. The remainder has been transferred to Baniyas and Bráhmans. In the mutiny Kási Rám and Devi Rám, two of the old zamindárs looted the Patwári, and ejected the lumberdár Mohan Lal. There is a temple built by one Rádhiká Dás.

3. *Arázi Milk*, taken for the Kánungos from Sherpur and Sa'dabád.

4. *Ártí* was founded some 700 years ago by Bhoj-ráj, a Gahlot, from whose descendants it passed to Lálji, Ját. He has sold the greater part to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád. There is a temple of Mahádeva built by Samad Puri, Gosáin, ancestor of Chetan Puri, the present musáfidár. In the mutiny Híra Singh and others of the old zamindárs looted the lumberdár Chhattra Singh.

5. *Aturra* was founded by Rác, a Hagá Ját from Susáhan, whose descendants have mortgaged it to Mohan Lál.

6. *Baghaina* was founded some 400 years ago by Adhar, a Thenua Ját, whose descendants have sold one-fourth to Díp-chand, Ját.

7. *Bágh-pur* was founded some 300 years ago by Bágh-ráj, Ját, whose descendants are still in part possession. Fathlu and Durjan are mortgagees of the remainder.

8. *Bahádur-pur*, sold by the old Ját proprietors to other Játs and Gosáins.

9. *Bahádur-pur*, founded some 200 years ago by Bansi, Ahír, from the other Bahádur-pur. From his descendants it passed to Deo-karan, Maháján, who was forcibly expelled from the village in the mutiny, but his heirs are now in peaceable possession.

10. *Bahardoi* was founded by a descendant of the Rána Katirá. The present proprietor, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, son of Hidáyat Ali Khán, is a minor and resides at Dharnpur in the Bulandshahr district. The estate is managed by his grandfather, Ikrám Ali Khán, of Sikraunda, in Saháranpur, whose sister was married to Zahúr Ali Khán, formerly tahsildár of Jalesar. Having no issue by her, he adopted her nephew Ikrám's son, Hidáyat Ali. By a second marriage he had several sons, who succeeded to the Dharnpur estate, of whom

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
	Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
Baráhar ...	552	37	589	Mittra Sen, Baniya, of Háthras.	Játs ...	815
Baraich ...	529	12	541	Ganga Pr a s á d, Ahir.	Ahírs and Baniyas.	380
Bara-mai ...	726	27	753	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Játs ...	982
Baraus ...	420	100	520	Hira Lál and Lál Chand, Athwaraýas.	Chamárs ...	724
Bauli ...	333	25	358	Manohar S i n h, Thákur.	Chamárs ...	468
Bedai ...	1,965	156	2,121	"	Thákurs ...	2,343
Bhukalára ...	674	14	688	Bhawáni Sinh, and Sri Rám.	Bráhmans,	544
Bhurká ...	650	4	654	The Rájá of Mursán.	Játs ...	642

Abdullah Khán is an Honorary Magistrate. A brother of Hidáyat's, by name Madad Ali Khán, is property in the Saháranpur district. Bahardoi and Náráyanpur Bád were purchased by Nur Ali about 1840. All the old Thákur clau has now migrated, with the exception of one mily. There is a hamlet, Mithan, occupied by Aheriyas. A large mango orchard is crowded every night by thousands upon thousands of green parrots, who flock to it about sunset from every quarter of the heavens and leave again the next morning.

11. *Baráhar*, said to have been given on the *baráhar*, or day after the wedding, by Tángh of Bisána in Háthras to his son-in-law, Naval Singh. Now the village is mortgaged to Mittra Sen. Here is an indigo factory.

12. *Baraich*, founded 600 years ago by Bhúpál, Ahir, from Bhagari in Firozabád. Part has been transferred by his descendants to Baniyas.

13. *Bara Mai* was sold by the Játs to Murád 'Ali Khán, father of Kunwar Husain 'Ali Khán of Sa'dabád, whose widow, Hakím-un-Nissa, is the present proprietor.

14. *Baraus* was sold by Sítá, Malákána, to Thákurs, from whom it passed to Prithi-ráj, ohra, whose heirs are now in possession. In the mutiny he was expelled by Moti Singh and hers of the old zamindárs and looted to the amount of Rs. 5,000.

15. *Bauli* was founded by Rám Saháe, a Thákur from Sahpau, and finally passed by gift Manohar Singh from his father-in-law Bakhtáwar Singh.

16. *Bedai* was founded by Codhu, Chauhán, whose descendants have sold part to Bráhmans and Baniyas. Here the Phul Dol is celebrated Chait badi 8. In the mutiny the zamindárs Bijay Singh and Chaudan Singh took part in looting the town of Sa'dabád. The River arwan, or Jharna, dry at all times of the year except during the rains, passes through the llage lands. A hukabandi school.

17. *Bhukalára* has been transferred in part by the old Thákur zamindárs to Sri Rám, ohra.

18. *Bhurká* was sold by the Játs to Rájá Tikam Singh of Mursán.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabād Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage
		Hindūs.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
19	Bich-pari ...	198	4	202	Gosáins ...	Ját and Gosáins.	355
20	Bijal-pur ...	235	16	251	Hakim-un-Nissa,	Thákurs ...	916
21	Bilára ...	852	43	895	,,	Játs ...	778
22	Bir-nagar ...	223	4	227	Ganjá, Káyathni,	Thákurs ...	332
23	Bisáwar ...	4,974	247	5,221	,,	Játs ...	4,391
24	Burj Náu Jí ...	138	10	148	Moti Rám, Ját ..	Játs ...	142
25	Chamar-pura ...	319	63	382	Srí Rám, Bohra,	Játs ...	245
26	Chauwára ...	457	3	460	Dalá, Bráhmañ ...	Thákurs ...	461

19. *Bich-pari* was acquired by Bhúpat, a Baghotiya Ját from Khonda, who married a daughter of Sultán Singh of Kajarothi, and in *Sambat* 1647 formed it into a separate village, which he named Bichpari, from its lying 'between' (*bich*) the other two villages. From his descendants it passed to Gosáin Kartár Giri, whose heirs are the present proprietors.

20. *Bijal-pur*, on the small stream called the Karwan, was founded by one Gegal a Bargújar, but has been sold to Thakuráni Hakim-un-Nissa by the former Rájput and Bráhmañ proprietors.

21. *Bilára* was founded some 400 years ago by a Bharangar Ját, named Kári Rávat, from whose descendants part has now passed to Baniyas.

22. *Bir-nagar* was founded by Mani-pál, a Gahlot, from Árti, and given by his descendants to Lokman Dás, Káyath, whose heirs are the present proprietors. In the mutiny the mortgagee, Chandiká Prasad, was ejected by Hira Singh and others of the old Thákur family.

23. *Bisáwar* was founded some 900 years ago by one Rám Sen, from Mahában, a Jádón Thákur. His descendants, however, have for many generations been reckoned as Játs of the Hagá sub-division. They say that the Sinsinwár, Kuntel and Sogarwár Játs, are of the same origin as themselves, being descended from the three brothers of their great ancestor. The title they take to themselves is that of Chaudhari. There are 24 lumberdárs and 17 hamlets, including one, Sirkoriya, which is now deserted. Two, Nagara Rája and Nagara Sison, have long been occupied by Gautam Bráhmañs. In 1829, when Mr. Deedes was Collector, the *ghaná* or woodland, was an extensive tract of 2,275 bighas. By 1850 its area had been reduced to 1,989 bighas and now there remain only 150 bighas in scattered patches. The present Government demand has been fixed at Rs. 11,000, which in 1881 is to be raised to Rs. 12,000. In all, one fifth of the estate has passed out of the hands of the original Ját community; about 250 bighas being owned by Panna Lal of Sa'dabád, the adopted son of Daulat Rám, who shortly before the mutiny had acquired by purchase the whole of the adjoining Hagá village of Pachávari. There are two temples, to Bihári Jí and Mahádeva, and a shrine, first established only in 1855, in honour of the same Muhammadan fakír as at Jalesar. He is styled the Bara Miyan and is visited by a considerable number of people every Wednesday and Saturday throughout the year, except during the months of Pú and Sáwan. Market day is Friday. A halkabandi school.

24. *Burj Nau Jí* consists of 200 bighas originally comprised in Sahpau, given about a century ago by Pájsá, a zamindár of that place, to Nau Jí, a Ját of Chamar-pura. His heirs retain 8 biswas, the remaining 12 have been acquired by Hulási and Bhaváni, also Játs.

25. *Chamar-pura*.—Purchased at auction from the Játs by Srí Rám, Bohra.

26. *Chauwára*, originally occupied by Thákurs and Chobdárs, of whom the former are still in possession, while the latter have sold their share to Moti Rám, Jaesvár. Bráhmañs are also part proprietors.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
27	Chhatára ...	308	23	331	Thákur Dás and Sitá Rám, Dhúsars.	Thákurs ...	473
28	Chháva ...	327	2	329	Zeb-un-Nissa ...	Játs ...	404
29	Chirauli ...	302	6	308	Dhani Rám, Bráhma-man.	Játs ...	829
30	Dagsai ...	420	40	460	Kusháli Rám, Bráhma-man.	Játs ...	685
31	Dauhai ...	553	9	562	Zeb-un-Nissa ...	Játs and Thákurs.	911
32	Dhádhu ...	1,596	106	1,701	...	Játs ...	1,816
33	Dhak-pura ...	148	7	155	Fath Chand, Mahájan.	Thákurs...	297
34	Dhanoli ...	496	31	541	...	Játs and Bráhmans,	913
35	Fath-ullah-pur ...	230	19	249	...	Thákurs and Golá-pur-abs.	559

27. *Chhatára*—So called from a Thákur of Ughai, whose descendants have sold the estate to Thákur Dás and Sitá Rám, Dhúsars.

28. *Chháva* was founded by Ratn Singh, Ját, of Kursanda, whose descendants have sold part to the Muhammadan family at Sa'dabád.

29. *Chirauli*.—So called after one Chitra (Chiranjiv) a Ját from Sarauth. Part has now been transferred to Bráhmans and Baníyas.

30. *Dagsai*.—Transferred by auction sale from the old Ját proprietors, five biswas to Thakuráni Hakim-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád and the remainder to Kusháli Rám, Bohra.

31. *Dauhai*.—The old Thákur family still retain part, but a s are has been acquired by Lachli Rám, Bohra, and ten biswas were purchased by Zeb-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.

32. *Dhádhu*, founded 200 years ago by Dhándhu, Ját, from Dhávali. Sri Rám, Bohra, is now proprietor of one-third. There is a temple of Kádhi Ji built by Ratn Kunvar of Háthras; and a garden containing a large and handsome double chhattri of stone erected by the Ráni of Balavant Singh of Bharat-pur in memory of two of her relatives who were natives of this village. Here is a halkabandi school.

33. *Dhak-purá*, sold by the Gahlots to Deo-karan, Bohra, who in the mutiny was plundered of 469 man of grain and turned out of the place by Chhattra and Lal Singh, two of the ex-proprietors. His sons are now in possession.

34. *Dhanoli (for Dhan-puri)*, founded some 700 years ago by a member of the family of the Rána Katerá. On the Thákurs falling into arrears their estate was bought in by Government and eventually sold for Rs. 2,425 to Har Kishan, Bohra, who was put to death in the mutiny, but whose heirs are now in possession. The Karwan Nadi runs through the village lands. A halkabandi school.

35. *Fath-ullah-pur*.—The founder, in spite of the Muhammadan name, is said to have been a Gahlot from Gutahra, from whose descendants the estate has passed to Bráhmans and Golá-puráb Baníyas.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
36	Gaṛhi Ahvaran...	353	2	355	...	Thákurs ...	314
37	Gaṛhi Chinta ...	332	...	332	Srī Rām, Bohra...	Thákurs ...	428
38	Gaṛhi Nīlkanth...	...	...	...	Yádav Lál and Mohan Lál, Baniyas of Sa'dabád.	...	199
39	Gaṛhi Rustam ...	106	82	188	...	Káyaths and Játs.	242
40	Garúmará ...	1,347	22	1,369	...	Játs ...	1,148
41	Ghátam-pur ...	195	2	197	Hakīm-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Játs and Bráhmans.	551
42	Ghúchá ...	457	42	499	...	Játs ...	576
43	Gíglá ...	521	36	557	Prabhu Lál, Káyath	Thákurs ...	631
44	Gursauthi ...	348	22	370	Hakīm-un-Nissa...	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	464
45	Gutahra ...	1,830	153	1,983	Bisambhar Náth Khattí.	Thákurs ...	2,505

36. *Garhi Ahvaran* was originally included in Nagara Dali till one of the joint proprietors, Ahvaran Saháe, in the time of Amil Abd-un-Nabi Khán, separated his share and called it Abd-un-Nabi-pur Gaṛhi Ahvaran. His descendants are still in possession.

37. *Garhi Chinta*, founded 700 years ago by Chintá-mani, Gahlot, and almost all sold by his descendants to Srī Rām, Bohra.

38. *Garhi Nīlkanth*, so called after its Jaesvár founder, is uninhabited.

39. *Garhi Rustam*.—In the time of Akbar, Dungar Singh, one of the Gahlot zamindárs, to clear himself from a charge of rebellion, turned Muhamádan and took the name of Saj Khán. The estate was bought in by Government from his Malakána descendants and farmed by Zuhúr Ali Khán at Rs. 461 for some 30 years, till his death at Mecca in 1872, when Rām Baksh, a representative of the old family, took it at Rs. 600.

40. *Garúmará* was founded 500 years ago by Abhai and Nathu, two Hagá Játs from the west. Part has been sold to Bál Kishan, Baniya, and Daulat Rām, Bohra. A halkabandi school.

41. *Ghátam-pur*, formerly called Sálullah Ghátam-pur, was founded by one Ghátam, a Hagá Ját, in the days of Amil Sádullah Khán. It was sold by the Játs to Daulat Singh of Mursán, and subsequently half was bought at auction by Daulat Rām, but possession could not be had from the Rání Rukmini. Part has been acquired by Thakuráni Hakīm-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.

42. *Ghúchá*.—Part has been bought at auction from the Játs by Uemu, Bohra.

43. *Gíglá* on the Agra road, with a police station, founded some 700 years ago by Gagu, a Chauhán Thákur from Semal. It has passed from his descendants to Bráhmans and Káyaths.

44. *Gursauthi*.—Deserted by the old Chauhán zamindárs in time of famine and bought at auction by Mardán 'Alī Khán, whose heirs are now in possession.

45. *Gutahra*, founded by Shio-ráj, a Gahlot from Chitor, who ejected the Ahírs then in possession. His heirs still retain 5 biswas; the remaining 15 have been mortgaged to Bábu.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
46	Hasan-pur Bárú...	654	29	683	...	Thákurs ..	695
47	Idal-pur ...	799	155	954	...	Játs ...	794
48	Isaunda ...	699	25	724	Subaran Sahay, Thákur.	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	845
49	Jaitai ...	938	55	993	Dámodar Dás, Káyath.	Thákurs ..	1,938
50	Járu ...	2,356	128	2,479	Keval Rám, Bráhmán.	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	3,227
51	Jatoi ...	912	170	1,082	Síta Rám and Thákur Dás, Dhúsars	Játs and Bráhmans.	956
52	Jhagarári ...	218	11	229	The Rájá of Mursán.	Játs ...	389
53	Kajarothis ...	1,106	167	1,273	Hakim-un-Nissa, of Sa'dabád.	Játs ...	2,234
54	Kanjauli ...	2,931	212	3,143	Kúrha, Ját ...	Játs ...	1,969

Bisumbhar-náth, Khattri, and others. Another name of the place was Kherá 'Ali Saiyid. A halkabandi school.

46. *Hasan-pur Bárú*, founded by Sikandar, a Gahlot, from Parsoli in Báthras, whose heirs still retain half. The other 10 biswas have been sold to Murli and Tota, Baniyas. There is a *dhák ghaná*, where, for fear of a fakir's curse (*án*) no trees are allowed to be cut. A drainage cut, provided as an outlet for the water of some large jhils near Sonua in the Aligarh district, passes through this village and thence through Chhatára, Mangal, Nagara Dali, Ughai, and Marha Pithu to Marha Bhoj, where it falls into the Sa'dabád river.

47. *Idal-pur*.—One-half has been sold by the Játs to Síta Rám and others, Bráhmans and Baniyas. This and Samadpur are the only two villages of Charaj Játs.

48. *Isaunda*, founded 700 years ago by Surat Sahée, a Gahlot Thákur, whose descendants still own 12½ biswas; the remaining 7½ have been transferred to Lachhi Rám, Bráhmán (whose son, Gangá Bishan, is now in possession) and Panni Lal, son of Nar Singh Dás, Baniya.

49. *Jaitai*, founded 500 years ago by one Jait, a Gahlot from Khara Waliya. Now 17½ biswas are owned by the heirs of Khubchand, Káyath, and only the remaining 2½ biswas by the old family. The Karwan nadi runs through the village lands.

50. *Járu*, founded 600 years ago by Díp Singh, Chauháñ, from Bamán, from whose descendants half has been transferred to Bráhmans; is on the Karwan nadi. Here is a halkabandi school.

51. *Jatoi*.—Sold by the Játs to Zálím Singh, Dhúsar, and by him to Jay Gopál, a Dhúsar also, whose sons are now in possession.

52. *Jhagarári* derives its name from a 'dispute' (*jhagará*) with the village of Kajarothis in the time of Abd-un-Nabi Khán. The founder was one Chundra-bháñ, a Ját, whose descendants sold the estate to Rájá Tíkám Singh of Mursán; and he again sold 15 biswas to Har Kishan, father of Lachhman Singh.

53. *Kajarothis*, founded by Khema and Dalu, two Játs from the west, and sold to Thákur Mardán 'Ali Khán. There is a temple of the Sálagráñ, built by Jivá Dás, Bairági.

54. *Kanjauli*.—200 bighas have been sold by the old Ját proprietors to Bráhmans. Here is a halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
55.	Karraiya ...	295	3	298	...	Játs ...	265
56	Karkauli ...	761	66	817	...	Gola Púrab	714
57	Kaunkná, Great...	567	25	592	Jiva Rám, Bohra,	Thákurs and Bráhmans	637
58	Kaunkná, Little...	388	15	403	Jiva Rám, Bohra,	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	377
59	Kheriya ...	452	25	477	Jiva Rám, Bohra,	Thákurs and Játs.	142
60	Khondá ...	1,546	88	1,634	Bhári Sinb, Ját...	Játs ...	1,495
61	Kukar-gamá ...	457	8	465	...	Thákurs ...	549

55. *Karraiya* --The ancestor of the present Badhantiya Ját proprietors was one Khem Ji : their predecessors were Malakáns. The village was formerly included in Thok-Alu, of Marha-ka.

56. *Karkauli*.—The founder, one Muddi, a Gola Púrab, came from Banwári.

57. *Kaunkna, Great*, founded by Sakat, Chauhán, and Hari, a Gautam Bráhmán. The village has been called at different times Sakat-pur and Nagara Pasendu. The estate has now entirely passed away from the old families to Jiva Rám, Bráhmán, and Tikam Sinh, Ját.

58. *Kaunkna, Little*, founded by Gopál, Chauhán: 12 biswas have been purchased at auction by Jiva Rám, Athwaraya Bráhmán.

59. *Kheriya*, taken out of Little Kaunkná and formed into a separate village about 120 years ago by Giridhári and Hulási, two Chauháns; has now been purchased by Jiva Rám, Athwaraya.

60. *Khonda*, founded 500 years ago by Karan, a Badhantiya Ját from Karauli. Here, as at Marha-ká, which is the next village, the Government demand was too high. It has been reduced in the new settlement from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 4,000; but not before the Játs had been obliged to part with 4 biswas, to their money-lender, one Bhagawan Dás. Water is now found at a higher level than before and above the sandy stratum: an additional boon for the zamindárs. A halkabandi school.

61. *Kukar-gamá*.—Here is an ancient shrine of Kukar Devi, where a melá is held on the festival of the Phúl-dol, Chait badi 7. Though in a dilapidated condition it is quite a modern structure, a small dome supported on plain brick arches; but on the floor, which is raised several feet above the level of the ground, is a plinth, 4 feet 8 inches square, formed of massive blocks of a hard and closely grained grey stone. The mouldings are bold and simple, like what may be seen in the oldest Kashmir temples. One side of the plinth is imperfect and the stone has also been removed from the centre, leaving a circular hollow, which the villagers think was a well. But more probably the shrine was originally one of Mahádeva, and this was the bed in which a round lingán had been set. In a corner of the building were two mutilated sculptures of similar design, representing Balaráma, with a garland of wild flowers thrown across his body, standing under the conventional canopy of serpents' heads, with his right hand raised aloft and a drinking cup in his left hand. The more perfect of the two I removed to Mathurá. A sketch of it may be seen in Volume XLIV, of the Journal of the Calcutta Asiatic Society's Journal for 1855. A few paces from the shrine is a small brick platform, level with the ground, which is said to cover the grave of the dog (*Kukara*) from whom the village is supposed to derive its name; and persons bitten by a dog are brought here to be cured. The adjoining pond called Kúrha (for *Kukura-ká*) is said to have been constructed by

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
62	Kukatai ...	244	1	245	Lachhman Dás, Baniya.	Thákurs ...	518
63	Kumarai ...	189	20	209	Sant Lál, Bráhma-man.	Játs ...	410
64	Kúpa ...	845	55	900	Thákur Dás, Dhú-sar.	Játs ...	1,295
65	Kursanda ...	6,726	418	7,144	...	Játs and Bráhmans	4,467
66	Lodhai ...	932	21	953	Lachhman and Naval, Bráhmans.	Bráhmans .	828
67	Madanai ...	959	73	1,032	Múl Kunwar, Baniyin.	Játs ...	1,125

a Banjára. Very large bricks are occasionally dug up out of it, as also from the village Khera; one measured 1 foot 5 inches in length by 10 inches in breadth and 3 in thickness, another 1 foot 7 inches \times 9 inches \times 2½ inches. It is of interest to observe that on the west coast of the Gulf of Cambray, 20 miles south of Bhaunagar, is another place now called Kúkar, the ancient name of which, as appears from an inscription found there, was Kukkata: but the derivation is uncertain. The old Ját zamindárs are Gahlot, or Sisodia. Thákurs from Sahpau but part of their estate is now owned by Jay Devi, widow of Bāsdeva, Baniya, and Sri Kām, Bohra. Near a mango grove on the Sahpau side is the Samādhi, or tomb, of a Gosáin, built some 50 years ago, a square brick building with a vaulted roof.

62. *Kukatai*.—Part has been transferred at auction to Lachhman Dás from the old Gahlot and Bráhma zamindárs.

63. *Kumarai*, founded 400 years ago by a Barnagar Ját from Bilára. His descendants still hold 5 biswas; the remainder has been purchased by Bábu Sant Lál and Pandit Gopál Prasád, Deputy Inspector of Schools.

64. *Kúpa*, founded by Karan and Magol, Badhautiya Játs from Sankraul on the Ganges. Their predecessors were Kalárs. Little Kúpa is a hamlet. The greater part of the estate has passed into the hands of Thákur Dás, Sita kām and Mangi Lál, Baniyas. The Sa'dabád river Karwan runs through the village land.

65. *Kursanda*, on the Agra and Aligarh road, is not so much a single village as a scattered group of villages. It was settled by a Hagá Ját, named Púran Chand, who bestowed part of the land on his purohit, Chandu, Pánda. Their descendants are still in possession, except of a part which has been acquired by Athwarayas. There are four small temples. A market is held twice a week, on Sunday and Thursday. In the mutiny two of the zamindárs, Zálím and Deo Karan, were hanged for the part they took in looting Sa'dabád. Here is a halkabandi school.

66. *Lodhai*, founded 302 years ago by Hargun, a Dikshit Sanádhi from Mahá-ban. Part has been purchased by Dáu Saháy, Bráhma, and formed into a separate mahál. Here is a pond where children suffering from the itch are brought to drink the water.

67. *Madanai*, founded by Mandan, a Gendár Ját, mortgaged to Múl Kunwar, widow of Hoti Lál, the brother of Mittra Sen of Háthras and son by adoption of Daulat Rám. The latter was a man of very great wealth, but he so offended the Sarangis by protesting against their procession being allowed to take place in Háthras, that none of them would any longer trade with him and he had to retire from business. There are three large mango orchards, though the trees have of late years been much thinned and the greater part of the area given up to the plough.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
68	Magarú ...	563	83	666	Jamuná Prasád, Dhúsar.	Thákurs ...	968
69	Mahábat-pur ...	309	...	309	Baniyas ...	Játs ...	453
70	Mahrára ...	1,314	66	1,380	Lachhman, Bráhma-man.	Bráhmans	1,519
71	Mai ...	1,333	119	1,352	Baladeva, Athwa- raya.	Játs ...	580
72	Makan-pur ...	441	17	458	Ját community...	Játs ...	516
73	Mándaur ...	1,762	85	1,847	Ját community...	Játs ...	4,850

68. *Magarú*.—Five biswas have passed from the old Gahlot zamindárs to Bábú Harí Gobind and Jamuná Prasád Dhúsars have also a share. There are two temples of Mahádeva and a halkabandi school.

69. *Mahábat-pur*.—Sold by the Játs to Hirá Lál and others, Baniyas.

70. *Mahrára*, on the line of Railway, formed part of the estate of Thákur Kushál Sinh, Ját, brother-in-law of Durjan Sál of Bharat-pur. After the capture of that Fort in 1827, the village was confiscated and restored to the old Gautam proprietors. There is a fine mango grove, 22 bighas in extent, with a handsome stone chhatti in its centre, built in memory of a Badhak named Chanda, by his brother Seva. The latter was a man of considerable influence, and the land was given him by the Játs, as a species of black-mail, in order to secure immunity from the gangs of highway robbers with whom he was connected. The chhatti has delicately sculptured columns in the style of the Bharat-pur Rájás' monuments and a vaulted chamber underground. Most of the arches are now filled up with mud; an expedient by which a Mr. Olliver, a subordinate on the Railway, converted it some few years ago into a dwelling-house for himself. This might be removed at any time; but other wanton damage has been done by hacking away pieces of the stone pillars, a barbarism with which the Bráhma zamindárs are credited. A daughter-in-law and three grandsons of Seva are still on the spot; but they are too thriftless and too conscious of the ill reputation generally borne by members of their caste to take any steps either to preserve their ancestor's monument or to replace the trees which are now growing too old to be productive. Here is a halkabandi school.

71. *Mai*, said to have been founded by Madde, Rávat, a Thenua Ját from Adan-garh. Eight biswas were sold before the mutiny to Baladeva, Athwaraya, whom the old zamindárs then took the opportunity of looting. A halkabandi school.

73. *Mándaur* is probably for Mandu-adri, though the name may have been borrowed from the ancient city near Jodhpur, the former capital of the Parihárs. It was formerly the seat of some extensive salt-works, yielding a royalty of Rs. 400, remitted by Mr. Thornton in 1864. The village stands at the head of a reach of the Jamuná, on the extreme edge of the high table land, from which a very steep and broken descent leads down to the alluvial flats that border the stream. A great part of the area, viz., about 3,000 bighas, consists of ravines; the highest point, a mile or so to the west of the present village-site, commands an extensive and rather striking view of the surrounding country and the long reaches of the river. It is called the *Asávari*, and the quantity of broken bricks lying about show that it was once occupied by buildings. A ruinous platform composed of block-kankar slabs, is piled with sculptured fragments, including a *sinkásan* and the architrave and jambs of a doorway, with other architectural decorations, the remains of some small shrine, apparently not of very ancient date. Still on the heights, ha-way between the *Asávari* Devi, as it is called, and the village is a smaller square terrace with a few much defaced kankar blocks carried in a somewhat earlier style. There are 9 lumberdár who, like the rest of proprietary community, are all Játs of the Ghenhár clan, who own 11 other villages, in the Agra district. They say that some 500

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
74	Mánik-pur	249	31	280	Ját community ...	Játs ...	356
75	Mansiya	1,149	74	2,223	Ját community ...	Játs ...	981
76	Marhá Bhoj (Marha-ká).	771	136	907	Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.	Játs ...	981
77	Marhá Pithu (Marha-ká).	1,197	16	1,213	Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.	Játs ...	1,606

years ago their ancestor, Sora, Rávat, grandson of Ten Pál, came from Bharat-pur and first founded Sorai, which is in the Agra district but the next village to Mandaur, ejecting the older inhabitants, who were Káfárs. Part of the estate has now been acquired by banyas. There are four hamlets, Kí ándá-ki-Garhi, Garhi Chandu, Nagara Dhagaroli and Nagara Penih. In the last named is an orchard of mango, jáman and other trees planted some 10 years ago by Jíva, Ját. At the school I found only 33 boys.

74. *Mánik-pur*, on the high road from Sa'dabád to Jalesar, has a railway station, officially designated Jalesar Road. The founder, Bhím, a Gahla Ját, named it after his son Mánik. One-fourth has been purchased by Jacsárs.

75. *Mansiya*, or Mansinlia, was founded by a Pundár Ját from Sambhal. Part has been sold to Bráhmans and Banyas. There is a temple of Mahádeva, built by Lachhman Dás, Athwariya, and a chhattri of Bhíkha Rám, Ját.

76-77. *Marha-ká*, on the Sa'dabád and Jalesar road, was originally divided into three Thoks, viz., Thok Alu, Thok Bhoj, and Thok Pithu. Of these the third remains unchanged in area, and forms the village of Marha Pithu; the second has been divided into three, Marha Bhoj, Pithura, and Parsana; while Thok Alu has in name disappeared altogether, having been split up into five new villages, Karraiya, Nagara Kali, Patti Bohráam, Patti Sakli, and Támsi. In Marha Pithu 11 biswas have been acquired by Mittra Sen of Háthras; Kusháli, Ját, is lumberdar of other 7 and Bhawáni Prasad, Káyath and Harphól, Ját, are lumberdars of the remaining two. There are two hamlets, called Nagara Ramju and Nagara Brahman. The jama has been reduced from Rs. 3,901 to Rs. 3,800, but is still severe.

In Marha Bhoj also Mittra Sen of Háthras owns 11 biswas, Thákur Dás of Mathurá 2½, and Harphól with Rukm Singh and Kehari Singh, Játs, of Parsana, the remainder. There are four hamlets, Mea, Bhai, Práo, and Bholu. The jama here has been raised from Rs. 2,696 to Rs. 2,850.

In Nagara Kali the Játs have lost the whole of their proprietary right, which has been acquired by the Thakuráni of Sa'dabád. The jama is almost stationary: it was Rs. 2,094, is now Rs. 2,100.

In Patti Bohráam the Játs still retain 10 biswas; in other five the lumberdar is Sri Rám, a Smáth Bráhman of Chandwára Sakai-pur, and of the remaining five Sri Gopál, an Athwariya of Chamarauli in the Jalesar Pargana. The jama has been reduced from Rs. 1,040 to Rs. 950.

In Patti Sakli, more commonly called Saurai, the Játs now hold only 6½ biswas, the remainder having been acquired by the Sa'dabád Thakuráni. The jama has been raised from Rs. 725 to Rs. 900. The Játs are of the Bachautiya sub-division, and say that their ancestor, Marha, came from Sakara near Rámghát on the Ganges about the year 1350 A. D., and ejected the Káfárs, who were then in possession of the old *Kára*, called Bahina. This is on the now Jalesar road, which in the time of the Muhammadan Emperors was the high road to Delhi. It has yielded at different times many large slabs of black kankar, which have been used in building the houses of the móteri village, and in an adjoining field is an old Mahádeva and the much mutilated torso of a life-size standing Egure. In another field is a chabútera of Chamara Deví,

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population			Principal Proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
78	Mír-pur ...	374	16	390	Bholá Ját ...	Játs ...	474
79	Mirhávall ...	2,643	133	2,773	Pandit Rám Chand.	Bráhmans and Játs.	4,135
80	Nagara Bairu ...	429	45	474	...	Thákurs ...	313
81	Nagara Banárasí,	343	47	390	Bábú Har Gobind, Káyath.	Játs ...	343
82	Nagara Bihári ...	135	...	135	Srí Rám, Bohra...	Bráhmans,	245
83	Nagara Dalf ...	472	60	532	Daulat Rám, Ját ; Thákur Dás and Sita Rám, Dhúsars.	Thákurs & Játs ...	699
84	Nagara Ghariba...	79	22	101	The Rájá of Mursán.	Játs ...	338
85	Nagara Kalí ...	706	15	721	Hakím-un-Nissa, of Sa'dabád.	Játs ...	632
86	Nagara Khánzamán.	64	...	64	Srí Rám, Bohra...	Chamárs...	169

which is visited by people from a considerable distance, who offer rams in sacrifice. There is nothing on the chabútara but a ragged bit of block kankar. Nearer the village is a small collection of broken sculptures, among which is a very well-executed head elaborately dressed in the style of the large figure in the Elephanta cave. Some fragments have been lately removed from here to the side of the new high-road, the principal being a small mutilated figure of Buddha,

78. *Mír-pur*.—Part has been sold by the Játs to a Gosáin.

79. *Mirhávall*, founded by Kúki, Rávat, a Ját, from whose descendants one-sixth has passed by auction to Bráhmans and Baniyas. There is a temple of Sálagrám. A halkabandi school.

80. *Nagara Bairu*.—Separated from Ughai some 200 years ago. The Thákurs and Bráhmans have sold part to Panna Lál and Chattrá.

81. *Nagara Banárasí*: so called after the founder, a Thenua Ját from Mai. One-fifth has been sold to Bábú Hari Gobind and Baladeva, Athwaraya.

82. *Nagara Bihári*: separated off from Sahpau in favour of Bihári, a Ját from Kherá by Sonai. It has been purchased by Srí Rám, Bohra.

83. *Nagara Dalf* has almost entirely passed from the Gahlots to Játs and Dhúsars.

84. *Nagara Ghariba*: separated off from Bará Mai by one of the Ját zamindárs, who called it after his own name. It was transferred by his descendants to Rájá Tikam Sinh of Mursán.

85. *Nagara Kalí* has passed from the Játs to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád, widow of Kunvar Hussain 'Alí Khán. Was originally part of Marha-ká.

86. *Nagara Khánzamán*: sold by the Melakánas to Srí Rám, Bohra.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
87	Nagara Mauji ...	235	30	265	Harideva, Ját ...	Játs ...	212
88	Nagara Salim ...	471	11	482	Baladeva Sinh, Bráhmañ.	Ahírs ...	451
89	Nánau ...	386	12	398	Nawáb Sir Faiz 'Ali Khán, K. C. S. I. ...	Játs ...	736
90	Naráyan-pur-Bád,	279	6	285	Ghulám Muham-mad Khán.	Thákurs...	299
91	Násir-pur ...	...	...	...	Kunwar Sen, of Kanjauli.	...	287
92	Nasír-pur ...	464	536	1,000	Chúraman Sinh, Thákur.	Játs a n d Thákurs.	1,206
93	Naugáma ...	4,019	229	4,248	Jaydevi, Baniyin,	Játs ...	3,670
94	Nau-pura ...	813	11	824	...	Játs ..	697
95	Pachávari ...	306	9	315	Panna Lál, Baniya,	Játs a n d Bráhmans,	704
96	Parsaura ...	344	30	374	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Játs ...	657

87. *Nagara Mauji*: separated off from Kukar-gámá. Two-thirds have been purchased at auction by Baladeva, Bráhmañ.

88. *Nagara Salim*: 18½ biswas had been acquired before the mutiny by Baladeva Sinh, Bráhmañ, from the Ahírs, who then took the opportunity of looting him.

89. *Nánau* founded by Uddár, a Ját of Nau-pura. It has been sold to Nawáb Sir Faiz 'Ali Khán, K. C. S. I., of Pahásu, lately Prime Minister of the Mahárája of Jaypur. There is a temple built by Dilbaksh, Patwári, whom the zamindárs looted in the mutiny. On the road to Mandaur is a *chabútara* of block kaukar, on which are a number of broken sculptures.

90. *Naráyan-pur Bád*: founded by one Kunjal at the instigation of Gosáin Náráyan Dás. It was transferred by the old Thákur zamindárs to Kunvár Zuhúr 'Ali Khán and farmed by Ghulám Muhammad Khán.

91. *Násir-pur*, now deserted, was founded by one Dalá, a Churel Ját from Sákra. It has been sold to other Játs and Jáesvars.

92. *Nasír-pur*, on the spot always called Rismui, was founded by two Hagá Játs from Unchá-gánw (Susáhan). It has been sold to Chúraman Sinh, who in the mutiny was temporarily ejected by the old zamindárs. Here is a halkabandi school.

93. *Naugáma* on the Sa'dabád Road, was founded by Dhani, Pachauri, and Adu, Ját. Now one-third has been sold to Baniyas and Musalmáns. A halkabandi school. Twelve hamlets.

95. *Pachávari*, founded 400 years ago by Sakru and Param, Hagá Játs, descendants of Rájá Banpál. The estate was bought at auction by Daulat Rám, Baniya, who was forcibly expelled in the mutiny, but whose heirs are now in possession.

96. *Parsaura* was originally included in Marhá Bhoj. Half has been bought at auction by Thakuráni Hakím un-Nissa.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
97	Patti Bahrám ...	372	47	419	Khyálí Rám and Kánwar S en, Játés.	Játés and Bráhmans.	369
98	Patti Sakti ...	168	...	168	Hakím-un-Nissa of Sa'dabád.	Játés ...	516
99	Pihura ...	298	26	324	Srí Rám, Bráhmán,	Játés ...	312
100	Pipara Mai ...	587	128	715	Hakím-un-Nissa, of Sa'dabád.	Játés ...	1,398
101	Pusaini ...	198	11	209	Lachhman, Bráhmán.	Játés ...	317
102	Rác-pura ...	378	51	429	Umráo Sinh, Thákur.	Thákurs ...	574
103	Ráj-nagar ...	343	6	349	Gobardhan, Bráhmán.	Bráhmans, and Thákurs.	364
104	Rám-pura ...	240	147	387	Mahájans ...	Chamárs and Mahájans.	278
105	Rashíd-pur ...	441	22	463	Khumáni, Bráhmán.	Bráhmans and Játés.	368

97. *Patti Bahrám*, otherwise called *Patti Algarazi*. Ten biswas have now passed out of the hands of the Játés. Originally included in *Thok Alu*, of *Marha-ká*.

98. *Patti Sakti* or *Saurai*, has been in great part transferred from the Játés to *Thakuráni* *Hakím-un-Nissa*. Originally a part of *Marha-ká* and included in *Thok Alu*.

99. *Pihura*: founded 400 years ago by *Ummed*, a Ját from *Marha-ká*, has been transferred to *Srí Rám*, *Bohra*, *Ilira Lál*, *Bráhmán*, and *Panna Lál*, *Baniya*.

100. *Pipara Mai* purchased at auction from the Játés by *Thakuráni* *Hakím-un-Nissa*. Here is an old temple of *Sálagráh*.

101. *Pusaini*: founded by *Rati* and *Sháh-záda*, Játés from *Kursanda*, has been sold to *Lachhman*, *Athwaraya*; *Bahádúr*, *Jacsvár*; and *Jiwan* and *Chuttan*, *Musalmán*s.

102. *Rác-pura*: named by *Sukhdeva* the founder, a *Gahlot* of *Gutabra*, after his grandson, *Rác-sukh*. It has been sold to the *Chauháns*.

103. *Ráj-nagar*: founded by *Giridhar*, a *Gahlot*, from *Arti*. His descendants still retain five biswas; the remainder has been sold to *Gobardhan*, *Bráhmán*, and *Tará-chand*, *Jacsvár*.

104. *Rám-pura*: founded by *Mán Mall*, a *Gautam* *Bráhmán* from *Sahpau*; sold to *Devkaran* and *Mayá Rám*, whose heirs are now in possession. In the mutiny *Murlidhar*, a son of *Devkaran*'s, distinguished himself by the capture of a mutinous sepoy, for which he had a reward of *Rs. 50*.

105. *Rashíd-pur*: sold in part by the Játés to *Khumáni*, *Bráhmán*.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Sa'dabád Pargana—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musalmana.	Total.			
106	Ris-gáma ... Rismai : the ordinary name for Nasirpur.	890	54	944	G y á n S i n h , Thákur.	Thákurs ...	1,336
107	Ruddáyal ...	156	...	156	L a c h h o t a n a n d K a n h a i , G a r a - r i y á s .	Gahlots and Chamárs.	174
108	Sa'dabád ...	2,706	1,228	3,934	Baladeva, Bráhma- man.	B r á h m a n s and Baniyas	1,017
109	Sahpau ...	4,059	556	4,615	Panna Lál, Baniya	Baniyas and Bráhmans.	2,431
110	Salai-pur Chand- wára.	312	25	337	Sri Rám, Bohra...	Thákurs and Bráhmans.	567
111	Salim-pur ...	1,622	129	1,751	Hira Sinh, Bráhma- man, and Mittra Sen, Baniya.	Játs ...	1,793

106. *Ris-gáma* : eight biswas have been purchased at auction from the Játs by Sri Rám and Jíva Rám, Bohras.

107. *Ruddyal*.—In 1809 the zamindárs were Tejá, Gahlot and Pása, Chamár, whose heirs are still in possession of the greater part, though a share has been acquired by Kripá Rám, Garariya.

108. *Sa'dabád*.—Tahsílí—police station—branch post-office—tahsílí school (see page 463).

109. *Sahpau* (for *Sah-purá*).—A police station, a district post-office, and a halka bandi school, (see page 464).

110. *Salai-pur Chandwára*.—The joint founders are said to have been Sabala, a Bráhma from Bhukalára, and Chandu, an Abir from the Julesar Pargana. From their descendants the estate passed to Madári, Bohra, whose son, Sri Rám, is now in possession. In the mutiny the old zamindárs looted Baladeva, Bohra, of Bhukalára, of property valued at more than Rs. 30,000.

111. *Salim-pur*.—The Ját zamindárs, who belong to the Mahura sub-division, say that the village founder was one Kánha, whose five sons gave their names to the five thoks still existing, viz., Ujágur, Pithu, Bhím, Járaf and Nagu. They now own only 337 acres. The first outsider who acquired a footing in the village was Daulat Rám of Háthras, whose nephew's son, Mittra Sen, now owns 473 jointly with Panna Lál and Bál Mukund of Sa'dabád. Bráhmans have other 417 acres, Mewátis 188, and Káyaths 57. Market-day is Sunday. There are three mango orchards, and in a field near the one planted by Bihári, Athwaraya, is a domed octagonal *Chhattri* of red sand-stone, ascribed to some Banjára, of whom nothing further is related. It dates apparently from the middle of last century. The carving is rather coarsely executed, but as the building is well raised on a substantial masonry terrace, it is visible from some little distance and forms a graceful object among the trees. A halkabandi school.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Pargana Sa'dabád—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste	Acreage.
		Hindús	Musal-mans.	Total.			
112	Samañ-pur ...	587	18	605	Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.	Játs ...	544
113	Sarauth ...	1,383	70	1,453	...	Játs ...	639
114	Sarmast-pur ...	114	14	128	Hirá Sinb, Thákur.	Bráhmans,	154
	Saurai : the more ordinary name of			Patti Sakti.			
115	Sedariya ...	493	2	495	Seth Raghunáth Dás.	Bráhmans,	548
116	Shahbáz-pur ...	274	19	293	Mahájans ...	Chamárs and Thákurs.	409
117	Sher-pur ...	336	5	341	Jhaman Lál, Baniya.	Játs ...	969
118	Sikhara ...	872	1	73	...	Bráhmans,	1,076
119	Sistai ...	510	79	589	Hirá Lál, Athwaraya.	Játs ...	1,113
120	Sithara-pur ...	460	13	473	...	Játs ...	458

112. *Samad-pur*.—The founder is said to have been a Cháraj Ját from Bamán in Khándauli, named Sáavadhán; and it is most probable that the village was originally called after him, and that the Persian word (*Samad*, 'the Lord') is only a corruption. The Játs still retain eight biswas; the remaining 12 have been sold or mortgaged to Mittra Sen, Baniya of Háthras.

113. *Sarauth*, founded by a Ját from Mai.

114. *Sarmast-pur*, founded by Tulsi, a Bráhman from Barhan in Jalesar. His descendants have mortgaged five biswas to Hira Sinb.

115. *Sedariya*: sold in part by the old Bráhman zamindárs, to Hari Rám, Bráhman, and Baniyas.

116. *Shahbáz-pur*: separated from Arti, by Dharimu, Gahlot, one of the zamindárs of that village: now sold to Játs and Mahájans.

117. *Sher-pur*: founded in *sambat* 1697 by Sarúp, son of Paltu, Ját, whose descendants still own one-third; the remainder has been sold to Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa and Mohan Lál, Baniya. The Karwan Nadi runs through the village land.

118. *Sikhara*: separated from Sahpau and given by the zamindárs of that village to Sri Chand, Pánda, whose descendants still own 11 biswas: the remainder has been sold to Rájá Prithi Sinb and Sawal Rám, Bráhman.

119. *Sistai*: purchased at auction from the Thákurs by Ganesh, Bohra, and sold by him to Hira Lál and Lál Chand, who were temporarily ejected in the mutiny by Dhan Sinb and Devi Sinb, two of the old zamindárs.

120. *Sithara-pur*, or Gobará, was separated from Garámrá by Jasú, one of the Ját zamindárs of that village; his descendants are still in possession.

Alphabetical List of Villages in the Pargana Sa'dabád—(continued).

No.	Name.	Population.			Principal proprietors.	Predominant caste.	Acreage.
		Hindús.	Musal-mans.	Total.			
121	Sultán-pur ...	279	6	285	Devi Sinh, Thákur,	Chobdárs and Ahírs.	525
122	Susáhan ...	1,157	105	1,262	Múl-kunvar, Baniyin.	Játs and Bráhmans.	1,794
123	Táj-pura ...	1,048	62	1,110	Hakím-un-Nissa, of Sa'dabád.	Játs ...	1,003
124	Támsi ...	502	72	574	Prithi, Ját ...	Játs ...	541
125	Tasígau ...	2,222	127	2,349	...	Játs ...	2,276
126	Tharaura ...	553	42	572	Kesari, Ahír ...	Ahírs ...	615
127	Udhaina ...	737	45	782	Nágar Sahay, Thákur.	Thákurs...	784
128	Ughai ...	520	57	577	Thákur Dás and Sita Rám, Dhúsars.	Thákurs...	592
	Uncha-gánw : the ordinary name for Susáhan.						
129	Zari-pura ...	126	...	126	Srí Rám, Bráhma-man.	Bráhmans and Garariyás.	331

121. *Sultán-pur* : half has been sold by the Chobdárs and Ahírs to Srí Rám, Bohra, and some Jaesvárs.

122. *Susáhan*, or *Unchá-Gánw*, has been mortgaged by the Játs to Múl-kunvar, widow of Hotí Lál, Baniya.

123. *Táj-pura* : purchased at auction from the Játs by Thakuráni Hakím-un-Nissa.

124. *Támsi* : founded by Tháni, a Badhautiya Ját and Sukh-Rám, a Chaundar Ját from Marha-ká. Half has been sold to Srí Rám, Bohra.

125. *Tasígau* : founded by Adu Pál, a Hagá Ját from Susáhan. Half has been sold to Bráhmans and Baniyas. A halkabandi school.

126. *Tharaura* : founded by one Thalu, Ahír, whose descendants are still in possession.

127. *Udhaina* : 75 bighas have been sold by the old Thákur zamindárs to Amar Chand, Athwaraya. Here is a halkabandi school.

128. *Ughai* : founded by Rájá Ugrasen from Chitor. The Gahlots have sold part to Thákur Dás and Sita Rám, Dhúsars; Nand Dás, Bairáji; and Giridhar, Bohra. By the village pond are some sculptured fragments of a small temple of good early character.

129. *Zari-pura* : sold to Srí Rám, Bohrá, by the Thákurs.

MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS.

1.—ABSTRACT OF POPULATION, AREA, AND RESOURCES.

Area in square miles.	INHABITED HOUSES.			POPULATION.					
	Number of masonry dwellings.	Number of all other kinds.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children under 12 years.		Total.	Number per square mile.
						Male.	Female.		
1,435	22,742	145,789	168,531	279,816	242,154	141,835	116,863	780,168	544

CLASSIFICATION OF POPULATION.						OCCUPATION.		Number of villages.	REVENUE.	
Christians.						Agricul- turists.	Non- agricul- turists.		Land.	Gross.
Europeans.	East-In dians and other mixed classes.	Na- tives.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Jains.					
329	14	6	715,562	62,650	1,607	399,100	381,068	1,038	14,79,999	18,12,908

II.—SURVEYED AND ASSESSED AREA IN ACRES.

Cultivated.				Uncultivated.			Total area assessed.	Assessment.				
IRRIGATED.		Unirrigated.	Total.	Grazing lands.	Culturable.	Unculturable.		Gross amount.	Rate per acre on culti- vation.		Rate per acre on cultur- able land.	Rate per acre on total area of settlement.
By Government works.	By private indi- viduals.								Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
39,055	2,09,196	3,62,729	6,10,980	5,019	1,64,839	63,971	8,44,799	1,505,400	2 7 5	9 2 1	1 12 6	

III.—SETTLEMENT FOR 1878-79.

Nature of settlement.	Area in square miles.	Annual revenue assessed.	Date of expiry of settlement.
1.	2.	3.	4.
	Rs.	Rs.	
Settled for 30 years or upwards,	1,435	15,05,400	30th June, 1901

IV.—MUNICIPAL POPULATION.

The population of the three municipalities is as follows:—

Mathurá	...	...	...	...	63,431
<i>Including</i> The City	...	...	...	54,331	
The Sadr Bazár	...	...	...	4,509	
Regimental Bazár	...	...	...	1,764	
Civil Lines and Cantonments	...	...	...	1,285	
Part of Jaysinh-pura	...	...	...	625	
Part of Hans-gauj	...	...	...	917	
				63,431	
Brindá-ban	...	...	...	...	21,004
Kosi	...	...	...	...	12,770

V.—CASTE RETURNS, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1872.

(INCLUDING THE JALESAR PARGANA.)

Bráhmaṇ	148,762	Basúr (?)	7	Dakaut	105
Baniya	76,100	Báthal (?)	7	Darzi	4,596
Thákur	52,822	Bhangi	14,936	Dhánuk	457
Agari (?)	97	Bhar-bhunja,	1,288	Dhobi	8,161
Aheriya	953	Bhát	2,353	Dhunia	4,827
Ahír	16,487	Bhuinhár	27	Dom	156
Badhak	32	Bishnavi	25	Garariya	20,873
Banjára	1,149	Bulái (?)	43	Giria (?)	23
Bargi	395	Chamár	138,123	Ghosi	5,907
Barhai	18,411	Chhípi	1,486	Gūjar	2,045
Bári	193	Chobdár	212	Harbhura	271

Janghára ...	3	Máli ...	7,580	Sonár ...	5,103
Ját ...	141,078	Malakána ...	110	Tagá ...	62
Jotishi ...	151	Malláh ...	5,633	Tamboli ...	500
Juláha ...	24	Manihár ...	556	Tawaif ...	94
Káchhi ...	10,106	Mirási ...	31	Teli ...	3,804
Kahár ...	10,468	Mochi ...	351	Thathera ...	355
Kalál ...	725	Murai (?) ...	100	Tírha ...	10
Kanjar ...	425	Mudhar ...	286	Bairági ...	12,103
Káyath ...	5,062	Nái ...	17,183	Gosain ...	524
Khatik ...	5,933	Nat ...	252	Jogi ...	4,618
Khatttri ...	1,443	Nonera ...	554	Sadh ...	119
Kori ...	23,060	Or ...	1,367	Sanjogi ...	5
Kumhár ...	12,291	Patwa ...	193	Sarbhangi ...	145
Kurmi ...	2,027	Radha (?) ...	130	Bangáli ...	510
Lakhera ...	4	Rangrez ...	22	Mina ...	212
Lodha ...	10,183	Rewari ...	877	Ujjaini ...	10
Lohár ...	3,501	Saikal-gar ...	14	Pahári ...	19
Mahájan ...	1,195	Shisha-gar ...	8	Musalmana ...	74,347
Mimár ...	772	Singhariya ...	278		

In the above list there are some names of obscure castes which I have been unable to identify. The Malakánas, who are a very numerous class, forming almost the entire populations of many considerable villages, are strangely represented as only 110 in number. The vast majority must have been included under the general name of Muhammadans. The same remark probably applies also to the Rangrez or 'dyer' class: and the morality of the district, it may be feared, is not so high as to render 94 even an approximately correct estimate of the number of professional prostitutes (*tawáif*) 34 of whom, oddly enough, are represented as males. No mention is made of the pseudo-Brahmanical Ahivásis, nor of the Mathuriya Chaubes, and it does not appear under what head they are grouped. It may further be noted that the Dhúsars, ranked with Baniyas and put at 112 only, must be greatly under-rated, and with regard to the Thákurs, a large proportion of them would more properly be designated as Gauruas. The Trades' List for the city of Mathurá is also curiously defective, at least in one respect, since it entirely omits stone-masons, though they form a numerous community, and in fact stone-carving is the great speciality of the place. These remarks are not intended as captious criticisms on the performance of a task which must have been one of exceeding difficulty, but rather as notes to be remembered hereafter, when the census is again taken and a comparison instituted between it and previous returns.

VI.—TOWNS ADMINISTERED UNDER ACT XX. OF 1856.

No.	Name.	Popula- tion.	No. of houses.	Houses. assessed	Ordinary income.	Cost of Police.
					Rs.	Rs.
1	Kámar ...	4,243	991	919	714	450
2	Chhátá ...	6,720	1,631	1,250	1,570	930
3	Shergarh ...	5,305	1,266	790	1,100	690
4	Sahár ...	4,187	942	758	770	480
5	Gobardhan ...	5,689	1,414	1,400	1,927	1,392
6	Sonkh ...	4,111	682	570	595	336
7	Mát ...	4,746	1,088	711	631	480
8	Raya ...	2,925	639	632	720	336
9	Mahá-ban ...	6,930	1,949	1,037	1,378	912
10	Gokul ...	4,245	1,315	981	1,200	834
11	Baladeva ...	3,378	988	552	960	642
12	Sa'dabád ...	3,934	908	570	450	432
13	Suhpau ...	4,615	1,042	736	448	384
14	Farrah ...	6,960	792	592	650	168

VII.—ROADS IN THE DISTRICT.

Number.	Name of road.	Length.		
		Miles.	Furlongs.	Feet.
<i>I.—Metalled and Bridged Roads.</i>				
1	Aligarh and Agra road, passing through Sa'dabád	10	1	46
2	Mathurá and Bareilly road, to Sonai on the Aligarh border	14	3	557
3	Agra and Delhi road, from Kotban (north) to Raipura (south)... ..	52	6	23
4	*Mathurá and Jalesar road, from Magistrate's Court to the Jamuná and from Sa'dabád to boundary of district	12	1	...
5	Approach to Jalesar road station, E. I. Railway ... ..	...	5	500
6	Mathurá and Díg road, to Ganthauli on the Bharatpur border	17	1	340
7	Mathurá and Bharatpur road, to the border at Rasulpur	14	...	200

* This road is reduced to class II. from the Jamuná to Sa'dabád ; from Sa'dabád to Jalesar Road station it is kept up as a railway feeder.

Number.	Name of road.	Length.		
		Miles.	Furlongs.	Feet.
8	Branch from Bharatpur road to cantonment,	...	7	493
9	*Branch from Bharatpur road to Delhi road,	...	4	580
10	Mathurá and Brindá-ban road ...	5	3	440
<i>II.—Raised and Bridged but Unmetalled Roads.</i>				
1	†Mathurá and Jalesar road; from left bank of Jamuná to Sa'dabád ...	22	...	...
2	Mathurá (Dig Darwáza) to Sonkh ...	13	6	...
3	Brindában (Kesi ghat) to Nohjhl ...	22	...	...
4	Chhátá and Gobardhan road ...	15	...	...
5	Kosi and Nohjhl road <i>via</i> Shergarh ...	16	...	...
6	Jait and Shergarh road ...	13	7	...
7	Jait and Sahár road ...	8	...	...
8	Chhátá and Shergarh road ...	8	1	140
9	Raya and Baldeo road ...	10	...	...
10	Raya and Mát road ...	8	...	...
11	Mathurá and Aligarh road (from 12th mile, Háthras road) ...	1	3	...
12	Farrah and Kagaroli road ...	5	...	...
<i>III.—District roads not raised.</i>				
1	Kosi and Sháhpur road ...	10	...	...
2	Kosi and Punahána road ...	6	...	...
3	Kosi and Firozpur road ...	7	...	...
4	Shergarh and Kuma road ...	20	...	...
5	Chhátá and Barsána road ...	10	...	...
6	Brindá-ban and Jait road ...	6	...	...
7	Brindá-ban and Khair road ...	20	...	...
8	Gobardhan and Brindá-ban road ...	16	...	...
9	Gobardhan and Sonkh road ...	7	...	...
10	Mathurá and Sakaraya road ...	10	...	...
11	Mathurá and Káma road ...	30	...	...
12	Kosi Muresi and Sahar road ...	21	...	...
13	Nohjhl and Tappal road ...	8	...	...
14	Nohjhl and Khair road ...	8	...	...
15	Mát and Somna road ...	11	...	...
16	Mabában and Agra road ...	24	...	...
17	Hans-ganj and Gokul road ...	5	...	...
18	Aring and Agra road ...	11	...	...
19	Farrah and Dig road ...	10	...	...

* This road has been handed over to the Mathurá and Brinda-ban municipalities.

† This length of the Mathurá and Jalesar road has been reduced from class I. to class II.

VIII.—BRIDGES AND FERRIES.

Pargana.	Village.	Class.	Contract.
			Rs.
Kosi	Sháh-pur ...	Ferry ...	127
	Khairál ...	Ditto ...	114
	Majhoi ...	Ditto ...	665
Chhátá	Shergarh ...	Bridge of boats ...	1,600
	Bahtá ...	Ferry ...	455
	Siyára (Chír Ghat)	Ditto ...	185
	Bhau-gánw (Nand Ghat).	Ditto ...	475
	Sakaraya ...	Ditto ...	165
Mathurá	Brindá-ban (Kesi Ghát).	Bridge of boats ...	4,520
	Páni-gánw ...	Ferry ...	
	City ...	Pontoon bridge ...	40,500
	Gokul ...	Bridge of boats ...	2,605
	Koila ...	Ferry ...	620

The total income is thus Rs. 52,031 from which, however, a district allotment is made of only Rs. 16,000 or Rs. 17,000 a year.

IX.—POLICE STATIONS.

1.—*In the City*: THE KOTWALI; the Sadr Bazár; Bharat-pur Road and Brindá-ban Road.

2.—*In Mathurá Pargana*: ARING; Aurangabad; Brindá-ban; FARRAH; Gobardhan; Jait; OL; Rasulpur and Sonkh.

3.—*In the Chhátá Pargana*: Barsána; CHHÁTÁ; Sahár and Shergarh.

4.—*In the Kosi Pargana*: KOSI and Majhoi.

5.—*In the Mát Pargana*: Mát; NOH-JHYL; Surir; and Bájana outpost.

6.—*In the Mahá-ban Pargana*: BALADEVA; Hansganj outpost; Mahában; RAYA; and Sonái outpost.

7.—*In the Sa'dabád Pargana*: SA'DABÁD; Sahpau; and Gíglá outpost.

The Force consists of one European and four Native Inspectors, 13 Sub-Inspectors, 76 Head Constables, and 353 Rank and File, under the control of the District Superintendent. At each of the places printed in capitals there is a Sub-Inspector; at the other Stations two Head Constables, and at the outposts one. There are also 16 Sawárs: two at Chhátá, two at Farrah, two at Jait, two at Raya, two at Sa'dabád, and the remaining six, together with two

Camel-Sawárs, in the Lines. The Municipal Police consists of two Sub-Inspectors, 14 Head Constables, and 138 constables. The municipalities further entertain 81 chaukidárs with 5 jamadárs over them. In the towns administered under Act XX. there are 170 chaukidárs and 7 jamadárs.

X.—POST-OFFICES.

Head office : Mathurá city. *Receiving House* : Cantonments.

Sub-Post-Offices : Aríng ; Baladeva ; Brindá-ban ; Chhátá ; Farrah ; Gobardhan ; Kosi ; Mahá-ban ; Mát ; Nohjhl ; Raya ; Sa'dabád, and Sahár.

District, or Branch Post-offices : Barsána ; Jait ; Majhoi ; Ol ; Rasúlpur ; Shergarh ; Sonkh ; and Surir.

XI.—MARKET TOWNS.

Pargana.	Town.	Day.
Kosi	Kosi	Tuesday and Wednesday.
	Sháh-pur	Monday.
Chhátá	Chhátá	Friday.
	Chaumuhá	Tuesday.
	Khaira	Saturday.
	Sahár	Wednesday.
	Shergarh	Thursday.
	Tárolí	Monday.
	Aríng	Sunday.
Mathurá	Aurangabad	Friday.
	Bachh-gánw	Saturday.
	Brindá-ban	Tuesday.
	Kosi (Little)	Friday.
	Mangotla	Thursday.
	Púrna	Monday.
	Sahjua	Thursday.
	Sakitra	Saturday.
	Arua	Monday and Friday.
	Bájana	Thursday and Saturday.
Mát	Barauth	Thursday.
	Bhadanwára	Friday.
	Harnaul	Sunday.
	Jáwara	Monday and Friday.
	Karáhri	Tuesday and Friday.
	Kaláhar	Tuesday.
	Lohi	Saturday.
	Mát	Thursday.
	Muín-ud-din-pur	Sunday.

Pargana.	Town.	Day.
Mat	Návali ...	Sunday.
	Noh-jhíl ...	Friday.
	Pál-kherá ...	Monday.
	Shankar Garhi ...	Ditto.
	Sikandar-pur ...	Wednesday.
	Surír ...	Monday.
	Akos ...	Ditto.
	Anaundha ...	Tuesday and Saturday.
	Ayra Kherá ...	Wednesday and Saturday.
	Bárolí ...	Tuesday and Saturday.
Mahá-ban	Bhartiya ...	Monday.
	Bhúra ...	Ditto.
	Diwána ...	Saturday.
	Garsauli ...	Tuesday and Saturday.
	Jugsuna ...	Wednesday.
	Kanjauli ...	Ditto.
	Kárab ...	Thursday.
	Nagara Gokharauli ...	Tuesday.
	Pachávar... ..	Sunday.
	Raya ...	Monday and Friday.
	Sahora ...	Wednesday.
	Saráe Dáud ...	Thursday.
	Sonai ...	Sunday and Wednesday.
	Wairani ...	Tuesday and Saturday.
	Árti ...	Monday and Thursday.
	Bahárdoi ..	Sunday.
	Bisúwar ...	Friday.
Sa'dabád	Hasanpur Báru ...	Saturday.
	Járu ...	Monday and Friday.
	Jatoi ...	Monday.
	Kajarothei... ..	Wednesday and Saturday.
	Kursanda... ..	Sunday.
	Mahrára ...	Monday and Friday.
	Mai ...	Wednesday.
	Mángru ...	Friday.
	Nasir-pur... ..	Thursday.
	Naugáma... ..	Sunday and Wednesday.
	Patti Bahrám ...	Friday.
	Sa'dabád ...	Tuesday and Saturday.
	Sabpau ...	Sunday and Wednesday.
	Salímpur ...	Sunday.
	Susáhan ...	Monday.
	Tasígau ...	Tuesday.
	Udhaina ...	Wednesday.

The singular lack of village markets in the Kosi pargana admits of easy explanation. There the one great central mart is so exceptionally well placed, in the very centre of the pargana, on an important high-road, and with as many as eleven branch roads radiating from it in different directions, that almost every householder in the whole of the pargana is enabled to resort to it for his ordinary weekly purchases, without any inconvenience, and with much benefit as regards the choice and quality of goods.

XII.—EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS FOR 1878-79.

Class of Schools.	Number.	Number of pupils.			Average daily attendance.	Income.				Charges.			
		Hindus.	Musalmans.	Total.		Government aid.	Fees.	Subscriptions, municipal, &c.	Total.	Salaries.	Scholarships and prizes.	Servants, Repairs, &c.	Total.
High School ...	1	290	16	306	254	Rs. 6,742-4-7	Rs. 1,582-8-0	Rs. 1,702	10,026-12-7	Rs. 6,635-5-11	Rs. 468	Rs. 966-1-6	Rs. 8,070-7-5
Anglo-ver-nacular.	2	66	12	78	63	...	134	994	1,128	998	...	130	1,128
Tahsili and Town (superior).	9	578	49	627	542	2,148	188	...	2,336	2,148	...	188	2,336
Halkabandi (superior)	8	556	21	577	496	2,776	...	...	2,776	1,440	1,336	...	2,776
Halkabandi (superior).	119	4,112	126	4,241	3,209	12,579	...	...	12,579	10,803	...	1,390	11,893
Female (Government).	6	154	3	157	134	388	...	...	388	373	...	15	388
Unaided Native.	74	1,295	112	1,407	...	...	2,286	...	2,286	2,286	...	...	2,286
Total ...	219	7,051	341	7,392	4,698	24,633	4,190	2,696	31,519	24,363	1,805	2,689	28,877

2.—DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS, 1878-79.

Pargana.	Tahsili Schools.	Pargana Schools.	Halkabandi Schools.	Anglo-Vernacular Schools.	Government Female Schools.	Unaided Native Schools.	Free Schools.	Pargana Total.
1.—Kosi ...	1	...	13	1	...	4	1	20
2.—Chhatā ...	1	...	18	...	2	4	...	25
3.—Mathurā ...	4	...	26	1	...	53	1	88
4.—Māt ...	...	...	26	...	...	2	...	28
5.—Mahā-ban ...	1	1	25	...	...	6	...	33
6.—Sa'dabād ...	1	...	19	...	1	5	...	26
Total ...	8	1	127	2	6	74	2	220

After all that can be urged as to the want of discipline, the faultiness of the text books, and the singularly illiterate habits and defective training of the teachers, it must still be admitted that the village schools are little, if at all, inferior to any institutions of a similar character that existed in England even so recently as the beginning of the present century. The object with which they have been established is often, however, greatly misunderstood, both by the people and also the subordinate officers of the Department. The aim, as I conceive it, should be, not to impart either very advanced or very technical instruction, and thus create a horde of applicants for Government employ, many of whom must be unsuccessful, but simply to afford the rising generation of the agricultural community as much mathematical and literary knowledge as will protect them from fraud, enable them to speak, read, and write their own mother tongue with ease and precision, and develop a generally intelligent frame of mind, which, far from rendering them discontented with their natural sphere of life, will rather bind them to it by exhibiting its wider interests and capabilities.

This amount of education would amply satisfy the requirements of the great mass of the people; and it is only when a boy displays exceptional ability in some particular line that he should be encouraged to develop it by a higher course of study. The cry that is being raised by certain utilitarians for the general establishment of practical schools of art and design under European direction is greatly to be deprecated. The ordinary level of art-feeling is already higher in India than it is in England; and in almost every large town there is some special manufacture (as for example at Mathurá, the art of the stone-mason) which would inevitably be vulgarized and destroyed by our interference. Excepting only purely utilitarian works—such as bridges—the buildings erected on behalf of the Government by trained English Engineers are a most humiliating spectacle, when contrasted with the performances of the common native mason paid at the rate of five anas a day. When given free scope, he evolves an infinite variety of the most graceful and intricate decorative designs with little or no apparent effort; and even when his work is of the plainest, it almost invariably displays architectural propriety and much readiness in the adaptation of local materials, two of the characteristics which most distinguish true from false art.

One most unfortunate defect in the existing system deserves to be noted; as the schools were primarily intended for the benefit of the agriculturist, it is he only who is taxed for their support. Hence has arisen an anomaly that could never have been contemplated. The poorest section of the community and the one which has the most special claim upon the Government, is singled

out for a burden from which a richer and less deserving class is exempted. And not only so; for while the farmer's son is mostly out in the fields with his father's cattle, and makes little use of the school, the rich, who do use it, pay nothing for the privilege. Nor is this the only matter in which the tiller of the soil is unduly weighted in his up-hill race against the Baniya. Though he never writes a letter, never leaves his own village, and has no property that can be stolen, beyond the crops which he stays out in the fields all night himself to protect; still it is he that pays for the district post, the district roads, and the village watchman; while the Bazar shop-keeper, who makes a liberal use of one and all of these institutions, has them presented to him as a free gift by his less fortunate neighbours. And the same policy has now been still further developed by the institution of Free Schools in the municipal towns, which are the places where tradespeople most congregate. Probably their object would be equally well obtained by the admission of a limited number of free scholars into the tahsili schools.

XIII.—LIST OF TREES THAT GROW IN THE DISTRICT.

ADANSONIA digitata; no native name: the Baobab or monkey-bread tree; two fine specimens in one of the gardens in cantonments.

AGASTI, from the Hindu saint of that name; *Æschynomene* or *Sesbania grandiflora*; a small soft-wooded tree with large handsome flowers, which are eaten as a vegetable.

AKOL, for Sanskrit *amola*; a small tree with yellow flowers, which I have seen only in the Konai *rakhyā*, where there are several specimens of it. Apparently the *Alangium*.

AM, for Sanskrit *āmra*; *mangifera Indica*, the mango tree.

AMALTAS, *Cassia Fistula*; the Indian Laburnum.

ĀMLA, from the Sanskrit *amla*, the Latin *amara*, with reference to the acidity of its fruit. *Phyllanthus Emblica*, or *Emblica officinalis*.

ĀRNI, *Clerodendrum Phlomoides*, a shrub with sweet-scented flowers, resembling the honey-suckle.

ARUA, for Sanskrit *aralu*, *Ailanthus excelsa*. A fine forest tree, with leaves from two to three feet long, and panicles of yellowish flowers. Frequent in the avenue along the Mathurá and Delhi road.

ASOK, Sanskrit *asoka*; *Saraca Indica* or *Jonesia Asoka*; indigenous in the forests of southern India, where it is famous for its magnificent red flowers; I have never seen it blossom here.

BĀBIRANG, *Embelia robusta*, a small tree, called by that name at Naugāma in the Chhātā pargana, but apparently known in other villages as the *aján-rukh*; flowers in February and March when almost bare of leaves. It is used as a remedy for colds and rheumatism (*bái*) which may be the origin of the name.

BABŪL, *Acacia Arabica*.

BAHERA, for Sanskrit *vibhitaka*, *Terminalia bellerica*. A tall straight-growing tree with large leaves and greenish yellow flowers of unpleasant smell. Fruit a large ovoid nut used in dyeing and tanning, also as a medicine and for making ink; the kernels are eaten, but are said to be intoxicating. Frequent in the avenue on the Mathurá and Delhi road.

BAKAYAN, *Melia Azedarach*, a small ragged-looking tree, bare of leaves all through the cold season, at which time it bears clusters of yellow fruit.

BAR, for Sanskrit *vata*, *Ficus Bengalensis*, the Banyan tree.

BARNA, for Sanskrit *varana*, *cratœva religiosa*. Flowers and puts forth new leaves in April, when its large cream-coloured blossoms give it a handsome appearance.

BEL, for Sanskrit *vilva*, *Ægle Marmelos*. The pulp of the fruit is used for making sherbet; also to mix with mortar. The leaves are sacred to Mahadev, and are largely offered in his temples.

BER, for Sanskrit *badara*; *Zizyphus jujuba*; cultivated for its fruit.

CHHONKAR, *Prosopis spicigera*; very common throughout the district; occasionally grows to quite a large tree, as in the Dohani Kund at Chaksauli. It is used for religious worship at the festival of the Dasahra, and is considered sacred to Siva. The pods (called *sangri*) are much used for fodder. Probably *ekhonkar* and *sangri*, which latter is in some parts of India the name of the tree as well as of the pod, are both dialectical corruptions of the Sanskrit *sankara*, a name of Siva; for the palatal and sibilant are frequently interchangeable.

DHAK, for Sanskrit *dagdha*, 'on fire,' with reference to its bright flame-coloured flowers; *Butea frondosa*.

DHO, for Sanskrit *dhava*, covers the whole of the Barsāna hill; is apparently the *Anogeissus pendula* or *myrtifolia*. A small tree, nearly bare of leaves all through the dry season.

DUNGAR, another name for the Pīlu.

* **FARÁS**, *Tamarix articulata*, a graceful tree of rapid growth, readily propagated from cuttings.

GONDI, *Cordia Rothii*, a small tree. The fruit, a berry with a yellow, gelatinous, pellucid pulp, is edible but insipid. The viscosity of the fruit gives its name to the tree (from *gond* 'gum').

GÚLAR, *Ficus glomerata*, a large tree, the wood of which is specially used for well frames, as it is all the more durable for being in water. Its fruit grows in *clusters* on the branches and trunk; whence probably the vernacular name (from *gola* or *gonda*, a 'ball'): the same peculiarity has suggested its botanical epithet, *glomerata*.

GANGER, a small scraggy shrub at Charan Pahár, Barsána and elsewhere, apparently a species of *Grewia*.

HINGOT, *Balanites Roxburghii*, a small thorny tree, with a hard fruit, which is filled with gunpowder and used for fireworks. Its roots spread far and throw up suckers at a considerable distance from the trunk.

HINS, *Capparis sepiaria*, a very strong, thorny creeper.

IMLI, *Tamarindus Indica*, one of the largest, handsomest, and most valuable of all Indian trees, but a very slow grower. But for this last defect, it would be an excellent avenue tree, as it is never leafless and gives shade all the year round.

INDRAJAU, *Wrightia tinctoria*. At Charan Pahár. Bare of leaves in the cold weather, at which time it is hung with bunches of long, slender, dark green pods, each pair cohering slightly at the top.

JAMAN, for Sanskrit *jambu*: *Eugenia jambolana*; generally planted round the border of large mango orchards. Is never leafless. The fruit, like a damson in appearance, has a harsh but sweetish flavour.

JHAU, *Tamarix dioica*; a dwarf variety of the Farás, which springs up after the rains on the sands of the Jamuná, where it forms a dense jungle.

KACHNAR, for Sanskrit *Kanchanára*, *Bauhinia variegata*; a moderate sized tree, which presents a beautiful appearance in March and April, when in full flower.

KADAMB, Sanskrit *Kadamba*. Abundant in the Chhátá and Kosi parganas, where it forms large woods, as especially at Pisaya. There are two kinds, the more common being the *Stephigyne parvifolia*; the other, a much finer tree, the *Anthocephalus Cadamba*, or *Nauclea Cadamba* of Roxburgh.

KAIT, for Sanskrit *Kapittha* ; *Feronia elephantum* ; the elephant or wood-apple. An ornamental tree with a hard round fruit ; the leaves have a slight smell of aniseed.

KATIAIYA, *Celtis Australis* (?) at Pisaya. A middle-sized tree with yellowish-white flowers and eatable fruit.

KATIYARI, *Xylosma* (?). A small tree with dense sombre foliage, long stiff thorns and flowers in small yellow tufts like the babúl.

KARIL, for Sanskrit *Karira* ; *Capparis aphylla* ; the typical fruit of Braj.

KHAJÚR, for Sanskrit *Khajúra* ; *Phoenix Sylvestris* ; the wild Date Palm.

KHIRNI, for Sanskrit *Kshirini*, 'the milky' ; *Mimusops Indica* ; a large evergreen tree with a fruit that ripens in May and June, and tastes like a dried currant.

KHANDAR, *Salvadora Persica*. A tree very similar to the Pílu, but of more graceful growth. Its fruit is uneatable.

LABERA and **LASORA**, two varieties of the *Cordia latifolia*. A soft-wooded, crooked-growing tree, with eatable fruit.

LALIYÁRI, a middle-sized tree which presents a very handsome appearance with its large dull-red and yellow flowers, which open in February and March. The tree appears to be very rare and little known and I cannot trace it in any botanical work. There is one on the Shergarh and Kosi road, another at Barsána, and others near Dotána. I tried to rear it in my own garden, but the young trees died after I left. The name is obviously derived from the colour (*lal*) of the flowers, but natives take the word to be *lariyari*, 'quarrelsome' and have a prejudice against it accordingly.

MAHUA, for Sanskrit *madhuka*, with allusion to the sweetness of its flowers ; *Bassia latifolia* ; scarce in the district.

MALSARI, *Mimusops elengi*, an evergreen tree with sweet-scented star-shaped flowers, which are used for garlands ; whence the name, from *mála*, a 'garland' and *sara*, a 'string.'

NYM, for Sanskrit *nimba*, *Melia Indica*, the tree which thrives better in the district than any other.

NYM CHAMBELI, otherwise called *Bikáyati Bakáyan* ; *Millingtonia hortensis* ; a handsome, fast-growing tree with fragrant white flowers.

NAUSATH, *Erythrina Indica*, the Indian coral-tree. Its flowers, of a dazzling bright scarlet, make a fine show in March, before the new leaves appear. The

name would seem to be a corruption of *nava sapta*, 16 ; with reference to the 16 modes of enhancing personal beauty ; as if they had all been exercised upon this beautiful tree.

PAPRI, *ulmus integrifolia* ; a large tree, bare of leaves in the cold weather.

PARAS-PYPAR, a name which probably means 'the Persian *pipal*.' A tree found only at two places in this district, the Dhru-tila at Mathurá and the Khe-lan-ban at Mahá-ban. The flower closely resembles that of the cotton plant. There are avenues of it in some of the streets of Bombay.

PASENDU, *Diospyros cordifolia* ; a small tree with dense foliage but considered an unlucky tree to take shade under ; very common in the *rakhyas*. It has an uneatable fruit of unpleasant smell and bitter taste.

PYLU, with the same name in Sanskrit ; *Salvadora oleoides* ; forms large woods in the Chhátá and Kosi parganas. A stunted misshapen looking tree, generally with cracked or hollow trunk and exposed roots. It bears an eatable fruit.

PILÚKHAN. *Ficus cordifolia* ; a large tree rarely found in the district. It may be seen at Konai and in the Kokila-ban. It is common in the neighbourhood of Hari-dwár.

PYPAL, for Sanskrit *pippala* ; *ficus religiosa*.

REMJA, *Acacia leucophlæa* ; a thorny tree common in the *rakhyas* in conjunction with the Chhonkar.

RITHA, for Sanskrit *arishta* ; *Sapindus detergens* ; the soap berry tree ; found at Satoha.

SAHAJNA. For Sanskrit *sobhánjana* ; *moringa pterygosperma*, or hyper-anthera *moringa* ; the horse-radish tree.

SAHORA, *streblus asper* (?). A small scraggy tree with rough dark-green leaves and eatable fruit, a yellow one-seeded berry. Single trees are common all over the district.

SHAH-TUT. *Morus Indica* ; the mulberry tree.

SEMAL, for Sanskrit *Sálmali* ; *Bombax heptaphyllum* ; the cotton tree. Flowers in March when bare of leaves, like the kachnar, dhák, and nausath.

SIRIS, for Sanskrit *sirisha*, is the vernacular name both for the *acacia speciosa*, which, in spite of its botanical epithet is a very unsightly tree for a great part of the year, when its branches are bare of leaves and hung only with large, dry, yellow pods, rattling with every breath of wind. The same name is given

to a similar but larger and much handsomer tree, the *Albizzia Odoratissima*, which has red-brown legumes.

XIV.—BUILDING MATERIALS.

A kind of bastard sandstone, fit for building purposes, is procurable at two places on the western border of the district, *viz*, Barsāna and Nandgānw. Except on the spot and in the immediate neighbourhood, this stone is not much used, and the slight demand probably explains the fact of its never being properly quarried, the usual method being to fracture the large blocks that are lying about on the surface into handy and portable pieces. The Canal Officers used it for their bridges and other works on the Agra Canal. The same kind of stone is to be found at Gobardhan, but the Hindus consider every chip sacred, and will not allow any of it to be utilized. The cost of the stone depends very much on the distance from the quarry to the site of work. It can be quarried at Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 the 100 cubic feet. The carriage costs from 12 anas to Re. 1 the 100 cubic feet per mile.

Sandstone from the Rúpbās and other quarries in the Bharat-pur territory is largely employed in the towns of Mathurá, Brindá-ban, Gobardhan, and Gokul, and costs on an average Rs. 45 per 100 *man*.

The red sandstone, which is geologically an older formation than the new red sandstone of Europe, is specially adapted for flooring and roofing, for it loses none of its strength when saturated with water, and frequently has such a perfectly parallel lamination that by the insertion of a series of wedges it can be split up into flags of any thickness that may be required. The white variety, on the other hand, loses nearly half its strength when saturated, and is therefore not so good for roofing; but for all other building purposes it is far superior to the red, both on account of its less perfect lamination and also its greater fineness of texture and uniformity of colour. It is possible to quarry blocks of the most enormous size; thus at Rúpbās, near the place from which they were cut, are two monoliths of the speckled red stone; one a circular column $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet long with a diameter of 3 feet 3 inches at one end, and 2 feet 8 inches at the other; the second a parallelopiped $42\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by about 5 feet 6 inches \times 4 feet; the weight of the larger being nearly 60 tons. Also in the temple of Baladeva, about two miles from Rúpbās, are three prostrate figures said to have been dug out of the ground, measuring in length respectively 28, 22, and 21 feet, and each formed out of a single stone, which in the larger is 7 or 8 feet wide.—(*Mallet's Vindhyan Series, Geological Survey, Vol. 7*).

Bricks can be made in every part of the district: the clay needs but little working and tempering to ensure its burning of a good colour. The native

Pazáwa is the usual description of kiln in which the bricks are burned with cow-dung or other refuse as fuel. The brick burners are well up to their business. Bricks of small dimensions, $5 \times 3 \times 1$ inch, and $7 \times 4 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, are most generally made, the expenditure of fuel not being so large as is necessary for bigger bricks, and successful burning being more certain. Hence it is only when bricks are wanted for Government purposes that the large size are made. The small country bricks (*lakhauri* or *Máthurá-bási*) sell at from Rs. 55 to Rs. 120 per lakh, delivered. The Government sizes at Rs. 550 to Rs. 750 per lakh at kiln. Carriage to site costs from 12 anas to Re. 1 the thousand, per mile.

Wood is scarce all over the district; there is no timber wood, and all we have may be classed as fuel, which, dry and cut into billets, sells at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *man* the rupee. Wood is not used as a fuel for burning lime, bricks, &c., being too expensive and difficult to procure in large quantities.

There is no real *limestone* found in the district. *Kankar*, a variety of limestone, is generally used for making lime, and forms an excellent hard-setting strong lime if carefully managed. *Kankar* when required for lime, after being excavated, is spread out for exposure to air and sun for two or three days preparatory to cleaning and freeing it of clay, sand, &c., which is done by beating the *kankar* with short sticks and screening it by throwing it on frames woven with *munj*, *bán*, or *sutli*; very often a native *charpác* is used. The *modus operandi* with the kiln is as follows: a bed is laid, about one foot deep, of *upla* (i. e., dried cow-dung) in a circular form, the dimensions depending on the quantity of lime to be prepared; a thick bamboo or straight limb of a tree is set upright in the centre to form the firing hole; the packing of the kiln then goes on in alternate layers of *kankar* and *upla*, each layer decreasing in diameter till it takes the form of a cone. The kiln is then well covered in with broken up *upla* and *upla-dust* beaten lightly. The kiln is now ready for firing, the bamboo is withdrawn, and fire thrown in so that the burning begins from the middle right up the cone. While the kiln is burning, care must be taking to prevent the flame from bursting out. In opening the kiln, the lime must be removed layer by layer, otherwise the *upla-ash* gets mixed with the burnt *kankar*. The *upla* should be laid in the kiln unbroken; when this is attended to, the ash can be easily removed, as it keeps its form of a pat and does not crumble. The cost of the lime depends on the distance the *kankar* and fuel have to be brought, and varies from Rs. 6 to Rs. 11 the hundred cubic feet.

Kankar is abundant all over the district, but there is a great difference in the quality of what is got east and west of the *Jamuná*. That from the east is larger, harder, good ashy blue in colour, and in thicker strata. That found

westward is small, soft, somewhat disintegrated, and light in colour; the quarries are poor too. Block kankar is found in Sa'dabád and Jalesar parganas and is well adapted for masonry. The best kankar is found round Jalesar. The cost of kankar averages Rs. 3-4-0 stacked on the road, and of metalling a mile twelve feet wide and six inches deep Rs. 1,350.

Tiles are made of small size. The lock tiles are made on a *chak* or wheel in a cylindrical form and cut in two with wires. The pantiles are rolled out in tempered clay and cut to size according to wooden templates, the sides being turned up against templates of less width; neither the block nor pantiles are neatly made. Tiles are not much used; chiefly because they are so liable to be damaged by the monkeys. The poorer dwellings are roofed with thatch, and the larger houses have flat roofs. The cost of tiles is from Rs. 5 the thousand.

Grass for thatching is plentiful, both *gandar* and *sarpata*; cost, Rs. 3 to Rs. 10 the thousand bundles, or *púlas*, according to the size of the *pála* and length of the grass.

APPENDIX A.

CASTE : ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

INDIAN caste is ordinarily regarded as an institution *sui generis*, which must be accepted as a potent social influence, but cannot be explained either by parallel facts in other countries or by an enquiry into its own development, since that is buried in the depth of pre-historic antiquity. Such an opinion is not altogether well-founded, for—whatever may be thought as to the similarity between the restrictions imposed by caste in India and by other artificial contrivances in Europe—it is certain that, though the broadly-marked separation of the Bráhmaṇ from the Thákú dates from an extremely remote period, the formation of subordinate castes is a process which continues in full operation to the present day and admits of direct observation in all its stages. The course of Indian tradition is, to all appearance, unbroken, and until some breach of continuity is clearly proved, the modern practice must be acknowledged as the legitimate development of the primary idea.

It is nothing strange that the Hindus themselves should fail to give any reasonable explanation of the matter; since not only are they restricted by religious dogma, but every society is naturally as blind to the phenomena of its own existence as the individual man is unconscious of his daily physical growth. On the other hand, European outsiders, who might be expected to record simple facts with the accuracy of impartial observers, are misled by the prejudices which they have inherited from the early investigators of Oriental literature.

The Code of Manu was among the first, if not the very first Sanskrit didactic work of any importance made known to the world at large through the medium of a translation. At that time it was unhesitatingly accepted as the ultimate authority on all the subjects of which it treated, and hence the fourfold division of Hindu society into Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra was universally recognized as an absolute fact. The later discovery of the Vedas, and the vast reach of antiquity which opened out upon their interpretation, made the Mánava Dharma Sástra appear a comparatively modern production. The explanations, which it gives of phenomena dating back in their origin to the remotest past, can only be regarded as theories, not as positive verities; while, again, the vast range of later Sanskrit literature, which has now become available to the student, affords a test of its accuracy in the descriptions which it gives of contemporary society. Impartially judged by either standard, the authority of the Code will be found materially shaken. Its theories of origin

are as devoid of Vedic confirmation as its pictures of existent society are irreconcilable with the testimony of all independent literature, whatever the age in which it was produced. If such a clearly defined fourfold division ever existed, how happens it that one-half of the division remains in full force to the present day while the other moiety has sunk into absolute oblivion? The Bráhmanical order is still a living entity, and the Kshatriya is adequately represented in modern speech by the word Thákur, or Rájput, while the Vaisya and Súdra have so completely disappeared—both in name and fact—that an unlettered Hindu will neither understand the words when he hears them, nor recognize the classes implied when their meaning is explained to him.

And not only is this the case in the present day, but it appears to have been so all along. In the great epic poems, in the dramas, and the whole range of miscellaneous literature, the sacerdotal and military classes are everywhere recognized, and mention of them crops up involuntarily in every familiar narrative. But with Vaisya and Sudra it is far different. These words (I speak under correction) never occur as caste names, except with deliberate reference to the Mánava Code. They might be expunged both from the Rámáyana and the Mahábhárat without impairing the integrity of either composition. Only a few moral discourses, which are unquestionably late Bráhmanical interpolations, and one entire episodical narrative, would have to be sacrificed; the poem in all essentials would be left intact. But should we proceed in the same way to strike out the Bráhman and the Kshatriya, the whole framework of the poem would immediately collapse. There is abundant mention of Dhívars and Nápitás, Sútradháras and Kumbhakáras, Mahájanas and Banijes, but no comprehension of them all under two heads in the same familiar way that all chieftains are Kshatriyas, and all priests and litterateurs, Bráhmans.

It is also noteworthy that Manu, in his 12th book, where he classifies gods and men according to their quality (*guna*), omits the Vaisya altogether; and, again, in the Ádi Parvan of the Mahábhárat (v. 3139) we read—

Brahma-Kshatriyádayas tsamád Manor jātás tu mánaváh,
Tatá bhavad, Mahárāja, Bráhma Kshattrena sangatam*

From which it would seem that the writer recognized a definite connection between the Bráhman and the Kshatriya, while all the rest of mankind were relegated to the indeterminate. And, further, if the Vaisyas had ever formed one united body, they would inevitably, at some period or another, have taken a more prominent part in Indian politics than there is reason to suppose they

* Bráhmans, Kshatriyas and the rest of mankind sprung from this Manu. From him, Sire, came the Bráhman conjoined with the Kshatriya."

ever did. Investiture with the symbolic cord gave them social position, and the wealth which their occupation enabled them to amass gave them power. Union apparently was the only condition required to make them the predominant body in the State. With far humbler pretensions and less internal cohesion than Manu assigns to the Vaisyas, the free cities of Germany and the burghers of England established their independence against an aristocracy and an ecclesiastical system in comparison with which Kshatriyas and Bráhmans were contemptible.

The obvious, and indeed inevitable, inference from this popular ignorance, literary silence, and historical insignificance appears to be that the two classes of Vaisya and Súdra never existed (except in Manus's theory) as distinct bodies; and that the names are merely convenient abstractions to denote the middle and lower orders of society, which have indeed distinctive class features engendered by similarity of occupation, but no community of origin, and in reality no closer blood connection between the component sub-divisions than exists between any one of those sub-divisions and a Bráhmanical or Kshatriya family.

In the whole of the Rig Veda the word Vaisya occurs only once, viz., in the 12th verse of the famous Purusha Sūkta. Dr. Muir, Professor Max Müller, and in fact all Sanskrit scholars, with the solitary exception of Dr. Haug, assign this hymn to a comparatively late period. It is the only one which mentions the four different kinds of Vedic composition, *rich, saman, chhanda*, and *yajush*, a peculiarity noticed by Professor Aufrecht, and which seems to be absolutely conclusive proof of late composition. And not only is the hymn itself more recent than the body of the work, but the two verses which alone refer to the four castes, seem to be a still more modern interpolation. In the first place, there is nothing the least archaic in their style, and they might stand in any one of the Puránas without exciting a comment. That this may be apparent they are quoted in the original:—

Bráhmaṇo 'sya mukham áśíd, báhu Rájanyah kritah,
Uru tad asya yad Vaisyah, padbhyám Sudro ajayata. (1.)

Secondly, they are irreconcilable with the context; for, while they describe the Bráhmaṇ as the mouth of Purusha and the Súdra as born from his feet, the very next lines speak of Indra and Agni as proceeding from his mouth and the Earth from his feet.

We are, therefore, justified in saying that in the genuine Veda there was no mention of caste whatever; nor was it possible that there should be, on the

(1.) "The Bráhmaṇ was his mouth; the Rájanya was made his arms; what is the Vaisya was his thighs; from his feet sprung the Súdra."

hypothesis now to be advanced, that the institution of caste was the simple result of residence* in a conquered country. This is confirmed by observing that in Kashmir, which was one of the original homes of the Aryan race, and also for many ages secured by its position from foreign aggression, there is to the present no distinction of caste, but all Hindus are Bráhmans. Thus, too, the following remarkable lines from the Mahábhárat, which distinctly declare that in the beginning there was no caste division, but all men, as created by God, were Bráhmans :—

Na visesho 'sti varṇānām, sarvam Bráhmaṇam idam jagat,
Brahmaná pūrva-sriṣṭam hi ; karmabhir varnatām gatam. (1.)

At the time when the older Vedic hymns were written, the Aryan was still in his primeval home, and had not descended upon the plains of Hindustan. After the invasion, the conquerors naturally resigned all menial occupations to the aborigines, whom they had vanquished and partially dispossessed, and enjoyed the fruits of victory while prosecuting the congenial pursuits of arms or letters. For several years, or possibly generations, the invaders formed only a small garrison in a hostile country, and constant warfare necessitated the formation of a permanent military body, the ancestors of the modern Kshatriyas and Thákurs. The other part devoted themselves to the maintenance of the religious rites, which they brought with them from their trans-Himalayan home, and the preservation of the sacred hymns and formulæ used in the celebration of public worship. Of this mystic and unwritten lore, once familiar to all, but now, through the exigency of circumstances, retained in the memory of only a few, these special families would soon become the sole depositories. The interval between the two classes would gradually widen, till the full-blown Bráhmaṇ was developed, conscious of his superior and exclusive knowledge, and bent upon asserting its prerogatives. The conquered aborigines were known by the name of Nágas or Mlechhas, or other contemptuous term, and formed the nucleus of all the low castes, whom Manu subsequently grouped together as Súdras, esteeming them little, if at all, higher than the brute creation. (*Hastinas cha turangás cha Súdra Mlechchhás cha garhitah—Sinhá vyághrá vardhás cha.* XII. 43.)

But a society, consisting only of priests, warriors, and slaves could not long exist. Hence the gradual formation of a middle class, consisting of the offspring of mixed marriages, enterprising natives, and such unambitious members

(1.) "There is no distinction of castes; the whole of this world is Bráhmaṇical as originally created by Brahma; it is only in consequence of men's actions that it has come into a state of caste divisions."

(2) "Elephants, horses, Súdras, despicable barbarians, lions tigers and boars."

of the dominant race as found trade more profitable, or congenial to their tastes, than either arms or letters. The character of this mixed population would be influenced in the first instance by the nature of the country in which they were resident. In one district the soil would be better adapted for pasturage, in another for agriculture. But in both it would be worked principally by aborigines, both on account of the greater labour involved, and also because the occupation of grazing large flocks and herds (which had been characteristic of the Aryan race in Vedic times) is incompatible with the concentration which is essential for the security of a small invading force. The Graziers would receive some name descriptive of their nomadic habits, as for example 'Ahír'; the word being derived from *abhi*, 'circum' *ir*, 'ire' the *circumeuntes*, or wanderers. Similarly, other pastoral tribes—such as the Gwálás' and the Ghosís—derive their distinctive names from *go*, 'a cow' combined with *pála* 'a keeper,' and *ghosha*, 'a cattle station.' In an agricultural district the corresponding class would also adopt some title indicative of their occupation, as, for example, the Kisáns from *krishi*, 'husbandry,' the Bhúnhárs from *bhám*, 'the ground,' and in Bengal the Chásís from *chás*, 'ploughing.' Or (and the same remark applies to every other class) they might retain the old Indian name of the district in which they were located, as the Káchhis from the country of Kachh. Again, so long as vast tracts of lands were still covered with forest, the followers of the chase would be at least as numerous as the tillers of the soil or the grazers of cattle. And, since the Aryan element in the middle and lower strata of society was composed of those persons who, without any *penchant* for learned study like the Bráhmans, entertained a preference for sedentary pursuits rather than those of a more exciting nature such as the majority of their Thákur kinsmen affected, so the castes that followed the chase, not as an amusement, but as a means of livelihood, would naturally consist exclusively of aborigines. And as a matter of fact, it is found to be the case that all such castes have the dark complexion and the other physical characteristics of the lower race. Such are the Badhaks and Ahoriyas, who derive their name—the one from the root *badh*, 'to kill,' the other from the Hindi *aker*, 'game'—so, too, the Dhánuks and the Lodhas, whose names are contracted forms of Dhánushka, 'a bowman,' and Lubdhaka, 'a huntsman.' These two tribes have now abandoned their hereditary avocations,—the Dhánuks being ordinarily village watchmen, and the Lodhas agriculturists,—though in Oudh the latter were, till quite recently, still connected with the forest rather than the fields, being the wood-cutters, whose business it was to fell timber and transport it by the Ghoghra river to Bahram Ghát and other marts.

In this way the majority of the servile or so-called Sútra castes came into existence, in order to supply the unproductive classes with food; and subse-

quently, when population grew and towns were built, their number was vastly increased by the new trades that sprung up to satisfy the more complex requirements of urban life. Then, too, last of all, and by no means simultaneously with the other three, as represented in the legends, the Vaisya order was produced. For the purpose of facilitating barter and exchange, traders established themselves, either on the sea-coast, or at places convenient of access for the inhabitants of two dissimilar tracts of country, and forming a confederation among themselves would take a collective name, either from the locality which they occupied, as Ajudhyávásis, Mathuriyas, or Agarwálás, or simply from the special branch of trade which they pursued, as Sonárs, Lohiyas, or Baniyas. From the facility of acquiring wealth and the civilizing influence of social contact these merchants would soon form a striking contrast to the simple rural population who brought their produce for barter, and would receive some vulgar title indicative of the difference; hence the name of Mahájans, 'the great people.' And all such names, having once firmly attached themselves, would be retained, even when they ceased to be strictly applicable, in consequence of migration from the original seat or change in profession or circumstances.

Upon this theory we come to a clear understanding of the popular feeling about caste—a feeling which unmistakably exists in the native mind, though opposed to dogmatic teaching—that below the Bráhmaṇ and the Thákúr there are a number of miscellaneous divisions, but no two well-defined collective groups. There is a vague impression that the Vaisya is properly a tradesman and the Súdra a servant; while it is definitely ruled that the former is the much more respectable appellation of the two. Thus a difficulty arises with regard to a family that is distinctly neither of Bráhmaṇ nor Thákúr descent, and from time immemorial has been engaged in some specially ignoble trade or exceptionally honourable service. The latter aspires to be included in the higher order, in spite of his servitude; while the former, though a trader, is popularly ranked in the same grade as people who, if they are to be known by any class name at all, are clearly Súdras. This never occurs in precisely the same way with the two higher Mánava castes, though one or two facts may be quoted which at first sight seem to tell against such an assertion. For example, there are a numerous body of carpenters called Ojhas (the word being a corruption of Upáth-yáya), who are admitted to be of Bráhmaṇical descent and are invested with the sacred cord. But common interests forming a stronger bond of union than common origin, they are regarded rather as a species of the genus Barhai than of the genus Bráhmaṇ; their claim, however, to the latter title never being disputed if they choose to assert it. Similarly, as the trade of the usurer is highly incompatible with priestly pretensions, the Bráhmaṇs who practice it are gradually being recognized as quite distinct castes under the name of 'Bohras

and Athwarayas.' There are also some *pseudo*-Bráhmānical and *pseudo*-Thákur tribes who rank very low in the social scale ; but even their case is by no means a parallel one, for it is admitted on all sides that the original ancestor of—for example—the Bháts and Ahivásis was a Bráhmān, and of the Gauruas a Thákur. The doubt is whether the descendants, in consequence of the bar-sinister on their blazon, have altogether lost their ancestral title or only tarnished its dignity ; whereas with a Sonár who claims to be a Vaisya, it is not any suspicion of illegitimate descent, nor any incompatibility of employment, that raises a doubt, but rather the radical incompleteness of the original theory and the absence of any standard by which his pretensions may be tested.

In short, excepting only the Bráhmān and the Thákur, all other Indian castes correspond, not to the Scottish clans—with which they are so often compared, and from which they are utterly dissimilar—but to the close guilds which in mediæval times had so great an influence on European society. As the Goldsmiths formed themselves into a *company* for mutual protection, so the Sonárs combined to make a *caste* ;—the former admitted many provincial guilds with special customs and regulations, the latter recognized many subordinate *gotras* ; the former required a long term of apprenticeship amounting virtually to adoption, the latter made the profession hereditary ; the former required an oath of secrecy, the latter insured secrecy by restricting social intercourse with outsiders. As the founders of the company had no mutual connection beyond community of interest, so neither had the founders of the caste. When we say that all architects are sons of S. Barbara, or all shoemakers of S. Crispin, these being their patron saints, the expression is quite intelligible. What more is implied in saying that Sanádhs are sons of Sanat-Kumára ? To attach any literal meaning to a tradition which represents a Bráhmānical caste as born of the Gáyatri (a Vedic metre) is a precisely similar absurdity to saying a company was born of the Pater-Noster and Ave Maria, because on certain days every member was bound to repeat his rosary. A history of caste, in the sense in which the phrase is generally understood, viz., the tracing each caste to one definite pair of ancestors, is, from the circumstances of the case, an impossibility.

With Brahmans and Kshatriyas matters stand somewhat differently. Though so far as any one subordinate division is concerned, it may often happen that its individual members never at any time formed one family, yet as all the subdivisions are in the main descendants of the early Aryan conquerors, to that limited extent they have a genuine community of origin. So long as the line of demarcation which separated them from the aboriginal inhabitants of India remained clearly defined, while the only distinction among themselves lay in the difference of occupation, the conversion of a Kshatriya into a Bráhmān would

not be a more unusual occurrence than the retirement of a Christian knight, when wearied with warfare, into the peaceful seclusion of the cloister. The most famous example of such a transformation is that supplied by the legend of Visvámītra, which must ever prove an insuperable difficulty to the orthodox Hindú, who accepts the Mánava doctrine of an essential and eternal difference between the two castes. At the present day, when Bráhmānism has become an inseparable hereditary quality, the priestly character has been transferred to the religious mendicants and ascetics who, allowing for the changed circumstances of time and place, correspond to the Bráhmāns of antiquity, and like them freely admit associates from every rank and condition of Hindú society. The apparent difference is mainly due to the fact that in primitive times the Aryan outsiders were all of one status, while now they are infinite in variety.

Theoretically, the essence of the Kshatriya is as incapable of transfer or acquisition, except by natural descent, as that of the Bráhmān, but the practice of the two classes has always been very different. The strength of a community that lays claim to any esoteric knowledge lies in its exclusiveness; but a military body thrives by extension, and to secure its own efficiency must be lax in restrictions. It may be observed as a singular fact that all the very lowest castes in the country, if interrogated as to their origin, will say that they are in some way or another Thákur: and this is illustrated by a passage in Manu, where he mentions several outcast tribes as Kshatriyas by descent. Whence we may infer that at all times there has been a great freedom of intercourse between that class and others. Indeed, if we are to accept the legend of Parasurám as in any sense expressing an historical event, the whole Thákur race has been repeatedly extirpated and as often re-formed out of alien elements. Nor is this at variance with modern usage, for no Hindú rises to the rank of Rájá, whatever his original descent, without acquiring a kind of Thákur character, which in most instances is unhesitatingly claimed by, and conceded to, his descendants in the third or fourth generation, after alliances with older families have given some colour to the pretension. And the illegitimate sons of Thákurs, who by the Code of Manu would be Ugras—their mothers being Musalmánis or low-caste Hindú women—are, as is notorious, generally accepted, either themselves or in the person of their immediate descendants, as genuine Thákurs. Again, many of the higher Thákur classes acknowledge the impurity of their birth in the popular tradition of their origin. Thus the Chandels (*i.e.*, the moon-born) profess to be derived from the daughter of a Banáras Bráhmān, who had an intrigue with the moon-god; and Gahlots (the cave-born) from a Ráni of Mewár, who took refuge with some mountaineers on the Malya range.

From all this it follows that, whatever the dignity and antiquity of some particular Thákur families, the Thákur caste is a heterogeneous body, which, like the miscellaneous communities of lower pretensions which we have already discussed, is held together more by similarity of circumstances than unity of origin. The same principle of caste-formation is still actively at work through all grades of Indian society. The comparatively modern organization of many so-called castes is attested by the Persian names which they have thought proper to assume,—for example, the Darzis, the Malláhs, the Mimárs, &c. A large proportion of the first-named are really Káyaths, which shows that the term ‘Darzi’ is still in a transitional state, and has not yet thoroughly shaken off its original trade meaning. The older word for a tailor is *súji*, which, like so much of the Hindi vocabulary, having become unfashionable, now implies a workman of an inferior description. Similarly, *randi* ‘a woman,’ has become a term of reproach for ‘a woman of bad character’; and *nagara*, Hindi for ‘a city,’ is used at the present day to denote, not even a village, but only a mere ‘hamlet.’ The desire to dignify a mean calling by a high-sounding name—as when a sweeper is called *mihtar*, ‘a prince,’ and a cook *khalifa*,—has been often cited as an Oriental idiosyncrasy, which to the mind of a European is productive of ridicule rather than respect. It gives occasion, however, to many a new caste-name. Thus the *khúkrob* or street-sweeper of the town, regards himself under the Persian designation as the superior of the village *bhangí* or scavenger; and the Mimár, or bricklayer, the Shoragar, or saltpetre manufacturer; the Chúna-paz, or lime burner; the Kori, or weaver, and even the Mochi or cobbler, in assuming the name descriptive of his calling, almost forgets that he belongs to the universally-despised caste of the Chamár.

To judge from the Census Returns, it would seem that these partially-developed castes are only recognized in some few districts, and totally ignored in others. Thus, Mathurá is a great centre of the stone-cutter’s art; but the men who practise it belong to different ranks, and have not adopted the distinctive trade-name of *sang-tardásh*, which seems to be recognized in Aligarh, Hamír-púr, and Kumaon. Again, in every market town there are a number of weighmen, who, no doubt, in each place have special guild regulations of their own; but only in Banáras do they appear as a distinct caste, with the name of *palle-dárs*. So too at Saháranpur some fruit-sellers—whose trade it may be presumed, has been encouraged by the large public garden at that station—have separated themselves from the common herd of *Kuujrás*, or ‘costermongers,’ and decorated their small community with the Persian title of *Mewafarosh*. As might be expected, this disintegration of society and adoption of a novel nomenclature prevails most extensively among the lower orders, where the

associations connected with the old name that is discarded are of an unpleasant nature. But even in the higher classes, where the generic title is one of honour, it is frequently superseded in common parlance by one that is more distinctive, though it may be of less favourable import. Thus, among Bráhmans a Bohra sub-caste is in course of formation, and a Cháube of the Mathurá branch, when settled elsewhere, is invariably styled neither Bráhman nor Chaube, but Mathuriya. Illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely; but the few now cited are sufficient to prove how caste-sub divisions are formed in the present day, and to suggest how they originated in the first instance.

APPENDIX B.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

*					Rs.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Agra	...	...	...	...	1,200
Proceeds of a Lottery, through the Very Rev. Father Symphorien	...	...	...	...	1,250
Priests of the Mission	...	...	...	...	75
Lord Ralph Kerr, Lt.-Col., 10th	Royal Hussars	...	...	...	1,150
Viscount Campden	do.	do.	...	...	500
Surgeon-Major Cattell	do.	do.	...	...	50
W. H. Watkins, Captain,	do.	do.	...	...	50
Boyce Combe, Captain,	do.	do.	...	...	25
The Hon. C. C. W. Cavendish,	do.	do.	...	...	25
E. A. H. Roe, Surgeon,	do.	do.	...	...	20
J. Pembroke, Lieut., Commissariat Officer	...	...	...	...	125
Col. Dillon, C. B., C. S. I.	...	...	...	...	50
Offertory, All Saints' Day, 1874	...	...	...	...	25
Seth Gobind Das, C. S. I.*	...	...	...	...	1,100
H. H. the Mahārāja of Chirkhári, Bundelkhand	...	...	...	...	500
Rāja Hari Nārāyan Singh of Hāthras	...	...	...	...	425
Lala Syām Sundar Das	...	...	...	...	300
Sri Mahārāj Gosain Purushottam Lál of Gokul	...	...	...	...	400

* The sanction of the Local Government was obtained in the first instance, before a subscription was accepted from any Hindu gentleman.

					Rs.
Raja Prithi Sinh of Awa	...	...	...	...	100
F. S. Growse, C. S.	...	...	...	...	4,700
Malcolm Read, C. S.	...	...	...	...	50
Percy Wigram, C. S.	...	...	...	...	100
M. A. McConaghey, C. S.	...	...	...	...	50
C. F. Hall, C. S.	...	...	...	...	25
J. H. Twigg, C. S.	...	...	...	...	25
Ross Scott, C. S.	...	...	...	...	20
H. L. Harrison, C. S.	...	...	...	...	10
C. G. Hind, District Engineer,	...	...	...	...	100
D'Arcy McArthy	...	...	...	...	100
Messrs. Ellis, Merchants, Agra	...	...	...	...	75
H. Neil, Assistant Patrol, Customs	...	...	...	...	15
Conductor Higher	...	...	...	...	15
A. H. Davis, Assistant Suptd. of Police	...	...	...	...	20
A. B. Seaman, Civil Surgeon	...	...	...	...	50
Mahbub Masih	...	...	...	...	50
R. A. Lloyd, Education Department	...	...	...	...	50
W. N. Boufflower, do.	...	...	...	...	20
H. Prince, Superintending Engineer,	...	...	...	...	50
Lt.-Col F. C. Anderson	...	...	...	...	50
Captain Ellaby, R. A.	...	...	...	...	20
Offertory, All Saints' Day, 1876	...	...	...	...	133
Total				Rs. ...	13,098

DONATIONS.

Statues of the Sacred Heart, of the B. Virgin and Child, and of S. Joseph ; from the Dowager Marchioness of Lothian and the Duchess of Buccleuch (through Lord Ralph Kerr).

Life-size crucifix (indulgenced) from Lord Ralph Kerr.

Persian carpeting, for the Altar steps ; from J. W. Tyler, M.D., F.R.C.S.

A crystal chandelier for the Choir ; from Mr. John Ellis, Agra.

A crystal chandelier and a marble chair; from Seth Raghnáth Dda.

A marble chair; from Lála Badri Prasad.

The Font; from Lála Ratn Lal.

The Stations of the Cross; from the Men of the 10th Royal Hussars.

The above list is inserted in this volume as an interesting record of the cordiality that prevailed among all classes of the community during my official connection with Mathurá, and as a permanent acknowledgment of the generous assistance that I received in carrying out a project which I had greatly at heart. A description of the unfinished building has been given in an earlier chapter. Any want of congruity that may be detected in the design is mainly attributable to the same cause as paralyzes the action of almost every District Officer in India, viz., his liability at any moment to be transferred to some entirely different part of the country. As I was not in a position to put down the whole of the money at once, and did not wish, in case of my sudden removal, to leave the Mission burdened with a design which it would require a very large outlay to complete, I commenced the work in a simple and inexpensive style, and pushed it on as rapidly as possible. By the end of a year, when part of it had been roofed in and roughly furnished, I felt myself at liberty to launch out into more elaborate architecture, which I intended to continue so long as I was on the spot, but which could be stopped without serious practical injury to the fabric, if I were removed. Many of the bald features, which now strike the eye unpleasantly, were intended as merely temporary make-shifts, and, if I had been allowed the time, would gradually have given way to something better; carved stone being everywhere substituted for plain brick and mortar. The interior, with the important exception of the High Altar, is virtually complete, and is to my mind both religious and picturesque in its effect. The external façade, as it now stands, conveys a very imperfect idea of what it was intended to be.

An Executive Engineer, attached in some subordinate capacity to Government headquarters—in retaliation for my frequent criticisms on the productions of that chartered anti-aesthetic society, of which he is a member—and the destructive influence of which on native art I have done my utmost to expose, employed himself at intervals and under a variety of assumed names by filling columns of the *Pioneer* with tirades against ‘the dreadful Mathurá chapel.’ The only time that he saw it was, I believe, when the interior was full of scaffolding, and the centering of the vaulted roof had not been removed. In one of his letters he uses the following language:—“The building is absolutely the abomination of architectural desolation; and it is difficult to understand how any educated man should have had the hardihood to inflict on the



CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART, MATHURA.

intelligence of the nineteenth century a monstrosity so hideous. The roof," he goes on to explain "is of low pitch; the pillars are ponderous; Oriental tracery has been inserted under Gothic arches; and the pointing of the brickwork is false and tawdry." It is worthy of remark that other engineers, who had visited the work, when in progress, spoke to me very seriously about the pillars, which they assured me were much too slight instead of too ponderous; but the criticism—which I reproduce in order to show how little it has shamed me—deserves no detailed answer, being the natural outcome of the writer's faulty education. I intended the building to be a protest against the 'standard plans' and other stereotyped conventionalities of his department; and the indignation it has excited shows that it is accepted in that light. It has at least the one great architectural merit of being absolutely truthful; no one on seeing it but would immediately understand that it was a Catholic Church built in an eastern country for the use of a mixed congregation of Europeans and Orientals. Before I finally leave India, which will be at the latest less than five years hence, I hope to publish a volume with views of all the architectural works, original or restorations, that I have been able to carry out in the two districts of Mathurá and Bulandshahr—shops, houses, market-places, schools, gháts, &c.—and to add for comparison specimens of similar buildings erected by officers of the Public Works Department. The public will then be in a position to judge whether my efforts to develop native talent, or the efforts of the Engineers to extinguish it, are more deserving of commendation.

GLOSSARY.

ĀDHAM SÚDH, half.

• AIKLI-BAIKLI, incoherent nonsense.

ĀINTH, pride, conceit.

ĀKĀSI VRITT, dependence on the rains; said of fields where there is no artificial irrigation. •

ĀLA, wet.

ĀLĀI-TAPPU, incoherent, absurd.

ĀLANA BATANA, strangers.

ĀLYN, a stone jamb of a doorway; a pilaster, or attached pillar, as distinguished from *khambh*, a detached pillar.

ĀMANA, obstinate; incredulous.

ĀMER, delay, late.

ĀMOLAK, invaluable; coal-dust used as a dry colour in making *sánjhis*.

ĀN, a curse.

ĀNAKHTOTA, extraordinary.

ĀNOSAR (for *an-avasar*), want of leisure, domestic work.

ĀNTÁ CHIT, senseless.

ĀNTI, an ear-ring.

ĀTHEN (for *athmana*), evening.

ĀTŪTI, fire.

Ā-UP, literally 'waterless'; a term applied to a man who dies childless, with no son to make him the ordinary funeral libations. It is also the name given to the little masonry platform often seen near a village, on which twice a year jars of water are set, in order to lay the ghost of some childless person.

BAITHAK, the village club and hospice; also a rest-house at a holy place for the accommodation of the Gosáin on his annual visit on the feast-day.

BAKHAR, a house.

BARAH-BAS, a term used vaguely with reference to any large and ancient village to imply that a number of hamlets, though not necessarily exactly twelve, have been founded from it. Such are Bhadanwára, Barauth, &c., of which a rustic will say:—*Uske bárah-bás hain; aise kahte hain; kuchh base hain, kuchh újar hain.*

BARDH, an ox.

BARHI, a class of weavers.

BĀS, a hamlet, as distinguished from *kherá*, the parent settlement.

BHABHI, a brother's wife (for *bhrátri-vadhú*).

BHAGAVADĪYA, devout.

BHAINKRA, crying, as of a child.

BHARNA, the capital of a pillar.

BHAROTA, a bundle of wood or fodder.

BHAYEN, to, for, as regards.

BHOR, the first watering of any crop.

BHŪĀ, a father's sister.

BHŪMIYA, a low altar or platform on the outskirts of a village, dedicated to the local divinity, or rather demon, corresponding to the Grām Devi of the Mainpuri and other districts. It often resembles in form a Muhammadan grave, consisting of an oblong block of stone or brickwork with a recessed pillar at one end, and offerings are made upon it to avert the spells of witchcraft, &c.

BHUMRA, early morning.

BHUSRI, of a dull red colour, as a cow.

BIROKHA, afternoon.

BITONDA, a stack of cow-dung fuel.

BIYĀRA, supper-time, evening.

BOHR-GAT, the trade of a *bohrā*, or money-lender.

BOT, a flat earthenware flask holding about two sers.

BUNDI, tail-less.

CHACHA, a father's younger brother.

CHENTA-POTI, the young of insects or lower animals generally.

CHHAIL-KARI, a small ring worn in the upper part of the ear.

CHHAJJA, stone eaves of a house or other building, supported on projecting brackets.

CHATTRA, a dole-house, where cooked food is given in charity to indigent applicants.

CHHARĀ, small, paltry, slight; as *chhari sawāri*, 'a small retinue.'

CHHARI, the shaft of a pillar.

CHHENKNA, to reject, excommunicate.

CHHORA, CHHORI, a boy, a girl.

CHIRA, the capital of a pillar, when it has brackets attached to it.

CHUNAI, masonry work.

DADHAIYA, fresh, as a colour.

DANGRA, a bullock or other horned animal of inferior quality.

DARYR, a lipe.

DARIYA, a coloured shawl worn by married women.

DĀSA, in architecture, a string-course.

DEHRI, a threshold; also a strip of pavement between two piers of an arcade.

DHAB, stature.

DHERH, a Chamár.

DHEVATI, a daughter's daughter.

DHYNG-DHYNGI, force, violence.

DHÚMAR (for Sanskrit *dhúmra*) smoke-coloured, dun, as a cow.

DILA, in architecture, a panel.

DOBRA, a long piece of cloth of double width, used as a carpet.

DOLA-PÁT, the masonry pillars and stone cross-bar supporting the pulley over a well worked by bullocks.

DOLI NONA, to go away.

DOTHAIN, early morning, sun-rise.

ELAK, a sieve.

FAUJDAR, a title much affected by Játs and used simply as equivalent to their caste name.

GAMI (for *grāmya*) rustic, clownish.

GARAI, the occupation of a grazier (for *gwárai*).

GARIYARÁ, or GARARA, a cart-track.

GARUA, a brass drinking vessel.

GAUCHH, the moustache.

GAURUA, a name given to certain clans of Thákur descent, that are held in lower esteem than other branches of the same parent stock, in consequence of their lax views regarding marriage and other social institutions.

GHYAU, used by the Chaubes for *ghí*.

GOHNJO, GOHNJI, a father-in-law, mother-in-law.

GOKH (for *gaváksha*) a look-out; a window on an upper story with a projecting balcony.

GOLA, a bundle of leaves, folder, &c., and specially of *jhar-beri*.

GONANA, to escort pilgrims.

GONAWA, an escorter of pilgrims. Bráhmans of this description are always going backwards and forwards between Mathurá and Brinda-ban.

GOT (for *gosktha*, a cattle-pen), an enclosure usually made by a thorn-fence and used for stacking straw, fuel, &c., or stalling cattle.

GUHAR, a confederacy.

GUNDA, wicked.

GUTH-JANA, to close in wrestling.

HÁBKAU, excessive greed.

HAMBAL, yes.

HANGI, a fine linen sieve for sifting flour, as distinct from *chalni*, a coarse sieve for grain.

HÁTÁ-CHÁNTI, a dexterous theft from under one's own eyes.

HATO, HATE, was, were (for *thá* and *the*).

HAY HAY, properly an interjection, but often used as a noun meaning greed : thus, *usko rupaye ki háy háy rahi hai*, 'he is most greedy for money.'

HEJ, affection.

HELA PÁRNA, to call, shout.

HILAWA, an untrained beast of draught, yoked as an outrigger.

HÚN, I, for *main* or *ham* : as *wahán hún gayo hato*, 'I had gone there.'

HURDANG, a disorderly dance.

I, frequently substituted for *a*, as in *Lachhmin* for *Lachhman*.

INCH, an undertaking on the part of the village baniya to settle the landlord's demand for rent on the security of the tenant's crops, of which he takes delivery after harvest. The arrangement, which results in an account of the most complicated description, is so carried out as totally to frustrate the intentions of some of the main provisions of the Rent Law ; and, as it pauperizes the tenant without in any way enriching the landlord, it may justly be regarded as one of the main causes of the prevalent agricultural distress. The institution of Government banks seems to be the only means of checking the evil. At present Rs. 3-2-0 per cent. per monsem is not an uncommon rate of interest.

INDHAN, properly 'fuel'; a sluggard.

ITÉK, so much.

ITTAN, this side, this way ; used only by the Chaubes.

JÁ, the oblique case of the demonstrative pronoun, as *já samay*, 'at that time'; *jáko pita* 'his father.' Those who argue from the existence of this and a few similar peculiarities that Hindi is only a generic name for a variety of vulgar dialects that have little or nothing in common, might with equal reason maintain that in Shakespear's time there was no such language as English ; for even the greatest writers of that period, when books were few and man untravelled, occasionally betray by their provincialism the county that gave them birth.

JAG-MOHAN, the choir, or central compartment of a Hindu temple, usually surmounted by a *sikhara*; or tower.

JARAILA, jealous.

JARAILAPAN, or JALKOKRAPAN, jealousy.

JENGRA, a calf.

JERI, a wooden pitch-fork, also called *lagi*.

JET BHAR LENA, to close with an antagonist in a struggle.

JHAMEL, delay.

JHARAP, a prop, an attached shaft or pilaster.

JHERA, a blind well.

JHUNJHARKA, early morning.

JIIJA, a sister's husband.

JIIYIA, a sister.

JIRNODDHAR, the restoration of a ruined temple or other building.

JONPAR, naughtiness, peevishness, in a child.

JOT, exorcisms and incantations as practised by Jogis.

JURE, near.

KAJRA (for *kajjal*) lampblack.

KAKA, a father's younger brother.

KAN-VRIT, professional begging.

KARKAS, a kind of water fowl abounding at Gokul and Gobardhan.

KATHARI, equivalent to *gudari*, a tattered garment.

KATHAUA, a wooden dish.

KATHAUTA, 'in the lump'; equivalent to the more common *gol*, or the Arabic revenue term *bilmukta*.

KAURA, a morsel.

KHAN, time (for *kshan*).

KHANDAR, brush-wood.

KHANDI, an instalment.

KHERA, the original village site, as distinguished from the subordinate hamlets of later formation.

KHERA-PAT, 'the lord of the *khera*', the hereditary village purohit.

KHILLI, a jest, joke.

KHOR, a double sheet or wrapper, as an article of clothing.

KHUNT, a corner.

KHURKA, a noise, like *dhat*. Thus *khurku so bhayo*, 'there was some sort of a noise.'

KILLA, a great noise, or outcry.

KILLI, a cry, alarm, as *main ne killi machai*, 'I gave the alarm.'

KITEK, how much.

KOHAR, a pole set slanting over a well to assist in drawing water by hand.

KOMARA CHAKHA, 'easy noon,' a little before noon, *Komara* being equivalent to *narm*, as in the phrase *narm kos*, 'an easy or short kos,' and *chakhá* being the mid-day collation. The expression is sometimes altered to *komala dopahr*.

KRIPA, grace, or favour, used as equivalent to the Persian complimentary phrase *tashrif*. Thus *dj to ap ne kahán kripá kari?* Where has your honor been to-day?

KUMAR-GARHA, a piece of ground near a village set apart for the burial of children that die as infants, before they have been initiated into Hinduism.

KUNJ, a court; an occasional residence, or rest-house, generally a building of elaborate architectural design in the form of a cloistered quadrangle.

KURHNA, to be jealous.

KUSKUT, sharpening plough-shares; the work of a village smith.

KUTHARI, a root, as of the *ak* plant, used for fuel.

LABARA, young of cattle.

LAKORA, a bundle, as of grass, vetches, &c.

LANG, side.

LANGTAR, a row.

LAPKA, a wheedler, flatterer.

LASH, the Persian word for 'a corpse,' often used of a man who is merely wounded.

LATAK, side, direction, as *pūrab ki latak*, 'to the east'; also figure or attitude.

LAUDRI, a twig or switch.

LITRI, worn out shoes.

LOHNDI, a small iron pan.

MALARIYA, a small earthen pot.

MALUK, good.

MAMI PINKA, to be a partisan of any one, to support his cause.

MARAZ MUBARAK, 'the lucky disease,' a euphemism for 'the itch'.

MARE, bread made of flour mixed with ghí and baked only on the *tawa*. This Hindú can eat on a journey with their clothes on and a Brahman can eat it though it has been baked by a bania. Ordinary bread, *roti*, must be eaten with the clothes off, and cannot be eaten at all if baked by a man of inferior caste.

MARHAIYA, a hut.

MAROR, pride, affectation.

MATHAURIYA, an earthen pot used in churning.

MUDDAI, the Arabic law-term for 'a prosecutor'; generally used by villagers, in the sense of 'an enemy' and thus frequently applied to 'the defendant.'

MUKARNA, or MUKAR-JANA, to deny.

MUK-MUKKA, a blow with the fist.

NAMAT, attentive to.

NASIK, a corner of a building, a projection.

NATNI, a son's daughter.

NAUĀ, a barber.

NIBCHHARA, leisure, opportunity.

NIKHRA, bright and clean.

NIRĀA, (for *nī-ras*) bad, worthless, counterfeit (as a coin).

NOHRA, a cattle-yard.

O, a frequent substitute for *ś* as a masculine termination in nouns and verbs.

OJHA, a Brāhman carpenter (for *upādhyāya*).

OKHA, counterfeit, as a coin.

OL, a hostage.

ONGNA, to oil the wheels of a carriage.

OR, a class of weavers.

OR UTHNA, to stand up in any one's behalf.

OSĀR, an out-building, (for *apasārita*).

OT, profit.

OTA, a low wall.

PAISA, a quarter of a town, so also *pāra*, (from *pada*, a quarter).

PAKHARA, the second watering of any crop.

PALOTA, an iron-monger.

PAMBI, a row.

PARAMATHA, a kind of bread, like *māre*.

PARUA, alluvial land that requires no artificial irrigation ; being flooded by the river in the rains, it retains its moisture all through the year.

PATAUA, a leaf of a tree.

PATKARA, a slap on the top of the head, as distinct from *thappar*, a slap on the face, and *thāp*, a slap on any other part of the body.

PENDNA, short, stunted in stature.

PHAINA, a kind of bread, the same as *māre* and *parāmatha*.

PICHKAURA, a single sheet, or wrapper, used as an article of clothing.

PICHWARA, the back of a house.

PILLA, a little dog, a puppy.

PITA PAREKHA, used either separately or together, remorse.

POLI, the entrance hall or door of a house.

POT, beads, a turn ; thus *wuh apni pot ko gusse men ajātā hai* 'when it comes to his turn he gets angry.'

PRATAP, a term of compliment, like the Latin *auspice* or Persian *ikbāl*.

PUCHHI, grazing-fees, at so much per head, or rather tail.

PULAJ, low lands lying between sand-hills ; used at Sanket,

PUR, a hide.

PUTH, sand-hills.

RAFU CHAKKAR HONA, to run away, to skedaddle.

RAKHYA, a preserve, a bit of woodland near a village in which from a religious sentiment, no trees are allowed to be cut by any one ; even the dry timber being generally accounted the perquisite of some *Bairāgi* who has his hermitage on the spot. Any villager found cutting a green bough would be excommunicated from caste privileges for a term of years.

RANI, self-sown. Thus, *rukhrī rāni ūpājī*, 'a weed has come up of itself.'

RENGNA, to walk slowly.

RENGTA, an ass's foal.

RENHTA, a spinning wheel.

RENHTI, a wheel for cleaning cotton and separating it from the cotton seed, *banola*.

RENI, (from the Sanskrit root *ri*, 'to distill') any substance from which dye can be extracted.

RYNGHNA, to languish.

RISNA, to leak.

SABHA, the nave of a temple.

SAKARAU, early in the morning, betimes.

SANTA, a thonged stick for driving cattle.

SAR, a cow-house.

SAUR, a quilt, or padded wrapper.

SEL-KHARI, steatite, soap-stone.

SENIAN or **SEHI**, a well-digger (from *sendhna*, to mine).

SETH-GANTH, cobbling (from *setra*, a derivative of *si*, 'to sew.')

SOHNI, a broom.

SON, a substitute for the affix *se*.

SUN BARTNA, to be silent.

SWANT, relief: thus, *dawā dete hi swant par gai*, 'as soon as the medicine was given, he got relief.'

TANKHI, a tank, or reservoir for water when cut out of the natural rock, as on the Nand-gānw and Barsūna hills. Probably, from *tānki*, 'a chisel.'

TAP, the base of a pillar.

TARAK, a square beam.

TAU, a father's elder brother (for *tāta*).

THARI, a shopkeeper's stall.

THASAK, affectation, display.

TIKBA, a kind of bread, like *māre*.

TILLA, a blow.

TITARA, the third watering of any crop.

TIPPAS, pomp.

TOH, a trace.

TORA, in architecture, brackets supporting the projecting eaves or *chhajja*.

ULLÁYAT, quickness.

ULETA, bread of the kind described under *māre*.

UNHAR, like.

UTTAN, that side ; used only by the Chaubes.

USARANA, to change or remove, as courses at a dinner.

WA, the demonstrative pronoun or definite article, as *wā baniya ne wā strī son kālī*, 'the baniya said to the woman.'

YUN HYN, just so, gratis, for nothing.

ZAMINDAR, 'a landowner,' used as equivalent simply to a Jāt by caste, without special reference to mode of life.

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[By the same writer.]

THE
RÁMÁYANA OF TULSI DÁS:
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL HINDI.

BOOK I.—SECOND EDITION IN THE PRESS.

BOOK II.—AVAILABLE AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

BOOKS III, IV, V, AND VI IN THE PRESS.

NOTICES.

“THIS is undoubtedly a valuable addition to Anglo-Indian literature. It opens a new mine of riches to European scholars. The translation is very faithful, literal, and animated. Mr. Growse, unlike other translators, has to a great extent preserved the spirit of the original. His prose sometimes reads like poetry. His command of the English language is so great that he expresses in simple language all shades of Indian thought, paying particular attention at the same time to English idiom. We would strongly recommend the replacement of some of the books now fixed for the high proficiency examination in Hindi by the *Rámáyana of Tulsi Dás*, Book I. Mr. Growse deserves the more credit for his work as the greater part of it was written in camp, without any books of reference. He has thoroughly entered into the spirit of Tulsi Dás, and has very agreeably succeeded in painting him in a foreign language to the best advantage that we could have wished. He has very rarely left out phrases or introduced others of his own. We have carefully gone through the first half, the most difficult part of the translation, and, with the exception of a few solitary passages, we have not met but faithful translation.If space allowed, we could give extracts to show the scholarlike manner in which Mr. Growse has rendered some of the most abstruse religious thoughts of the Hindus into idiomatic and simple English.”—*Indian Tribune*, 1877.

“MR. GROWSE has done a good service to letters in seeking to atone for the slight hitherto put by English translators upon a poet of no mean merit, Tulsi Dás, the bard of Rajapur. Translation may not be the grandest of fields, but it is no faint praise to occupy it with taste, judgment, and discernment.

We are wont to hear Hindi spoken of as a language which will hardly repay the effort of mastering, and, with the exception of the *Prem Sagar*, we doubt whether there is any other passage of Hindi poetry with which a hundred Englishmen are fairly conversant. The loss is, however, their own. Even the lead given by Mr. Growse, when he made his first venture, has failed to encourage others to follow in his footsteps. We have read with redoubled interest this second instalment of the Rāmāyana, and there is nothing in it which grieves us so much as the announcement that Mr. Growse has perforce to postpone *sine die* the completion of his work. The power that removed Mr. Growse from a sphere so peculiarly his own as was that of Mathurā to regions like those of Bulandshahr, where Sanskrit is unknown and unappreciated, tempts us with the men and women who gazed after Rama and Sita on their way to Chitrakūt to say—"God's doings are all perverse." So much care has been taken to reproduce in their exact form the similes with which every page of the original abounds that the book may safely be commended to all who want to make some acquaintance with the inner life and mode of thought of our countrymen. It is only in poetry so eminently faithful as that of Tulsi Dās that this advantage can be obtained. Officers may mingle for years with the thousands who cross their official path and be unable to get as clear an insight into real native life as they would by quietly studying and thinking out this translation in their study chairs. Even though Mr. Growse refuses to give us any promise for the future of this work, we have a hope that the subject will prove too strong for him, and that a transfer to happier climes may recall his old love for Tulsi Dās and his Rāmāyana. So few try a venture into Indian song land that we cannot afford to let Mr. Growse remain ignorant of our earnest hope to see him again occupy ground so rich in interest, and to occupy which so few have the requisite qualities of which Mr. Growse has given such abundant proof."—*Indian Tribune*, 1878.

"We heartily welcome this translation. So far as we have been able to compare passages of it with the original, we have found them to be very faithful and accurate renderings. Though the style adopted by the translator is prose, which affords facility for a closer adherence to the original than verse would have done, yet it has a graceful rhythmical flow. Its idiom, moreover, is pure English. It seems impossible for the reader to help feeling himself transported into the fairy land of oriental poetry. The chief value of the work, however, is that it will assist Englishmen to become acquainted with the popular epic of the vast mass of Hindūs, and thus enter into their loftiest feelings. Mr.

Growse has in a well-written introduction enhanced the value of the translation by tracing the history of the poem and of its author. We trust the public will show such an appreciation of this first instalment of the epic in an English dress as to encourage Mr. Growse in the task of completing the remainder."—*The Aryan*.

"WE gladly welcome this first instalment of an excellent version of the most popular of Hindi poems Of Tulsi Dās himself little is known, but what information is available has been collected by Mr. Growse in his introduction The translation appears to be executed in a scholarly style, and is carefully edited throughout with footnotes explanatory of the mythological allusions. While thanking the translator for this instalment of so important a work, we trust he will be encouraged to hasten the completion of it."—*Indian Antiquary*.

"THAT the poem itself has been well and worthily translated is sufficiently vouched for by Mr. Growse's high reputation as a Sanskrit and Hindi scholar ; while his devout enthusiasm as an antiquarian makes him enter into his work with a zest which redeems it from much of the dryness which one ordinarily finds in philological labours. We cannot understand how any man can live in this country and not be touched by what he sees among the natives, especially the Hindus. To single out whatever seems to us grotesque and unreasonable in their religious system, and to ignore the deep religious feeling that underlies these flaws, is surely ungenerous and prejudiced. The Hindu desire of eternal life, the acknowledgment of man's sinfulness, the efficacy of atonement for sin, their inveterate idea of a divine incarnation and the merits of sacrifice, should not be ignored, while all that is ludicrous and hideous in the religion of the Hindu people is put forward as its unrodeeming feature."—*Indo-European Correspondence*, 1877.

"MR. F. S. GROWSE, C.S., continues his translation of Tulsi Dās's version of the *Rāmāyana*, and has just published the Second Book (*Āyodhyā*) of that popular poem..... We frankly own to prejudice when we say that in spite of the lofty thoughts and principles which are embodied throughout the poem, and in spite of Mr. Growse's wonderful combination of a pure English style and idiom with fidelity to the text of the original, we seem, as we read through the long string of *dohas* and *chaupais*, to hear the nasal drone of the Hindu minstrel and the wearisome beat of the *tamtam*. It is prejudice, too, we fear, that throws a colouring of exaggeration over the expression of feelings on the part of the

men, and somewhat of a whining querulous tone over those of the women. Mr. Growse, however, disarms, or at all events deprecates, this kind of prejudice. 'The constant repetition,' he says, 'of a few stereotyped phrases, such as 'lotus feet,' 'streaming eyes,' and 'quivering frame' (a phrase which, he says, was rendered by a Calcutta Munshi, *horripilation*, which word he greatly admired on account of its six syllables), though they find a parallel in the stock epithets of the Homeric poems, are irritating to modern European taste.' We think the learned translator would be justified in saying 'prejudice' (taste and prejudice are much akin), for there are phrases in the Bible—in the Song of Solomon for instance—which would strike us as irritating as the Hindu poet's, had we not been accustomed to the former from our childhood.

"Prejudice and taste apart, the great value of Mr. Growse's translation to English readers lies in the insight it gives us into the feelings of this mysterious Hindu people, among whom so many of us live for years without fathoming the depths of the national mind and heart. Of the pathetic parts of Tulsi Dās's poem—precisely those which an English reader would feel inclined to skip—Mr. Growse says that when publicly recited 'there is scarcely one of the audience who will not be moved to tears.' It certainly is great service to put before us in good English the sterling equivalent of what touches the hearts of men who seem to us to have no hearts at all. We often hear it said of the people of this country that when they congregate, their talk is mostly about *bhāt* and *paisa*—rice and pence. The most popular of Hindu ballads has been composed—so says Tulsi Dās in his epilogue—'for the bestowal of pure wisdom and continence;' and it would be sheer prejudice to deny that the tale which it tells of noble and heroic qualities has not justified the epilogue. Yet this is the poem which has the strongest hold on the people of Upper India!

"Mr. Growse's removal from Mathurā, where he has done so much to unearth and restore some of the most interesting remains of Hindu antiquity, has apparently forced him to postpone 'indefinitely' the completion of the *Rāmāyana*. In his present station, Bulandshahr, he is evidently away from the appliances necessary for the continuation of his useful work. If our conjecture be right, we cannot but regret that he was removed from a place where his labours were so useful."—*Indo-European Correspondence*, 1878.

"MR. BLOCHMANN said he was much struck with a passage in Mr. Growse's translation; it was an additional proof that religious thought repeats itself,

and that it was not difficult to cull passages from Hindu works that bear the most striking similarity to passages of the New Testament, though the authors could not be supposed to have been acquainted with Jewish or Christian writings. He hoped that Mr. Growse would have leisure and strength to complete the great—he might say national—work which he had commenced. Mr. Growse was well known both for the extent of his researches in Hindi folklore and philology and for the classical taste that pervades his translations, and there was no one better qualified to bring out a faithful and truly readable version of *Tulsi Dās's Rāmāyana*.”—*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

“I HAVE read the book with very great interest. The language of Tulsi Dās is so difficult that even most of the Pandits in Hindustan can understand little of many passages in his books, especially in the *Rāmāyana*, almost all sentences of which, besides allegory or other figure, have a number of colloquial Hindi words. Such being the case, an English translation must have been wanted by English readers; but now the author has done it beyond expectation. The version is quite literal and in easy style; and nothing difficult or figurative in the original text is omitted. So, after comparing the version with the original, I expect that this will assist not only English readers of the *Rāmāyana*, but the Pandits also who have to teach English scholars.”—*Opinion of Pandit Guru Prasad, Head Pandit of the Oriental College, Lahor (received through Dr. Leitner)*.

“THE Hindi *Rāmāyana* is doubly valuable. It is in the first place a key to the living creed of the modern Hindu who does not know Sanskrit. Secondly, it is in a style of transition, like our Elizabethan English, which shows the scholar and the etymologist what the language was three centuries back, as it passed from the Prākṛit of the Suraseni to the modern speech. This is the work to the translation of which Mr. F. S. Growse has recently addressed himself; and the first book of his excellent translation (the first that has been made) is now before the public.....The reputation of the translator for accuracy of knowledge and skill is a sufficient guarantee that none who use it will be disappointed.”—*Pioneer*.

“A VERY faithful, elegant, and animated translation of the *Rāmāyana* of Tulsi Dāsa, by Mr. F. S. Growse, C.S. The translation is executed in a scholarly style, and is carefully edited throughout with footnotes explanatory of the mythological allusions.”—*T. H. Griffith, Director of Public Instruction, North-Western Provinces and Oudh*.

